

THE  
SLAVONIC  
(AND EAST EUROPEAN)  
REVIEW

A Survey of the Slavonic Peoples,  
Their History, Economics, Philology  
and Literature

VOLUME TWENTY-SIX

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## POETRY

POEMS BY ALEXANDER PUSHKIN

*Translated from the original Russian by EPHIM G. FOGEL*

### MORNING

With the first glow of morn  
The East is a gleam.  
The light is put out  
In the huts by the stream.

All sprinkled with dew  
Are the flowers in the fields.  
The flocks stir anew  
In the tender wealds.

The grey mists are massing,  
They rise to the sky.  
In caravans passing,  
The geese sail by.

Awaking, the people  
Are off to the lea.  
The sun's up, the earth throbs  
In ecstasy.

### I REMEMBER A MIRACULOUS MOMENT

I remember a miraculous moment :  
Your image came before my sight,  
A fleeting, other-worldly vision,  
The soul of beauty, pure and bright.



In the weariness of hopeless sorrow,  
 In the noisy press of worldly schemes,  
 I always heard your tender accents ;  
 I saw your face as if in dreams.

The years went by. Insurgent tempests  
 Dispelled the visions I had cherished,  
 And I forgot your tender accents ;  
 Your more-than-earthly image perished.

In solitude, in dungeon darkness,  
 My days dragged silently along—  
 No God, no love, no inspiration,  
 No life, no tears, and not a song.

Then suddenly my soul awakened :  
 Again you came before my sight,  
 A fleeting, other-worldly vision,  
 The soul of beauty, pure and bright.

And once again my heart is trembling,  
 And what was buried reappears,  
 And God is here, and inspiration,  
 And life, and love, and song, and tears.

## WINTER EVENING

Skies are shrouded by the tempest  
 Whirling up the snow like wild.  
 Now it bellows like a monster ;  
 Now it whimpers like a child.  
 Now along the shabby rooftop  
 Hisses in the grassy thatch ;  
 Now, like a belated traveller,  
 Pounds upon the window latch.

In our ancient little shanty  
 It is dark and sorrowful.  
 Tell me now, my darling auntie,  
 Why have you become so still ?

Are you wearied by the drumming  
Of the tempest and the sleet ?  
Do you doze because the humming  
Of your spinning wheel is sweet ?

Let us drink, O kind companion  
Of my lost, unhappy youth,  
Drink our grief down ! Where's the noggin ?  
It will warm the heart, in truth.  
Sing a song of how a titmouse  
Lived beyond the lonely sea ; •  
Sing of how a maid one morning  
Went for water—sing to me !

Skies are shrouded by the tempest  
Whirling up the snow like wild.  
Now it bellows like a monster ;  
Now it whimpers like a child.  
Let us drink, O kind companion  
Of my miserable youth,  
Drink our grief down. Where's the noggin ?  
It will warm the heart, in truth.

### THE DROWNED MAN

In the hut the children hasten  
Shouting, while their father frets,  
“ Daddy, Daddy, won't you listen !  
There's a dead man in our nets ! ”  
“ Liars, lying little devils ! ”  
Father grumbles at his breed.  
“ Oh, but there are children for you !  
Dead man in your nets indeed !

“ Dead ! The court will want an answer.  
I'll be plagued by them forever. . . .  
Nothing else to do . . . hey, mistress,  
Hurry, hand my caftan over !  
Where's the body ? ” “ See it, Daddy,  
There ! ” In truth, upon the strand,  
Where the sprawling nets are dripping,  
There's a dead man on the sand.

Swollen are the corpse's features,  
 Blue and hideous in death.  
 Did a miserable creature  
 Choose to choke his sinful breath ?  
 Did the river seize a sailor,  
 Drown a youth in drunken fit ?  
 Did a band of ruthless robbers  
 Slay a merchant slow of wit ?

What's the difference to the peasant ?  
 Sizing up the scene, he speeds,  
 Takes the dead man by the ankles,  
 Drags the body through the reeds.  
 From the craggy bank he shoves him  
 With an oar into the river.  
 Once again the current moves him,  
 Graveless, crossless, lost forever.

Long the buoyant body rocked  
 Like a live man on the foam.  
 Not for long the peasant looked ;  
 Soon he turned his footsteps home.  
 " Little whelps you ! Follow me !  
 There's a twist at home for you.  
 Don't you dare to chatter, see,  
 Else I'll beat you black and blue ! "

Night fell. Windy grew the weather ;  
 Agitated was the foam.  
 Soon the flaming splinter flickered  
 In the peasant's smoky home.  
 Mother nods, the children dream,  
 On his bunk the peasant mutters.  
 Now the tempest sighs, now screams. . . .  
 Someone's knocking at the shutters.

" Who's there ? " " Let me in, my master."  
 " Son of Cain, now why the dither  
 Late at night ? What's the disaster ?  
 Satan must have sent you hither. . . .

Dark here, crowded . . . how in blazes  
Can I fuss about with you ? ”  
And with lazy hand he raises  
Pane and shutter for a view.

Out of a cloud the moon appeared ·  
What ! A naked man is there.  
Water's dripping from his beard ;  
Stiff as marble is his stare.  
All his flesh is numb and livid,  
Arms are limp as any cord.  
In the body, blue and swollen,  
Crawfish black as night have bored.

Knowing now his naked guest,  
Frantically he slammed the shutter,  
Almost lifeless. “ May you burst ! ”  
At length he whispered with a shudder.  
Sick with dread, his brain was rocking.  
Clearly through the tempest's roar  
All night long he heard a knocking  
At the window and the door.

Peasants tell a ghastly story :  
Every year since then, they say,  
Our mouzhik awaits a caller  
On the dread appointed day.  
Since the dawn the waves are rocking,  
Through the night the tempests roar  
And a naked man is knocking  
At the window and the door.

## THE WINTER ROAD

*Translated from the Russian of* ALEXANDER PUSHKIN  
*by* MICHAEL WHITTOCK

Slowly through the undulating  
Cloak of mist the moonbeams grow,  
To these sad wastes penetrating  
With a melancholy glow.

On the winter road, a single  
 Speedy troika glides alone,  
 And its harness-bells a-jingle  
 Sound their tedious monotone.

In the driver's drawn-out singing  
 There's a certain homeliness ;  
 Now, a careless courage ringing,  
 Now, a heartfelt loneliness. . . .

No lights gleam, no houses greet me ;  
 Snow and stillness everywhere . . .  
 Only mileposts come to meet me  
 One by one, and disappear.

## I CAME INTO THIS WORLD

*Translated from the Russian of KONSTANTIN BALMONT*  
 by W. K. MATTHEWS

I came into this world to see the sunlight,  
 The sky's unclouded glow ,  
 I came into this world to see the sunlight  
 And mountain snow.

I came into this world to see the ocean,  
 The green earth's sumptuous pall.  
 In one swift glance I caught the worlds in motion  
 And held them all.

I overcame oblivion with the trembling  
 Far music of my joy.  
 My burning heart is free from all dissembling  
 And all alloy.

I am beloved, for I have known the stinging  
 Anguish that quenches mirth.  
 Who is my equal in the art of singing ?  
 No man on earth !

I came into this world to see the sunlight,  
And when day ends its race,  
I still shall praise the glory of the sunlight,  
Death on my face.

“ I DO NOT WANT THE WORLD TO HEAR ”

*Translated from the Russian of M. Y. LERMONTOV*  
by MICHAEL WHITTOCK

I do not want the world to hear  
The story of my secret love ;  
What bitter anguish I must bear  
My conscience knows—and God above :

To them alone my heart can go,  
And only they shall pity me ;  
And He that made me suffer so  
Shall be the one to punish me.

The lofty spirit can ignore  
The censure of a stupid throng :  
O let the pounding breakers roar !  
The granite cliff is proud and strong ;

Within both elements he dwells,  
His rugged forehead reared on high  
Among the clouds : his thoughts he tells  
To no one but the stormy sky.

ALL SOULS EVE

*Translated from the Albanian of HIL MOSI by W. K. MATTHEWS*

It is all done, the weeping and the wailing  
That hung about the places of the dead :  
And over these the burdened light is failing,  
And where the Kiri rustles in its bed.  
In heaven the moon's and stars' white flames are burning,  
And from them streams a pale and loveless glow ;  
Beside the graves flicker the tiny yearning  
Lamps in a long and vacillating row.

The gravedigger, whose foot is firm and fearless,  
 Stops by the mounds to put out each frail light  
 And then returns. A wind blows cold and cheerless  
 And drives dead leaves to flutter down the night;  
 And owls proclaim a sorrow that is tearless,  
 Hidden in plane-tops out of human sight.

### THE TORCHES HAVE GONE OUT

*Translated from the Lithuanian of PUTINAS (b. 1892)*  
 by W. K. MATTHEWS

The torches have gone out, sharp sounds of laughing riot  
 Are quenched, and broken wreaths lie wilting on the floor;  
 Cups stand unemptied; singing lips are quiet;  
 The torches have gone out—and dawn seeps through the door.

The torches have gone out—and we two are alone.  
 I am oppressed with grief, and fear has made you stone.  
 Our hearts are emptied of all pleading and complaining.  
 The torches have gone out—and we are left alone.

The torches have gone out—no faintly whispered longing  
 Breaks from your rigid lips, while mine are mute and grey.  
 In that mysterious hour, when love's white wings come thronging,  
 The torches have gone out—and death comes with the day.

### TWO POEMS BY FRANTIŠEK HALAS

*Translated from the original Czech by KAREL OFFER*

### THE POET IS THAWING

On the flag-pole of spring the banner of praise  
 mud-splashed. I hasten to the nuptials of the earth.  
 I will not leave it to blackbirds' roundelays.

Those love trystings! Trees pass them on in their little leaves;

the curious wind unseals before delivering  
the transcribed love-note through that pastel horizon  
and seals anew with a swallow wing.

Crystals of firmaments ! How you shred up the air !

The raindrops drip on the earth's passionate face,  
the seeping sap by doves' cooing  
crochets my blood within me a black lace.

Borderland. Violin Motherland's borderland.

Churchyards of chestnut trees when spring you have burnt out  
by your spiked club fruit \* remind us. The fight's on,  
you Hussite captain trees. What are you angry about ?

Upon the naked shoulder of the moon time grieves.

Leave not to the thrush alone the resurrection song.  
I entice tree-frogs too. Chant ! Oh God, make them chant !  
Ye of more faith hand it quickly along.

How soon fades away the glory of proud days !

## TO DEATH

O death tell me, when through my blood you seep,  
are you so lonely  
that you cling to me and fall with me asleep ?

Akin to everything why do you bear  
brotherhood with my dreams,  
The lace-work of my love why do you tear ?

Let me step aside from where your shadows lie  
and enfold the dying into the last hour :  
give goodness of oblivion whereupon I die.

\* Spiked clubs or maces . Weapons of Hussite Armies. (K. O)



## AFFETTUOSO

*Translated from the Czech of HANUŠ BONN \* by KAREL OFFER*

Why do you sing so much, O starry night ?  
O you enchanted  
by dreams round-woven  
though all song is in vain.

Claudia  
how still are your palms—  
my little refuge  
my sea  
my sea deep as the night !

I love thee.  
O tell me not you will never leave me !  
But what if this night is our last,  
and tomorrow

already tomorrow all our dreams will bleed to death  
and rot with us somewhere  
in the middle of grainless fields ?

In a pillaged night  
when heaven will collapse as a scorched column  
upon the barren earth.

I know that even then the forest will smell of resin  
and other lovers excitedly climb the nights of May ;

But why so many wounded birds,  
why gasping ravines,—  
heaps of sterile clay  
and nests shot through ?

Those scars on my face !  
So much clotted blood that sang of love.  
And temples raped  
and windows holed.

\* HANUŠ BONN—b. 1913, d. 1941 in Malthausen Concentration Camp.

Why not languish away as a summer evening  
dripping unto heather and wild thyme ? "

As a gaze that stared into the distance for too long,  
As a flower that can resist no more darkness' enticement  
and perhaps will no more open.

Why do you sing so much, O starry night ? -  
O you enchanted  
by dreams round-woven  
when all song is in vain !

Who of you can tell me "  
we are not over an abyss,  
that it is not folly to love dreams  
and verses ?

O that you could be stopped, you rider mad with rage,  
you nonsensical flood !

But who will tell me  
that our faint hearts will rise.

Such darkness.

Such solitude.

And in the tree-trunks as if the strings were snapping  
and the night grew dark in grief

It is thundering.

Do you hear ?

## ORDER INDISPENSABLE

*From "Reda Mora da Bude"—short stories from the Vojvodina,  
by JOVAN POPOVIĆ (1932)*

*Translated from the Serbian by ALEC BROWN*

"WHAT a hat—impossible, long since! You'd think he picked it up off the muck-heap. That really is miserly!" That is what Madame Zagorka would say, every time that greasy green hat passed beneath her window on the head of Milanković the chemist. That was four times a day, anyway.

Madame Zagorka's opinions were taken in our town as absolute truths, though all the same she is not a hat specialist. At least, not a very special specialist. On the other hand, she is the model of a practical woman—economical and handy—and if she goes as far as saying our chemist is a miser, then he is a miser.

Madame Zagorka is a specialist on domestics. There she is an unrivalled authority, worthy solely of wonder and envy. "Ah, you have to know how to manage them. I never let one of the hussies run loose! I make 'em work. When it's done I pay them, pay them with my own money—what do you pay, if I may ask, Sida?"

"Two hundred dinars."

"Two hundred!! Ohhh! Upon my word, d'you find your purse under the gooseberry bush? I only give mine one hundred and fifty; that's a lot. That's why yours gets out of hand, believe me, my dear. Upon my word, mine has to work!" And, her every feature expressive of infinite energy, Madame Zagorka gave her hips such resounding slaps that her bosom swayed magnificently. "That's what they're in service for, indeed. Why wasn't she born a princess, if that's what she wants? Upon my word, she has to put her back into it. I keep her busy. You've got to know how to manage 'em."

The ladies of our town had a high opinion of Madame Zagorka. It is true they also said, in private, that she was heartless. "Just think how she orders them about! She does go a bit too far, it doesn't do. Even a skivvy's a human being. And she's miserly."

Yet inwardly they admitted the truth—Madame Zagorka was practical, and it was true enough, money doesn't grow on gooseberry bushes; it's no use being too kind to skivvies; no getting away from it, give 'em an inch . . .

On the servant question Madame Zagorka was an absolute authority. And when a person of that sort, so sound an arbiter in practical questions, asserts that our chemist's hat—that green hat, formerly a hunting felt—is such that it might have been picked off the muck-heap, then it might have been ; and in that one thing, I make no bones about it, in that one thing I agree with Madame Zagorka, and so does the whole town. The hat really might have been picked up off the muck-heap. I doubt whether Pepa the gypsy would have picked it up, though he's not choosy.

It is said that Mr. Theophilus Milanković, late father of Mr. Ivan Milanković, used to go partridge shooting in that hat, and that you can still make out the shot holes made when somebody missed both the bird and the coachman's ears, but, of all things, scored a hit on Mr. Theophilus's hat. But who knows the truth ; and after all, what has it to do with us ?

The principal thing is that our chemist, wearing that popular headpiece, makes his way through our town four times per diem.

\* \* \*

He thus made his way to-day. His lab man was waiting for him outside the shop ; up went the roller blinds with a clatter. The third blind's ascent coincided with the last stroke of seven. Milanković entered his shop and cast his eye round it. Now, a chemist's life is no easy one. His responsibility is great. Particularly if a man is so thorough as Mr. Milanković, he really has a peck of troubles. For example, look, there's a bottle out of place again, like a schoolboy breaking line on the way to church. "Stoyan ! You slovenly bear ! Look at those bottles ! Fine doings ! Ten years I've been trying to train you, all in vain ! I can't leave a thing to you. And look, here's some dust ! My desk isn't done, either. And look at that book, crooked. No, Stoyan, I shall be obliged to part with you. Really, it's one worry after another, to the grave !"

Stoyan made no reply. He knows that in this life one man has the right of bullyragging, and another has not. But could Mr. Milanković by some mischance but peep inside Stoyan's skull, into that brain full of disorderly, impudent ideas, and read what was brewing there, poor Milanković would be very surprised and would have yet another proof how immoral men are. For Stoyan was thinking : " Kick the bucket, you old b—— ! Nobody else would put up with you like me ; go on, I'm not listening, let your tongue wag ! Come on, sack me, and see if you'd find anybody else ! "

Stoyan is no philosopher. Far from that. In the first place, he has never read any philosophy, nor even heard about the Stoics. Yet Stoyan behaved like a Stoic—sealed his ears, swallowed the answer that came to his lips, and set calmly about dusting the dust and straightening the bottles.

That Stoyan did not agree with Mr. Milanković, we have just seen. Whether the citizens of *Veliko Žitšće* (Great Granary) would have completely agreed with their worthy fellow-citizen, we have not been able to ascertain with certainty. But, agreeing or not, Shkobi the parrot was completely and most actively of the same opinion as Mr. Milanković. "Stoyannn! Slovenly bearr! Look at these bottless!" yelled Shkobi from his cage, which hung in the centre of the room.

At nine o'clock a rather ragged old man came in, with tangled grey beard and tremulous limbs. He had a long prescription and timidly held it out. He was followed by a fat woman with swollen legs.

"Here, what's this? What're y' flocking in for?"

They were flocking in. They were our poor folk, come at nine from the doctor's with free prescriptions.

"Come on, outside with you, and wait outside! Come on, come on! How they stink!"

Out go the poor folk, to wait outside, summer or winter. "Air the shop, Stoyannn!" shrieks the parrot—Mr. Milanković this time having forgotten to say it, which is rare for him.

\* \* \*

Order first. Order.

Like shop, like home, like head. Just as there were two or three hundred bottles only, in strict order, there were a few ideas, a few concepts, firm, safe—in strict order, undisturbed. But only very few. And never, the Lord preserve us, any new, unsystematised thought to force its way into that skull, into that strict order; nor was any feeling, unless it concerned Mr. Milanković, allowed to disturb the order. In that head everything was in strict order, and the parrot Shkobi had no need to shout: "Air your brain, Ivan"—there was nothing in that brain to air!

\* \* \*

When Milanković was nineteen there was a family council to decide his future. At great effort he had got within two forms of the top form of his school. His teachers agreed he would get no further. What was he to be? The property was too small for all the children to live on it.

Was he to set up in business? Come, was an *élite* family to lower its standards? Moreover, Uncle Andrew, a wholesaler, was sure that Ivan was too stupid to keep an ordinary shop.

Then the public service? Heavens above! The whole staff flung up their arms in amazement—whoever wrote such a hand? He was intelligent enough to be clerk to the local court. He certainly wasn't very intelligent, but after all you needed just such a modicum of wits to make a decent, reliable public official. But his handwriting! The State would founder, were official documents to be transcribed in such a hand.

There remained only—army or church. Well, he hadn't the build of an officer. The smart Austro-Hungarian officers' corps could hardly put him on parade. Church? Yes, had he but had the suspicion of a voice!

Then it was that Uncle Andrew, the most quick-witted of the family, realised there was a calling which was perfectly suited to him. Let him become an apothecary—they would buy him a practice. It's an old saw, we all know, about the pupil who was a fool at everything, and so had to be a chemist. An old saw, and never verified. But sometimes the most stupid of saws hits the mark. This one did. A malicious tongue has even asserted that the Milanković case made it classical.

Thus the Free and Royal City of Great Granary acquired its dispenser, and the *élite* citizens of the city grew more numerous by one. And all was in order, in the State, in our town, in the chemist's shop at the sign of the Holy Trinity, and in Mr. Milanković's head. Not one single alien, undisciplined idea, really not one!

"Air the shop, Stoyan!" and all the bad odour of simple folk, of the world of ordinary men and of poverty was swept out through the open door. It was the cold, distinguished, stern order of a Great Monarchy.

\* \* \*

"How shocking! Isn't life always full of worry? A man comes home worn out, and can't even get his lunch in peace. Melania, I would like to know how it is the lavatory is without paper? No paper, I say. Outrageous! And I have to work and bear all the worries for you, all on my shoulders; and no paper in the lavatory!"

"Ivan darling!"—his emaciated wife raised her weary, resigned eyelids, and glanced at the children, and murmured: "Not during lunch!"

"What do you mean, not during lunch? What's lunch got to do with it? Always some excuse for your slackness. As if we ought not to speak in front of the children. Let the children hear—we don't want them to turn out slack and slovenly. Order! Order, I say!"

His wife leaves the table, disappears into the bedroom. Milanković produces the ironical smile of a righteous man, and shrugs his shoulders—just look at that! The children exchange glances.

In the bedroom his wife is shaken by convulsive sobs. Ten years of this sort of life, with this man, in this atmosphere. She is the daughter of a civil service family come down in the world. Childhood with a governess, girlhood with Schiller and sentimental novels, yearnings of love to the accompaniment of Schubert. Then the family council had decided Milanković was a good match, and Melania cast a veil over childhood, Schubertian yearnings, together with a vague expectation of something romantic. And for ten years she had been writhing in Mr. Milanković's impeccable collection like a butterfly on a pin. It might have been ten years spent in convulsive sobbing.

Then came a day when a report rang out in the Milanković bedroom, and, in her final convulsion, on the couch lay a dying woman. On the floor was a large, beautifully ornamented pistol from the hunting-room.

"Whatever came over her?" Exhibiting the restrained grief of a man faultlessly bearing a heavy blow of fate, the bereaved husband stood astounded, flabbergasted.

Indeed, what could have come over her? Did she find it impossible to take her place in that *order* which was essential and magnificent?

"Air thé shop, Stoyan," cried the parrot, when Milanković, being rather upset by the heavy blow fate had brought him, forgot it. Life is not easy. That day Milanković failed to observe that there was a bottle a whole inch out of place.

\* \* \*

By a strange chain of circumstance, a shot occurred from time to time in that house of order. Fortune might have concluded a conspiracy against Milanković.

The next was the young servant, Anushka, a rosy-cheeked, plump, country girl. In the year she had spent in that house she had become inexplicably pale and thin. She had a frightened look, behaved queerly, as if under some menace, and had black rings round her eyes.

After all, who can tell why she committed suicide with that lovely pistol from the hunting-room? The results of the autopsy are unknown.

\* \* \*

Nothing was established. The order of the house was upset for a bit, but only very briefly. Even when the eldest son, having passed his matriculation, repeated the scene with the pistol and perforated his lungs, to spend some years coughing in a far-off sanatorium. . . .

Funny that there are people—most orderly, peaceable citizens—who for some strange reason have no luck with their children. For it was, inexplicably, the very same son who had crazy notions—when the 1914 war fever was at its height, he shouted openly against war. It was suspected that he was a socialist. He also had the crazy notion of giving himself up to music.

In resignation and astonishment, Mr. Milanković shook his head. What did it all signify? The boy could not possibly have inherited such crazy characteristics from him. Nor had he done the lad any wrong. All he insisted on was order, merely order. To satisfy all demands of conscience and caution, with a sigh Mr. Milanković took down the lovely pistol from the horn in the hunting-room, and hid it away.

But even his little girl had her mother's tendencies. Her father, on tenterhooks, in terror even, waited for what would come next. He certainly was unlucky with his children, there was no gain-saying that. Morphia and opium in the shop had to be kept most rigorously locked away—little girls on no account might go near the poison cabinet, for—it really was remarkable—time came when she drank a little larger dose of morphia than needed to allay pain.

\* \* \*

"What a hat—impossible long since!" Madame Zargorka would say, every time she saw that famous green hat borne past her under her window.

Much had changed. It was no longer Austria-Hungary. For fully ten years the Yugoslav flag had flown from the Town Hall steeple. Milanković's shop had formerly been "by Royal Appointment to His Majesty the King-Emperor", it was still "by Royal Appointment"—to the King of Yugoslavia now. The proprietor in the old days had done his fatherland good service; same now.

Meanwhile the green hat, which had seen so many a storm, so many an event, and was packed with lovely memories of the past,



swept by four times daily, unchanged in any detail, under Madame Zagorka's window.

But one day—but it was remarkable, it really was—what? A completely new, fashionable hat passing under Madame Zagorka's window—at half-past seven in the morning.

The hat was new and unknown, but the face and the body were known. They were the face and body of Mr. Milanković.

Madame Zagorka clapped her hands. "This really is extraordinary, it is a wonder!" She was all of a flutter. "Mrs. Zuckermeier, do you see it?" she cried.

"And what was that? Who was it, Madame Zagorka?"—Mrs. Zuckermeier, the tailor's wife, came out into the courtyard. "What has happened, Madame Zagorka?"—and old Mrs. Vlainić appeared, shaking her thin, hatchet face with its stuck-on spectacles.

They all shook their heads most significantly when they learned the great news; it really was strange.

Meanwhile, Mr. Milanković calmly and haughtily had his shop unlocked. "We're a bit late, Stoyan, but to-day is a remarkable day," Mr. Milanković—smiled.

The whole morning Stoyan was itching with curiosity. But he did not die of impatience. At midday, in the market, he learned the news: his boss was marrying.

"He's a very good match, you know. A bit gone in years, but well preserved, you know. His best years. And when he dresses like that and puts on a new hat, he's a very smart gentleman indeed."

There was many a sigh and many an envious eye to follow the young Mrs. Milanković when she left the church on her husband's arm. They were followed by the children. All with a mechanical sort of smile, as if they had stepped out of a tooth-paste advertisement.

That day the shop was managed by the young assistant from Neumann's. Neumann himself, a skinny, bald old man with a black skull cap, known by the common people in plain Serbian—and quite accurately—as "*The Chump*," stood on the threshold of his own shop and grinned maliciously.

"We'll see what we shall see," he mouthed craftily.

"What shall we see?" his neighbour, Miss Roza, flared up. "You are spiteful. He's a very fine gentleman. Only let's hope she makes him a good wife, not half asleep like the last one." And Miss Roza, an ugly old maid, sighed with a mournful resignation—how blind men were! For, would you believe it, not one of

them had yet noticed the treasure of a woman standing there on the edge of the pavement, sighing and rolling to heaven her huge eyes set in a faded yellow face.

"Far better look after his own wife! Yes, she goes loitering about the market, grabbing things and pretending to be innocent. And whenever she gets caught and gets a drubbing, her fine husband comes racing up loosening his purse-strings as fast as he can, and says the poor darling suffers from kleptomania. Only they don't always catch her. And still he has the cheek to grin maliciously."

Anybody who imagined that Miss Roza was a rebel, or under the influence of dangerous thoughts, would be terribly, frightfully in error. Not at all. But Miss Roza had her own ideas about honesty. And with all the authority of her ideas she scornfully measured Mr. Neumann from head to feet.

The same day, Mr. Neumann's young assistant, being devoid of experience and routine (his boss, Mr. Neumann, used to say he would never make a chemist), forgot to turn the rag-tail bob-tail mob outside to wait. Well, either forgot, or else was so disorderly by nature, so given to dubious tendencies, that he omitted to do so on purpose.

The parrot, Shkobi, tried to remind him, shouting raucously: "Out you go; you stink, you stink," and the poor folk looked timidly this way and that, but all the assistant said was "Hold your row, Shkobi!"

The parrot was astounded and hurt, and sulked all day, depressed, resigned, desperate, wagging its head just like its master. It really could not understand such disorder.

That rogue Stoyan hid in the office and for the first time in ten years put his face in his hands and roared with laughter. But on the other hand, the following day, when the chemist's bridegroom opened his shop, in festive mood, the parrot shrieked its most raucous, ear-splitting: "Air the shop, Stoyan, you lazy bear!"

And Stoyan got a move on, and aired the shop. For order is indispensable.

## THE WINDMILL

*Translated from the Bulgarian by VIVIAN DE S. PINTO, JR.*

THE magnificent view which our village commands on every side is in nowise lessened by the giant hulk, derelict and unfinished, of Lazar's windmill. For ten years now it has stuck out on the bare hill above the village like some monstrous freak turned by the popular imagination into a haunt of dark spirits, and gloomily clattering its huge sails, which stretch spreadeagled to the heavens.

This deserted ruin, surrounded waist-high with weeds, has become the lair of timorous squirrels, green lizards and venomous snakes. This same giant skeleton, bleached white by sunshine and rain, with its cracked and charred walls through which whistle hurricane and storm, is for all its desolation the one and only windmill from the flat Shopsko<sup>1</sup> plain right to the boundless fields of the Plovdiv country. It is the sole monument to the year of drought, the handiwork of that cunning craftsman Lazar Dabak,<sup>2</sup> peerless for his jokes and highly original plans and projects commenced with tremendous energy and abandoned with a good-humoured, self-mocking grin.

There had settled over the village and surrounding countryside a terrible drought, which scorched everything, dried up the wells and springs, and parched the cattle to death. The giver of life, the babbling village brook, which emerges from under the great stone boulders high above the hamlet, grew day by day sensibly smaller and smaller and began to dry up. It was as though some triple-tongued monsoon were greedily lapping up her cold and crystal waters, which dwindled now to a feeble trickle from the spring, and were thirstily soaked up by the parched earth all along her bed. The sedge and grass turned yellow and wilted as though flattened by hail. Her hitherto moist banks were split with cracks.

Then, one day, the blithe and boisterous gurgling of her countless watermills, which had filled the valley with the clamour of their merry echo—was stilled. The peasant was downcast in his heart and filled with foreboding. He was scared by the sudden silencing of those countless watermills and their heavy, hitherto whirring, stones, now no longer able to pound the dry wheat grain into flour.

<sup>1</sup> Rural district near Sofia.

<sup>2</sup> To understand fully the characterisation of Lazar (the hero of this story) it should be borne in mind that Dabak is a nickname meaning in Bulgarian "oak forest," cf. Middle English "Oakenshaw."

Totally unforeseen, and for that reason thrice large, loomed the threat of famine.

The drought spread far and wide over the whole region. At the three or four mills still distinctly audible here and there among the villages crowds gathered as never before. As for the fast-flowing Isker, its course lay far away.

Lazar Dabak wandered gloomily round his mill. Though its gurgling was muffled and its water-flutes dry, its tiled roof greeted the eye from between the green foliage of four leafy walnut trees in the valley. Over all there reigned a wild unnatural silence, which filled Dabak's ever-merry heart with melancholy thoughts.

"Gaffer Korchan," said he to his neighbour miller, "it's an evil thing when our lasses are silent and cease singing. What are we going to do, eh?" His lips curved at the corners into a faint grin, more provoking than mischievous.

"Eh? What's that you say, Dabak?" loudly demanded the deaf Gaffer Korchan, who in his shirt-sleeves with chest bared to the waist was tinkering with something by his mill.

"I'm saying there'll be no more singing bouts between my girl and your grannie, old white locks!" loudly shouted Dabak. "What are we going to do?"

"Patience, Dabak, patience and all will be well. Temper brings grey hairs!" replied Gaffer Korchan.

He was seventy years old, a hale and hearty ancient with hair already streaked and a broad, bronze, expressive face. It was the face of a mountain-dweller, furrowed with wrinkles and irresistibly inspiring confidence. Slightly deaf and slightly lame, he was yet a jovial person and, with his pipe eternally between his lips and the hoarse wheeze from his bared chest, he was, like all his sort, unquestionably a character. Korchan had two sons who had long since raised families of their own, but, because his old grannie had died, he had settled down to live in the mill, where he would potter about all day long, murmuring melodies under his breath and puffing at his blackened pipe. With Dabak, who was by contrast both young and a bachelor, he struck up a curious friendship—serene, unshakable and as merry as the day was long.

Dabak was a blond giant, with a kindly face which derived a peculiar beauty from his large blue eyes. He was a bachelor. Somehow the idea of marriage had never occurred to him even now, and among the country folk, once a fellow is past thirty summers he'll not easily come by a wife. Yet in his time he had gallivanted about as prettily as any and had earned himself the

enviable reputation of an ever-mischievous madcap and an inimitable horo-dancer.<sup>3</sup> But after ten years of roaming with the woodmen over the Vlach lands,<sup>4</sup> where incidentally he had made a tidy sum, he returned meek and subdued, repaired the mill which was the sole heritage from his father and settled down to live there, or thereabouts. Here he made friends with his deaf neighbour, Gaffer Korchan. Both of them had the cunning hands of craftsmen and so all day they would sit in the sun between the two mills, fitting blades to the wheels and cracking joke after joke at each other.

Now and again Dabak's fertile mind would embark on the execution of some curious project, which the miller's brain in Korchan's head would inevitably approve and his tireless hands hasten to assist. Concentrated work would begin forthwith. Saw, hammer, adze and axe would know no rest for days on end. But always, when the work was already half-way towards completion, they would abandon it.

So it was that once they decided to construct a fullery. Dabak bought the material, while Korchan tucked up his sleeves to the task. For two whole weeks they worked without respite. No sooner had four posts set up the frame of the structure than the deaf miller stood back a few steps and said in a disheartened voice: "You know, Dabak, we're wasting our time. Why, there are fulleries galore, three hundred and fifty of them."—"Bah! Quiet, Gaffer Korchan, or the devil will hear you!"—"Now if we had built a carding-machine, that would have been some use, but a fullery. . . ."—"You're right, Gaffer Korchan."

So the unfinished skeleton of the fullery stood unprotected from the rain for a whole month, until Dabak and Korchan had devised a plan for a carding-machine; yet nothing came of that either.

But now that the brook had dried up and the mills become silent, the two neighbours were seriously alarmed.

"Things are in a bad way, Gaffer Korchan."

"Bad's the word, Dabak, very bad. From the way the frogs croak this drought will never end. And as long as the people carry on as they do, this drought won't be the last. They neither fear God nor recognise the devil . . . our mills will fall into decay, Dabak."

"Why, then we'll make wind ones, Gaffer Korchan," grinned Dabak. The old miller stood wrapt in thought.

<sup>3</sup> The horo (Greek Χόρος) is a circular dance performed by peasants in most Balkan countries. See also note on "Rechenitsa" below

<sup>4</sup> Roumania.

From this jest the conception of a windmill took root in Dabak's brain and began to germinate in his mind. "It's not impossible," he figured to himself; "the windy hill above the village might have been made for the job and a windmill up there would work just as well when the drought's over."

Dabak unfolded the plan to Gaffer Korchan, who burst out laughing.

"Bah, lad, haven't the fullery and carding-machine taught you a grain of sense?"

"But why? It's feasible. There's always a wind on the hill . . . and round the village too for that matter. The materials we prepared for the fullery and carding-machine will do the job—we'll use the lot. We'll need another dozen beams. As for wind-mill-building, I know the tricks of the trade. All that's needed is labour."

"I'll provide labour, if you provide wind," chuckled Gaffer Korchan: and when Dabak enlarged on the plan and his calculations, the old man expressed approval and even waxed enthusiastic.

One fine Sunday some wagons transported the building materials out on to the windy hill above the village. The next day a tall pole towered there with a wreath and cross attached to its top; round it the two millers proceeded to lay the solid stone foundation of the splendid edifice.

"Well, well, not content with a fullery and carding-machine, now they're at a windmill!" chuckled the peasants, as they watched Dabak begin his castle in the air and began to crowd inquisitively up the hill. "They've wind enough in their heads to work it," others kept joking.

But the builders paid no heed to this. Day by day the building grew, and within two weeks reared high its wooden skeleton. Despite the general opinion that this castle in the air would soon topple down, Dabak and Korchan still worked and worked. All day long could be heard in the village the blows of their sharp axes and the staccato raps of their hammers. Wholeheartedly devoting themselves to the conception of this great work, they spared no pains, admitted no fatigue and took no repose. From morning to evening through the long summer days, as the blazing rays of the fiery sun dried the very sweat on their faces, they worked in their shirt-sleeves, and never once laid down their tools. Absorbed in their work, enervated by the overpowering sultry heat, they never even exchanged a word except for Korchan occasionally remarking: "You know, Dabak, I've a feeling this won't come to

anything either; the moment we finish, it'll rain. Then our lasses'll start singing and we'll quit this screech-owls' scaffolding."

"Hammer away, Korchan, hammer away! Let's finish it first and then come what may!" replied Dabak, casting at the old man a look charged with energy and passion.

"Oh, I'm a decrepit old donkey! Oh, why like a child do I follow your whim?" mocked at himself the deaf man and, as he scraped and cut, softly sang to the beat of the hammer:

Oh, I'm a de-crep-it old don-key!

Oh, why-like a child do I fol-low your whim?

But sometimes he would peer furtively at Dabak's sunburnt face and say in a kindly voice: "You know, Dabak, you should get married. Windmills waste youth." Dabak would look up at him with his great blue eyes and let out a roar of laughter.

Day by day, the shape of the windmill began to crystallise, tall and slender. One day, Dabak announced that from the height of its sails Gaffer Korchan had spotted a small cloud far away behind Vitosha. The joyful tidings spread like wildfire from tavern to farm, and thence far over the fields to the weary labourers. In a trice they had left their work and made off to the village to welcome such an unexpected event. The end of the terrible all-parching drought was now in sight. The church-bell tolled as if for a fête. Lasses in their smartest began dancing the "vai dudul",<sup>5</sup> Down the village lanes sped the bouncing rhythm of their song:

From hoeman to ploughman and ploughman to hoeman,  
Oh, the butterfly fluttered and fluttered.

Rain, Lord, send rain!

Shouts and peals of laughter followed in a cascade of mirth. The peasants, duly chastised, now reaped their holiday. To the tune of the drum and gayda<sup>6</sup> the girls danced the "vai dudul" up the hill to the windmill, from the top of which the joyful tidings had been announced, twisting and weaving their crazy horo over the parched grass. Out came the wine-casks and the men with them, as though for a wedding.

Every eye was strained westward. There, one small white cloud had scurried over Mount Vitosha and after it soared in succession more tattered little clouds. Towards them from the direc-

<sup>5</sup> A Bulgarian drought dance: "Oh, for the ear of corn!"

<sup>6</sup> Bulgarian peasant bagpipes made from goatskin.

tion of the Stara Planina <sup>7</sup> urged another cloud, followed like the first by smaller ragged ones, now dwindling and fading, now amassing to form larger clouds, black like eagles. But far away others were mounting the blue heaven like little puffs of white smoke, ever-growing, multiplying, swiftly wafted onwards.

"The rain is coming, the rain, the rain!" Everywhere echoed the glad cry. The face of every peasant shone with joy, and anxiety was banished from their hearts.

Meanwhile, Dabak and Korchan, quite unperturbed, continued their work on the roof. Kristina, Gaffer's eighteen-year-old granddaughter, crept up the high ladder, climbed on to the top under the very sails of the windmill and cheekily sang out: "Grandpa, look where I am!"

"Get down, you crazy girl! You'll break your neck," shouted her grandfather.

"I'm holding tighter and tighter," cried Kristina merrily, standing erect on the very top. Then, like a lark-fledgling, she craned forward her little white neck, peered down over the eaves and clapped her hands.

"How hi-i-igh I am."

"Don't play the fool, lassie, or you'll tumble down the short way," called Lazar to the merry girl, whose every movement he had been following from under his brow. She turned and impishly stuck out her tongue at him. Then she snatched the hammer out of his hand and began tapping the rafters.

"That'll do, girl!" flared up Dabak.

"What?" she replied, "I can build windmills too, like you." She turned to her deaf grandfather and called out: "Hey, there, grandfather! I'm a craftsman too like you."

"Bah, Dabak's a better one though!" put in someone from below with a chuckle.

"Look, child, give me the hammer and stop hindering me!" said Lazar angrily, but from his face it was clear he was enjoying the game. Kristina stuck out her tongue at him again. Her limpid sky-blue eyes lingered to look at him. Her face, fair-skinned and buxom, round and pretty, shed a happy lustre, which shone into the old bachelor's very heart.

"I shall tell your grandfather," he teased her.

"Tell him!" Again she stuck out her tongue and continued to rap and bang on the rafters.

Radiant, Dabak called to the deaf old man, who, absorbed in

<sup>7</sup> Stara Planina—a range of mountains crossing Central Bulgaria



his work, had long since stopped watching Kristina's pranks : " Hey, old fellow, ask your granddaughter what she wants up here ! "

The boys and girls, looking up from below, burst out laughing and one of them called up for fun : " Dabak, don't provoke the girl ! "

Kristina made as though she would hurl the hammer at him and all but threw it ; then she burst into coquettish laughter.

The same fellow called up again from below : " Ha, you may be playing, but Dabak's in earnest ! " There were roars of laughter and Dabak was momentarily confused. His eyes, however, began to rove with a new curiosity over the girl's tall shapely figure, the curve of her sturdy arms, her broad level shoulders and her gently heaving, white and canary-coloured bodice.

" There's a wild bantam-chick for you ! " he thought to himself. The tattered clouds gradually grew until they encompassed the horizon. Round the mill circled and wove again the merry horo.

Quick as a cat, she descended the ladder without giving back the hammer to Dabak. " Hey, child, enough fooling there. . . ! Leave me my hammer ! "—" Come yourself and get it ! " she cried to him from below and joined hands in the horo. Dabak did come down and stayed to watch. Kristina danced crazily as though for a lark, and looked mockingly over at the young miller. Then suddenly she left the horo and ran off, her left hand firmly on her hip and her right waving her kerchief. She stopped in front of the bagpiper and peremptorily ordered : " Rechenitsa ! " <sup>8</sup>

In a flash the piper had struck up the tune. Kristina bowed her pretty head, quivered from head to foot, flourished her kerchief in the air, took a neat step once forward and once back, leapt lightly and began to dance as though her whole being were infused with the intangible, twinkling rhythm of that miraculous music.

Everyone gathered round to watch. From the piper's expert fingers the notes came tripping frolicsome and free, now ascending, now descending, now vibrating in a fantastic frenzy fit to set the clothes a-dancing off a man's back, and the heart a-beating till it seem tossed like a severed leaf in the whirlwind of this giddy piping. The once-renowned dancer Dabak could bear it no longer. His breathing stopped, his heart thumped and leapt, his breast was filled with a stifling commotion, his face turned pale and in a giddy ecstasy he sprang in front of Kristina. Without a word, pale as a sheet, he began to dance.

<sup>8</sup> Bulgarian peasant dance, performed solo or in pairs, as opposed to the circular horo dance mentioned above.

A cry of delight went up from a hundred breasts, and a hundred eyes were fixed intently on the two dancers. Gaffer Korchan descended from the roof of the windmill to watch more closely. His eyes sparkled with pleasure.

Dabak seemed scarcely to touch the ground. With head bowed and never looking round, he whirled like the wind, moving his feet with incomparable agility. After a short while, he stopped as if struck by a sudden idea. Kristina stopped in front of him and said: "I'll outdance you!"

"Oho, get along with you!" put in one of the spectators.

"I'll outdance him. . . ."

"You can try," said Dabak, positive that she could not.

"I'll outdance you." Kristina stamped her foot. She was a celebrated dancer and was rightly confident in herself, but little could she guess Dabak's powers. "I'll outdance you," she repeated, proud and provoking.

"You couldn't," said Dabak with a look that told her not to be so naive.

"Oho, so I can't, can't I?"

"Of course you can't."

"Right . . . we'll make a bet then. . . . Are you willing?"

Dabak laughed outright. "Are you willing?" repeated Kristina

"Right, we'll bet," said Dabak decisively; and drawing out of his purse a crimson thread with some gold pieces strung on it, he added: "Outdance me and these are yours."

"Will you keep your word?" cried Kristina, inflamed and determined.

"That's the bet and by it I stand. . . . What do you offer?"

"Huh! Now we'll see," put in someone from the crowd, followed by roars of laughter. Gaffer Korchan beamed with joy. "Now let's see what's to happen," he said, and turning to Lazar said: "Dabak, you'll make a laughing-stock of my granddaughter!"

"Well, what'll you bet then?" repeated Dabak insistently. Everyone expected the mischievous Kristina to refuse an answer on the pretext that she was joking, but proud and erect she stood her ground. Seriousness of purpose could be read in her eyes. Her face paled for a moment and then blazed up like a fire. She bowed her head with shame and bit her lips. Then, looking Dabak straight in the eyes as he closely followed her agitation, she said in a steady voice:

"Outdance me and I shall be yours."

Dabak's eyes glowed as they met hers.

"Right," he said with a smile. "Will you keep your word?"

"Strike me dead if I am false!" came back Kristina's reply.

The eyes of both gleamed as loud happy laughter rang through the crowd. Gaffer Korchan's face was radiant. At that moment he would gladly have embraced his turbulent granddaughter.

The shrill pipe began and the crowd watched with bated breath. The dancers stood opposite each other and began simultaneously. Dabak with quick agile steps came towards Kristina, while she, lightly tripping on her toes, passed him by. Each sized the other up from head to foot with a glance as if to display superiority, and then they began to dance opposite one another. Kristina waved her kerchief, twisted her white neck like a swan, and flew gracefully into the whirlwind of merry dancing. Her well-rounded bosom heaved, her face flushed and her basil-pink eyelids half closed with ecstasy.

Dabak danced like one possessed. His hands carelessly crossed behind his back, he leapt like a stag, facing his opponent with miraculous movement and dancing the featest steps, though, as it were, pinned to one spot. After a while, shaking from his head the sweat which stood out in beads on his brow, he made a feint to leap backwards. Kristina, watching his every step, flew lightly on her toes towards him, but he leapt forward involuntarily, and she found herself so close to him that she could feel his breath and the warmth of his glowing masculine face. Then he drew gradually away and, as though testing her, enticed her imperceptibly after him. Superiority, masculine superiority, was evident in every move he made, and Kristina reluctantly succumbed to his influence. She strained all her energies towards victory, but after an hour's struggle she came to a standstill, exhausted and panting. As she wiped the moisture from her face, overcome with fatigue, she just managed to mutter: "I can't go on . . . You've outdanced me," and in her shame she was on the point of bursting into tears. "Yes, you've outdanced me. I admit it," she repeated as if to herself.

Soaked in sweat, the piper stopped playing, and with a final leap Dabak likewise came to a standstill, panting and tired. A peal of merry laughter rang through the crowd. A hundred throats sighed with relief and a hundred eyes, dimmed with intense gazing, were clear again. Kristina's friends began teasing her. Only Gaffer Korchan went on laughing and Dabak wiped the sweat from his face.

"Yes, you've outdanced me, I admit it," said his opponent in her shame and hid her face in her hands. The crowd began its

hubbub again. "The bet, let the bet be kept," cried some of them, and began making fun of Kristina.

She raised her head and almost through tears replied: "What? . . . Of course I stand by my word!" The din died down at the boldness of the words.

"Yes, I stand by my word," she repeated steadily, turning towards Lazar Dabak.

"You do?" he asked to be reassured.

"Yes, I do," she replied steadily.

Dabak went up to her and before everyone fastened the gold necklace round her neck.

"Then I am to take you home?"

"Take me!" she said, as she caught him by the hand. Lazar smiled and led her down to the village. The crowd went chattering merrily after them.

"Hey, Dabak, what about that windmill?" shouted Gaffer Korchan.

"I've found another one," Dabak called back gleefully, while the deaf old man let out such a guffaw that his pipe fell out of his mouth.

ELIN PELIN.\*

\* ELIN PELIN (pseudonym for Dmĭtr Ivanov) was born in 1878 at the village of BAYLOVO (province of Sofia) and was brought up in the countryside which forms the background to this story. He became a professional writer and curator of the Ivan Vasov Museum, Sofia. Famed for the lyrical realism of his stories on Bulgarian country life, he belongs as a writer partly to the Narodnik movement of the nineties and partly to the Individualist school in modern Bulgarian literature.

## MASARYK'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY \*

WHEN Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, already President of the Republic he had created, published his war memoirs in 1925 under the title *World Revolution*, he said this. "I stayed more than eighteen months in London—from the end of September, 1915, to the end of April, 1917. . . . The University offered me a Slavonic professorship which Seton-Watson pressed off me again and again on behalf of Dr Burrows, the Principal of King's College, and even though I was reluctant to take it, because I am not a Slavonic specialist" (that from a man who two years before had published the two volumes of *Russia and Europe*) "and because I feared that I should have no leisure for scientific work, I ended by accepting it, and did well to follow the advice of my friends . . . The subject of my inaugural lecture on 19 October, 1915, was *The problem of small nations in the European crisis*. It was our first big political success. Above all, the fact that the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, had agreed to take the chair, accredited me to the wide public in London; and as Mr. Asquith fell ill, Lord Robert Cecil represented him, and thereby provided a political background which gave our cause great prestige." <sup>1</sup>

In that record are linked not only the philosophy and creative statesmanship which make Masaryk one of the small number of those who have combined *δυναμὶς πολιτικὴ καὶ φιλοσοφία*, but also the two men whom it is my privilege to succeed in this Chair, Masaryk and Seton-Watson, the father and the midwife of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Those of us who are young enough to think of the Austro-Hungarian Empire merely as an historical phenomenon as irreparable as the empire of Attila, sometimes forget that when Seton-Watson first set off on his crusade as "Scotus Viator" forty years ago the Austro-Hungarian state was one of the potent realities of world politics, and that the Czechoslovaks, the Croats, the Slovenes and the Ruthenes were even to the scholars and statesmen of western Europe but half-remembered names of oppressed and neglected subjects of the Habsburgs. That they are to-day constituent parts of independent and powerful states, strong in their restored pride in their past and their plans for the future, is in large measure due not only to Masaryk, but also to Seton-Watson. Both men are apostles of the Platonic gospel that philosophy which does not ripen into action is but barren scholasticism. Seton-Watson, during the twenty years before 1914, laboured not only to know the peoples of central Europe, but also to make them known, and during the period of

\* Inaugural Lecture delivered by the Masaryk Professor of Central European History in the University of London, 4 June, 1947.

the first war he seconded the efforts of Masaryk and Beneš, Trumbić and Pašić, with such effect that Balfour's recognition of the Czechoslovak provisional government and the Pact of Rome which saw the birth of Yugoslavia were in no small measure his work. Since 1918 Seton-Watson has watched over the growth and growing pains of his god-children with anxious care; as occupant of this Chair he expounded the history of the Czechoslovaks, the Rumanians, the Magyars and the southern Slavs by voice and pen, and also in three notable volumes he told the story of that British foreign policy which during the last hundred and fifty years has so often been fateful for the central European nations of whom, but for him, not only our prime ministers would have known nothing.

And now he has gone if not to a higher, at least to another sphere, to endeavour to stir the University of Oxford out of its omphaloscepsis to have an intelligent and scholarly concern for those Czechs in whom it has shown but little interest since the day in the reign of Henry IV when a group of dissident Oxford scholars purloined the university seal to forge a letter to the Bohemian reformers averring that Wyclif was no heretic. We may hope that Seton-Watson, who wrestled so triumphantly with the obscurantism of Vienna and Budapest, will succeed even in Oxford.

Seton-Watson's achievement as scholar and politician is, I believe, due not only to his own genius and devotion but also to the fact that he is a disciple of Masaryk and has practised the gospel of political philosophy which was Masaryk's most valuable contribution to his own country and to the world. It is the purpose of this lecture to describe the powerful influence which Masaryk exercised on the development of the philosophy of history. That influence was beginning to make itself felt just at the time when Seton-Watson was beginning to shape his life's work.

Masaryk himself speaks of "the so-called lucky accident which springs from the inner logic of life and history",<sup>2</sup> and the world must deem it a lucky accident that Masaryk appeared just when he did. His considered judgement of the nature of the historical process was completed in its main features and formulated in an authoritative book during the last decade of the nineteenth century, that is, just at the period which he himself rightly designated one of political, scientific and philosophical crisis.<sup>3</sup>

The liberal world of the 19th century was already showing signs of dissolution; the golden age of Britain's free trade hegemony was nearing its end, commercial rivalry between Britain, the United States, and Germany was filling the air with threatening storms, the sun of Japan had risen over the horizon in blood-red dawn; the threatened autocracies of Austria, Russia, and Turkey were hurrying themselves and their subjects towards war and revolution. Hypertrophied and unregulated capitalist development was driving by its innate momentum towards imperialism and imperialistic conflict.

In conformity with this catastrophic progress the philosophy of history was finding justification and explanation for the journey towards Armageddon in a philosophy which rejected reason and ethics in favour of scientific fatalism and the amorality of organic evolution.

Two systems, rivals in fact, but sprung from common parents and nurtured in the same environment, were clamouring for men's allegiance. The parent of both was Hegel, who had rationalised reason out of all rationality and set it on the throne of the Hohenzollerns, and who had formulated a dialectical method of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. This method Marx and Engels had used to construct a philosophy of history which was determinist, materialist, objectivist, catastrophic, and revolutionary, one which taught that ethics, religion, ideals, liberty, law, and love were mere ideological superstructures, mere fetishes and illusions. The other school of historical philosophers of the nineties learnt from Hegel to think of the state as omnipotent and omniscient, and had married the fashionable German "Korporationslehre" to immature Darwinism and senile Platonism. Gobineau, Lagarde, Seeley, Treitschke, Bosanquet and Houston Stewart Chamberlain were trying to persuade their generation that every corporation and especially the nation and the state was a living organism, more than and greater than the sum of the individuals that composed it, an organisation with a will, a reason, a soul of its own; an organism in which the function of the individual was no more than that of an unconscious specialised biological cell.

Such were the two doctrines, the dialectic of economic materialism and the pseudo-biology of organic totalitarianism, which Masaryk in his early middle age found were being offered as philosophies of history and political panaceas to his students in the University of Prague, and he set himself to examine the validity of their claim to be able to rescue his own nation from the danger of suffocation in the Habsburg hot-house and the world from the danger of war and dissolution.

The nature of the case, his own modesty, and his philosophical training made it inevitable that Masaryk's approach to the problem of the nature and direction of the historical process should be critical rather than expository. Therefore in all the many and voluminous writings of Masaryk there is nowhere a full and systematic account of his own philosophy of history. It has to be culled from a study of his books, articles and lectures, and put together piecemeal from his critical, historical and political works. That he had a positive philosophy of history is apparent to anyone who reads his great treatise on the development of Russia during the hundred years before 1913, published in Czech under the title *Rusko a Evropa* and in English as *The Spirit of Russia*, or his account of the birth of the Czechoslovak State which he wrote under the title of *Světová Revoluce*, translated into English as *The Making of a Nation*. Nearly everything which he wrote that I have read throws some light on his historical philosophy, especially

*The Czech Question* (1894), *Palacký's Idea of the Czech Nation* (1897), *The Problem of the Small Nation*, (1905), and his inaugural lecture in this University, *The Problem of small Nations and the European Crisis* (1915). But his greatest book and the one from which above all his detailed philosophy of history must be quarried is *The Social Question*, published in 1898.<sup>4</sup>

*The Social Question* was the first systematic critique of Marxism, and still remains a book that every disciple and every opponent of Marxism ought to study most carefully. It was based on an exhaustive knowledge not only of all Marx's writings, but also of those of Engels and the first generation of their followers Lasalle, Kautsky, Cunow, Konrad Schmidt, Bebel, Liebknecht, Vollmar, Plechanov, Belfort Bax, William Morris, Lafargue, Enrico Ferri, but not of course, those of Lenin, whose importance as a philosopher Masaryk did not begin to appreciate until after 1917.

With the rightness or wrongness of Masaryk's criticism of Marxism I am not now concerned. I use *The Social Problem* merely to elucidate what Masaryk's positive opinions about the historical process were, supplementing it from the incidental light thrown by his other writings, particularly *Russia and Europe* and *World Revolution*.

Fundamental to an understanding of Masaryk's philosophy of history is the fact that he did not regard history as *vita magistra*, laying down laws for all the other arts and sciences. He has nothing but contempt for the "pure" historian of the universities of his day "who masters palæography and the so-called historical sciences, and then trots out a series of individual facts in accordance with some extraneous system of chronology, but who never learns anything about the substance of society, the state, the church, or anything else."<sup>5</sup> The theory that the answer to all political or social problems is to be sought in history, that all sciences are ultimately history, Masaryk brands as "historism," "which looks for and finds in history reasons for what, in its own opinion, ought to be."<sup>6</sup> "The historian," he says, "must be a specialist. He will be a specialist if, in addition to his auxiliary historical sciences, he is trained in philosophy and sociology, he must also be an historical specialist, for example in political history, which again presupposes a special study of political science."<sup>7</sup> The Marxists, Masaryk felt, chiefly erred in making history supreme over the present and the future. "Rather," he said, "should the historian learn to observe the present in order that he may explain that which is more remote by means of that which is near, the less known from the known."<sup>8</sup>

It must be remembered that Masaryk had had no professional historical training, he never professed to be a "pure" historian, in my opinion truly enough, for it seems to me that his historical judgments are not always well founded, he is too ready to take his historical opinions at second hand from the latest doctoral theses, and very rarely had the time or the patience to go to the original texts. I feel that he misjudged and undervalued the Middle Ages and that he was too ready



to assume that the Renaissance and the Reformation were the cataclysmic beginning of all that has been influential in the making of the world of to-day. It is true that as a young man he had taken steps to set up a society for the publication of the texts of the Czech Reform Movement, and that by his high-minded and unpopular labours in exposing Hanka's forgery of the Želenohora and Králové Dvůr manuscripts he performed an heroic and enduring service to historical truth, but that does not alter the fact that Masaryk's approach to the philosophy of history was not primarily that of an historian.

It was the insistence of Marx and Engels that the past reveals the working of a process of historical dialectic which drove Masaryk to counter their historicism with what he calls "realism," by which he meant the study of things as they are, not as they were, or how they came to be what they are. He said. "Over against excessive historicism I place realism: first things, afterwards development. And if I have to decide which is the more important I shall say, things . . . The static, not the dynamic, aspect of the world seems to me to be the chief and especial object of our thinking. Realism, then, stands opposed to Marxism, but not in absolute opposition, for there is no thing which has not developed, and that which develops is things."<sup>9</sup> Masaryk refused to resolve the world and life into the droplets of Heraclitus's river, the world is more than mere movement and mere becoming. "From history I cannot discover what I ought to do, and what I ought to do is what really matters."<sup>10</sup>

This scepticism about history is part of Masaryk's indecision about causation and determinism in the historical process; indeed, it is part of his fundamental metaphysical agnosticism. He is constantly charging Marx and Engels with trying to construct a *Weltanschauung* without first establishing its metaphysical and epistemological basis. But Masaryk is not himself guiltless in this respect, he was sufficiently a child of his time to dislike formal philosophical and theological systems, and indeed once said: "The philosophy of the schools estranged me, for it was a survival and continuation of mediæval scholasticism. Metaphysics I did not like, for I found no satisfaction therein. In my eyes philosophy was above all ethics, sociology and politics."<sup>11</sup>

Therefore we search Masaryk's works in vain for any formal statement of his views about appearance and reality, or about the nature of existence and of truth. This deficiency makes it the more difficult to state precisely his philosophy of history. But there are enough hints and negative statements to compensate for the absence of a formal exposition.

Masaryk takes the reality of mind and matter and of the time process for granted. But when he asks himself what is the relationship between events in time he finds himself in a dilemma. He does not want to accept the Marxist ascription of all social phenomena to economic causes, but at the same time he is so much a child of 19th-century science that he accepts the universality of causal connexion, what he calls "the

scarlet thread of cause and effect." <sup>12</sup> "The question whether the will is determined or not," he says, "is a matter for empirical psychology, and empiricism proves that it is always determined. Therefore theism, criminal law, and education must recognise this fact." <sup>13</sup> But while Masaryk maintains that everything has a cause he refuses to see cause only in "conditions of production." The essence of his philosophy of historical cause is the doctrine that causes are manifold, complicated, and never simple. He says. "The attempt to give a causal explanation of history is quite justified. But in practice a causal exposition of history demands great caution and methodological care. As a rule an historical event has not one cause, but many, often very many. The individual is constantly being acted on by heaven and earth, by the whole environment, and by the past, causes are closely and mutually connected with each other; results too are not simple but complex, a complex of effects will have a complex of causes, and it is not easy so to isolate individual elements that the connexions of real causes and their working can be discovered with certainty." <sup>14</sup> That needed saying in 1898, it needs repeating to-day. But besides the problem of the nature of cause there is the problem of how causality works. Of that Masaryk says. "Beside the multiplicity and complexity of causes we must observe how they work. we must carefully distinguish causes which operate always and without interruption from those which operate only intermittently, those which operate at certain periods from those which operate only once. Also we must measure, or at least estimate, their strength, the intensity of the effect, and we must distinguish those causes which are substantial and therefore deserving of attention from those which are negligible." <sup>15</sup> In the same passage Masaryk warns historians against the temptation to see a causal relationship between every pair of successive and contemporary events. Like causes do not always produce like results; <sup>16</sup> what was or is does not necessarily determine what is or will be. <sup>17</sup> For example, vice and misery are not always and solely caused by poverty, <sup>18</sup> nor is poverty the only cause of pessimism, which more often afflicts the rich than the poor. <sup>19</sup>

Masaryk's opinions about historical causation may be illustrated by quoting what he has to say about the causes and effects of the Protestant Reformation: "There can be no doubt that the great reform movement in Bohemia, Germany and everywhere else sprang from religious and moral needs. This is proved by an historical and psychological analysis of the process of the reform. We see how the Reformation changed ways of life and ecclesiastical order. Dogmas changed, the substance of the Church changed, the relations of church and state changed; the whole life of the individual and of society was transformed. It is not true that in the Reformation it was only a matter of conflict between the bourgeoisie and the feudal aristocracy, and that the Reformation was only a 'costume,' a 'change of dress': the religious revolution is the fundamental and chief part of all those changes which were wrought by and

with the Reformation. The religious movement was prepared by attempts at reformation made at a time when there was not even a suspicion of the bourgeoisie of Marx and Engels, also the Reformation was established long before the bourgeoisie had developed so far that the new religion could be described merely as its 'costume,' 'reflex,' or anything of that sort."<sup>20</sup> That passage illustrates not only Masaryk's method of historical analysis, but also his imperfect historical equipment. He does not realise how early in the Middle Ages the bourgeoisie begins to be influential, and, like Palacký and most of the Czechoslovak historians, he underestimates the influence of economic factors. It also illustrates the idealism of Masaryk's philosophy of history of which I shall have more to say later.

The problem of human freedom and of the place of creative will in the history of man psychologically determined is one with which Masaryk never seriously grappled. He is content to say: "Here we stand before the question of questions. While a brain like that of Kant helped itself out with a wonderful dualism of empirical unfreedom and of the freedom postulated by pure reason, and Marx and Engels saw the answer to the problem of the world and of life in materialistic fatalism, . . . I for myself expound the world and history theistically. theistical determinism is for me a synergism not only social, but also truly metaphysical."<sup>21</sup> How this co-operation of man's free will with the determining providence of God works Masaryk does not explain, except to say that he is a determinist but not a fatalist,<sup>22</sup> but again without elucidating the distinction. Determinism he regards as a protestant attitude, indeterminism, with its provision for miracles, as a Catholic attitude.<sup>23</sup> That providence plays a part in man's destiny he has no doubt. To it he ascribes those "lucky accidents" which preserved him and Beneš during the first world war, and he also quotes.

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will

and adds. "Yet a belief that Providence watches over us and the world is no reason for fatalistic inactivity, but rather for optimistic concentration of effort, for a strict injunction to work determinedly, to work for an idea. Only thus are we entitled to expect the so-called 'lucky accident' that springs from the inner logic of life and history, and to trust in God's help."<sup>24</sup> That, presumably, is "synergism."

As on the one hand Masaryk revolted against the strict historical materialism of the Marxists, so on the other he protested against making a fetish of modern science in the fashion of those who saw in history the evolution of cellular organisms. "The cult of science," he said, "by reason of its one-sided positivism has become more than a cult; it is sheer idolatry."<sup>25</sup> And again. "It cannot be disputed that natural science is helpful, indeed necessary, for the philosophical sociologist. But on the other hand, it cannot be too often emphasised that there is a

danger of confusing sociology with zoology and natural history. Social and historical laws, the laws of social organisation and development must be established by a strict study of human society and human history themselves, zoology, botany, biology, even cosmology and so forth may give to sociology much instruction and many hints, but that is all. Natural science, at the most, provides sociology with analogies, but it proves absolutely nothing."<sup>26</sup> "Society is not an organism, but a *collectivum sui generis*."<sup>27</sup> "There is no such thing as a collective consciousness, there are only individual consciences."<sup>28</sup> In another place Masaryk says:—"This conception of society as an organism is anthropomorphic in a high degree. It is a mythical habit of thought which Marx and Engels get from Hegel. The organic assumption usually leads sociologists to make the mistake of using analogies with individual organisms for an unwarranted simplification of sociological and political problems. This is the error of all organicists, beginning with Plato, down to Spencer and Marx."<sup>29</sup>

Marx had constructed a scientific philosophy of history on the analogy of the physical, mechanical, geological science of Marx's youth; since then the biological sciences had been brought to the forefront by the work of Darwin, Schwann and Wallace. Masaryk is scornful of Engel's attempt to spatchcock evolutionary concepts into the Marxist system. He says: "Modern evolutionism, even Darwinism, are irreconcilable with Hegel's teaching, Darwinism cannot be reconciled with Marx's teaching. Marx and Engels did not perceive that evolution is in opposition to their dialectic and historical materialism."<sup>30</sup> Masaryk says that he believes in evolution, but not in Darwinism; that means presumably that he regards the human race as having evolved from a lower to a higher state, but he rejects the doctrine that that evolution has been accomplished solely by the principle of the survival of the fittest. Masaryk has as little use for the philosophy of the war of every man against every man as he has for the philosophy of the class war.

Confessing himself a determinist and evolutionist, Masaryk could not but believe that in some measure the past gives us a guide to the future, nor could he help believing in progress. Again I quote from the *Otázka Sociální*—"The demand that socialists should give a picture of the future is quite justified, it applies also to non-socialists, and in general to all who study society historically. Grillparzer in one of his epigrams smiles at our latest historians who write the history of the future; but in fact the ability to write future history is the peculiar criterion of true historical knowledge. In this sense it may still be said that history is *vitaæ magistra*."<sup>31</sup> He continues. "Faith in progress and the exposition of history as development and completion leads necessarily to the determination of the future, to a foresight of that which will develop from the known past. This foresight comes from the determinism of development; it is the conclusion from the premises of the past; it is strictly scientific prophecy. But we must not wander off into the thirtieth

century ; we will be content to lift a corner of the curtain that veils the next few years." <sup>32</sup> But a little later he adds a characteristic warning : "History, if it is exact, enables us in some, but always in a limited measure, to foresee, but it does not enable me to determine what in a given case I ought to do or not to do. Foresight is not action. Action springs from the will ; not only from knowledge." <sup>33</sup> Again Masaryk's intellectual determinism is in conflict with his ethical voluntarism.

Even as late as 1925 Masaryk was still talking about the moral and philosophical crisis of his generation, as he had done thirty years before. But he never lost his fundamental faith in progress. He will have nothing to do with circular or cyclic theories of history, whether they be Platonic or Marxist. He visits Engels's doctrine of a primitive communistic society from which civilization has aberrated and towards which it will catastrophically return with trenchant and detailed obloquy. Despite occasional and local periods of decadence, mankind has gradually risen from the savage, "whose only communism was the communism of those who have nothing," to his present position of civilization, which, despite war, oppression and vice, he believed in 1925 at least, to be bright with hope for the future.

But if Masaryk rejects the Marxist philosophy of history, and refuses to accept what he calls the "hocus pocus" of dialectical materialism, what does he offer in its place ? If he rejects economic forces, "conditions of production," as the *primum mobile* of the historic process, what does he suggest as the alternative ?

The problem of *triebkraft, ženoucí síla, vis motrix* is fundamental to any philosopher of history who believes in something more than an unrelated succession of events. Masaryk begins his answer to it by saying : "The principles of exposition adopted by historians may be unificatory, but they are not simple. This is true of those who, for example, see the unique explanations of history in 'religion' ; it is true of Ranke's 'ideas,' and of Buckle's 'reason,' of the 'egoism' of others ; it is also true of 'economic conditions.' All these theories have this in common, that they see one chief, or indeed, a single social motive force whereby historical development can be explained. But in fact none of these motive forces is simple. For example, if it is said that reason is the unique cause of historical movement, it is nevertheless necessary to compare and evaluate accurately the intellectual activities of varied origin that are to be found in science, in art, in technique, and so forth. Similarly, religion, the state, and also economic conditions, are complex historical and social activators, and, too, Marx's 'conditions of production' are a synthesis of different and varied forces. The explanation of social phenomena cannot be as simple as that of mechanical operations ; the sociologist in particular must not be afraid of very complex formulas ; the number and complication of causes and effects in the sphere of social life is great." <sup>34</sup> Masaryk in one place enumerates the more important of the motive forces of the historical process : cosmic

and tellurial forces; biological forces, especially those that regulate the growth of population; division of labour; natural sympathy, personal properties; belief in fate or belief in God.<sup>35</sup> And scattered throughout Masaryk's writings are passages which indicate that he ascribed a primary effective part to human kindness, to kinship, to political momenta, to reason, emotion and will.<sup>36</sup> Masaryk considers art to be no less an efficient historical cause than economic production. "Byron alone," he says, "did more for the political emancipation of the nations than hundreds of secret societies."<sup>37</sup> And again "Not only literature, but music and the representative arts have a powerful educative and cultural influence. Plato knew that, as can be seen from his exposition of the place of art in his *Republic*. Not merely among the Greeks, but also to-day poets and artists are the creators of gods and the dogmatic oracles of the nations."<sup>38</sup> Marx and Engels erred, says Masaryk, in ascribing all human action to greed and love of power, joy in service can be equally powerful. "Perhaps everybody would like to be a small Napoleon, but normal men like equally to obey, and they obey gladly."<sup>39</sup> Masaryk refuses to arrange these manifold and complicated moving forces in any hierarchy of logical or causal precedence, nor does he agree that any one of them is supreme; he rejects utterly Engel's thesis of a *Triebkraft der Triebkräfte*, a *motor motorum*, or supreme historic cause. Even more emphatically does he reject instinct, the revolutionary instinct or the ambitious instinct or what not, as an historical motive force. He says: "The revolutionary instinct? I have very little respect for such instincts, very little use for instincts at all, for they probably don't exist. . . . If revolutionary instinct is the moral justification of the claim to equality, then the ambitious instinct would be a justification not only of Napoleon I but also of Napoleon III, and, by the same argument, of capitalism. Instinct would justify Nietzsche and all aristocrats without distinction. Instinct—that is moral chaos."<sup>40</sup>

Masaryk refuses to simplify the historical process into either a Marxist class war or a Darwinian jungle conflict of every man against his neighbour. All war is not class war, nor is all economic conflict, war. "The French Revolution," he says, "had its parents not only in the Physiocrats, but also in Pascal and the Jansenists, in philosophers and politicians. Misery was indeed a very powerful cause of the French Revolution, but not its only or even its strongest cause. Modern revolutionism exists not only in the proletariat, but also in all classes, and it has its origin in discontent with the religious, ecclesiastical, philosophical, political, and social, as well as with the economic régime."<sup>41</sup> Masaryk maintains that the class structure is not nearly as simple as Engels would have it, and that factors other than economic are determinative of class; nor is all vice to be found in the capitalists and all virtue in the proletariat. Anyhow, he asks, why is a class system as such morally wrong?<sup>42</sup>

But this is all negative criticism. What was Masaryk's own positive theory of the nature of the historical process? It is difficult to say

concisely, just because he so stoutly rejected the temptation to oversimplification. But out of the critical arguments of the *Otázka Sociální* and *Rusko a Evropa* a positive and concrete, even if not systematic, philosophy of history emerges. Using his own words as far as possible I would summarise it thus:

There is no objective dialectical process in history, and no dialectical opposition in things themselves.<sup>43</sup> In history, as in nature, there is a process of gradual development, a process which is not catastrophic;<sup>44</sup> violent revolutions more often have retarded than advanced the development of society. This development is driven by a great variety of motive forces. That which develops is not things but conscious man;<sup>45</sup> even economic development proceeds from subjective motives, from human needs. Once you abstract consciousness from science and philosophy, you destroy science and philosophy altogether, and with them economic science and also economic materialism.<sup>46</sup> There are indeed catastrophes in history, but catastrophes have not the epochal and universal importance which Marx ascribes to them, nor are they all merely economic. We to-day more rightly appreciate the fullness of social development, and posit an infinite number of infinitesimal modifications by means of which development, and in the long run, progress, are realised.<sup>47</sup> There must be some metaphysical basis of this development, and because it is the development of human beings, that basis cannot be materialism, and because it is a progressive development the metaphysical basis cannot be atheism. Despite all his professed dislike of antiquated teleological theories, Masaryk confesses that he cannot subscribe to a doctrine of absolute accidents.<sup>48</sup>

If history is the story of the development and progress of man, it must therefore be the story of the development and the progress of minds, of ideas. Masaryk is first and last an idealist, both in the political and philosophical sense of the word. His whole approach in his historical writings is that of a man who believes that ultimately thought is the only real and the only creator. That can be seen from the way he approached Russian history in his monumental *Rusko a Evropa*. How the concatenation of thought from generation to generation works he tells us in *Otázka Sociální*. Every thinker and worker is psychologically linked with his predecessors and hands on his ideas and the results of his work to other thinkers. That is the rational thread of history. But the work of one generation is not merely a continuation of that which has already developed, for progress is not mere summation. Every man who thinks critically collates what his predecessors have bequeathed to him with what he can add thereto, he criticises, selects, makes a synthesis and transforms what he has selected, welding it into a whole in the furnace of his own spirit. Progress is not achieved merely by the adding up of given units; progress is not to be found in eclecticism and syncretism, but in organically creative synthesis—that is the only way that new ideas and deeds can grow out of the old. History is not only our logical

laboratory ; it is also the scene of action of our feelings and strivings. In history our desire and longing for achievement are realised.<sup>49</sup>

Since history is the history of thought it is the history of individual men and women, for masses and classes, states and nations cannot think ; only the individual has a mind. And because of the inevitable inequality of men, history is largely made by individuals who are eminent in virtue, courage, genius or assiduity, not solely by mobs and masses.<sup>50</sup> To emphasise the individual's part in history is not to ascribe all human action to egoism, for individualism and egoism are not synonymous ; there is not only antagonism between the individual and society, they also have common interests in well-being.<sup>51</sup>

Masaryk further assumes that because history is the history of thinking individuals it must have an ethical basis. One feels on reading his critique of Marxism that the most damning fault of Marxism in Masaryk's eyes is its positivist amorality, its attempt to eliminate right and wrong and the moral purpose from history.<sup>52</sup> Masaryk's ethics is based on the observed fact that we make moral judgments (as indeed do Marx and Engels themselves) ; everyone engaged in politics, and in political economy, makes moral judgments, for his aims are determined ethically. Ethics is as necessary to action as logic is to thinking. Socialist planning, any planning, makes ethical assumptions.<sup>53</sup> The problem of revolution is not one of social dynamics but the ethical problem of the morality of force and violence.<sup>54</sup> The State has an ethical basis, its purposes are ethical and cultural, as well as economic,<sup>55</sup> if the nation has any absolute rights, they are based on ethics ;<sup>56</sup> religion too is concerned with the relations of man to man as well as with the relations of man to God.<sup>57</sup> Even socialism and communism are and must be based on ethics. "Why," says Masaryk, "are Marx and Engels against capitalist exploitation? Merely because the capitalist system is economically unsound? Or because it is wrong, because it offends the feelings of humanity? If capitalism was merely unsound economically Marx would probably never have written *Das Kapital*. If capitalism, as Marx admits, was economically better than the earlier system—*why* must we change it for a communist system? *Why* must we strive for equality? *Why* and by what right must we accept communism? Merely because the Communist Manifesto threatens the 'rebels'? Why are they rebels? Unless we have some internal argument for equality, springing from our own souls, then Marx will only be able to oppose capitalistic violence with communistic violence—whence then is to come that kingdom of liberty which Engels so exaltedly offers us? From violence and still more violence?"<sup>58</sup> The fact of conscience, the sense of a moral imperative cannot be explained away by Engels's doctrine of a morality relative to the economic conditions which create it.<sup>59</sup>

Masaryk sees in the historical process not only a great moral drama, but also the necessary counterpart of morality, religion—religion, not theology. Masaryk disliked theology and ecclesiasticism with all the



fervour of the rationalist radicalism of the nineties. But yet he clung to what he called "religion" with almost desperate zeal, and nothing is so amorphous and evasive as religion without theology or a church. Of religion's part in human history Masaryk has no doubt; he knows its strength in primitive societies; <sup>60</sup> he sees the basis of many of the differences between the nations not in mystical national characteristics, but in the different ethos of Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox; he exaggerates the influence of the Protestant reformation; he believes that to-day religion still plays a great part, and that it will continue to do so. He says: "Goethe and Kant saw better and further than Marx. Leaving aside the impossibility of materialism in general, it is *a priori* most unlikely that religion, which has hitherto played so great a rôle, should just cease to be and be replaced by positivist science; every analogy makes it more probable, even from the evolutionist point of view, which Marx and Engels profess, that out of the present religious crisis will come a further and higher development of religion." <sup>61</sup>

I find it one of the weaknesses of Masaryk's teaching that, though he always insists on the importance of religion, he never tells us what his religion is. An admiration of Jesus and a somewhat vague belief in Providence seem to be the substance of his theology. To him religion is primarily ethical and practical. In as far as it affects his view of history it appears in his faith that the two superior moving forces in history have been and will be work and love. I quote two memorable passages to conclude this lecture: "Work, real work, is small jobs, everyday work. Just as every science is built upon everyday phenomena so the real worker is he who knows how to do detailed, everyday essential work, and who does it willingly. . . . The so-called great deeds, heroic actions, heroic revolutions are greater in idea than in fact. Utopia comes by patient labour. . . . The heroes of the future will declare themselves by care for that which interests no one, by doing what is tedious and humdrum. Hitherto there have been few such; people would rather sacrifice their lives than work. Great epochs are not made in a moment; history, no more than nature, proceeds by leaps. Revolutionary changes, though they appear to happen suddenly, have been long prepared in obscurity. . . . On the one side is lack of method and order, the occasional appearance of what is called genius, Bohemian disorderliness, excitement, nervous agitation; on the other, certainty of aim, clear thinking, beauty and purity of life and deed, and actual activity; not fantasy, but poetry; not muscularity but strength." <sup>62</sup>

But to praise work for work's sake, says Masaryk, is to make a fetish of labour, as Marx did. Work must be for an object ethically determined, and the ultimate ethical determinant, of politics as well as history, is love. "Love," he says, "which is effective, active; not sentimentality or philandering; muscular Christianity—as the Yankees say. True love is persevering, constant, considerate. It does not suffice that I should feel pity merely when some wretch comes into sight momentarily to

trouble my complacency. True love will never know peace and contentment while physical and moral misery exist. Love means to work continuously and with open eyes against misery, even when we don't directly see it, since it is mere sentimental egoism to be stirred up to moral indignation only once in a Hungarian month. Occasional benevolence is not love. . . . Love does not ask for martyrs . . . for love is mutual and demands no sacrifices . . . Long ago Havlíček said: "In the past men have died for their country, for the well-being of their nation—but we to-day for the same cause will live and work." <sup>63</sup>

Such in summary form is what I believe to be Masaryk's philosophy of history. With much of it I cannot agree. I believe he failed to appreciate the fundamental strength of the Marxist argument and the potency of Marxist politics. But what I believe is not to the point. Whether Masaryk was right or wrong in this argument or that cannot take away from his eminence nor derogate the greatness of his influence. His teaching and work became the basis of social democracy and modern liberalism in his own country and profoundly affected political thought and practice in the whole of Europe. None will deny, be he Marxist or agnostic, Czechoslovak or Englishman, that that influence, the influence of Masaryk's work and love for humanity, has been for good.

<sup>1</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *Světová Revoluce*, Praha, 1925, pp. 105-06. Translated by Cedar Paul, *The Making of a Nation*, London, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> *The Making of a Nation*, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> T. G. Masaryk, *Otázka Sociální*, ed. V. K. Škrach, Praha, 1946, II, 360.

<sup>4</sup> *Otázka Sociální*. Two volumes. Here quoted from the edition of 1946.

<sup>5</sup> *Otázka Sociální*, I, 178.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 181.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 179.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 180.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 103.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 311.

<sup>11</sup> *The Making of a Nation*, p. 291.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288.

<sup>13</sup> *Otázka Sociální*, I, 308.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 195.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 196.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 161.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 182.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 162.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 163.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 196-97.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 309.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 306.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 199.

<sup>24</sup> *The Making of a Nation*, p. 289.

<sup>25</sup> *Otázka Sociální*, I, 113.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 108.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 285, n. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 249.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 251.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 70-71.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 290-91.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 291.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 298-99.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 197-98.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 199-200.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 237, II, 33, 101, 133. Cf. *The Spirit of Russia*, I, 210.

<sup>37</sup> *Otázka Sociální*, II, 242.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 249.

<sup>39</sup> *The Making of a Nation*, p. 296.

<sup>40</sup> *Otázka Sociální*, II, 142.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 236.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 228-30, 381; II, 142.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 69.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 388.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 203.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 203.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 277.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 288-89.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 303.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 257-58.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 226.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 156.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 300-01.

<sup>54</sup> *The Making of a Nation*, p. 200.

<sup>55</sup> *Otázka Sociální*, II, 124.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 160.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 189-90.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 222.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 219-22.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 57.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 192.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 304-05.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 231-32.

# NICHOLAS IORGA

## I

SEVEN years ago Roumania's greatest historian and intellectual leader, Nicholas Iorga, was taken from his house in Sinaia, tortured and brutally murdered. The date was 27 November, 1940. He had witnessed, in the last months of his life, the death of the Europe which he knew and the break-up of the Greater Roumania which he himself had done so much to create. Roumania, caught between the two continental giants with no hope of help from the West, was compelled to capitulate first to Stalin, sacrificing Bessarabia and part of Bukovina, and then to Hitler. Roumania gave up northern Transylvania to Hungary, southern Dobruja to Bulgaria, and finally gave up its independence to Nazi Germany. King Carol, whose "realistic" policies saved neither his country nor his throne, gave way to Antonescu, and with Antonescu came the Iron Guard.

The Iron Guard lived by terror. Its leaders were terrorists by conviction, faithful disciples of their Nazi masters. Its rank and file included many half-educated youths who saw no future in those troubled times other than in what was to be attained by violence. In an orgy of killing, a reversion to the darker periods of Roumania's past with the added refinements of 20th-century gangster methods, the Iron Guard struck down the men who represented in their eyes the hated régime of Carol under which they had been persecuted, and others who were more than that, who were symbols of a European civilization which the Nazis and their allies were bent on destroying. Among these was Nicholas Iorga.

In those blackest days of the war, days of defeat in France and of a desperate fight for life on the part of England, Iorga's death passed almost unnoticed in the West. Mario Roques paid a moving tribute to him at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris. *Émigré* European scholars in America honoured him at a ceremony held in New York in 1941. But a tribute from the English-speaking world is long overdue. He was much less at home in England and America than on the Continent, although he prided himself on his knowledge of the English language, which often took on rather bizarre forms when he spoke it. "En Europe tout le monde me connaît," he is reported to have remarked, with characteristic egotism, on one occasion when he was recognised by fellow-passengers on the Orient Express. In England and in America he

was less well known ; and then more often as an extraordinary Balkan phenomenon, as he himself discovered on his American tour in 1930, than as the man of genius that he was. Certainly those English and American scholars who have concerned themselves with the history and culture of Roumania and of south-eastern Europe are everlastingly in his debt. No man, to my knowledge, has made a comparable contribution. It is perhaps presumptuous for an American, or for any single individual of any nationality, to attempt to review Iorga's work as an historian and to estimate his place in the history of Roumania and of Europe. This attempt is undertaken in a spirit of humility. Professor Seton-Watson, in his preface to Iorga's *History of Anglo-Roumanian Relations*, expressed the feeling that "any preface to the work of Professor Iorga is entirely superfluous." His achievements speak for themselves. It is in that sense superfluous, but not unfitting, to remind ourselves of the greatness of his work now that it is finished.<sup>1</sup>

## II

Iorga was an historian, a journalist, an editor, a literary critic, an educator, and a statesman. He even tried his hand at poetry and the drama, with indifferent success it must be admitted. For a period of half a century he spoke and wrote on hundreds of issues, historical and current. Rarely did he fail to be original, profound, and sincere to the point of passionate belief. As a political party leader he had few followers, but all over the country his views were listened to with respect. In the latter part of his life he was able to draw upon unequalled knowledge and experience. His Olympian pronouncements, and his foibles as well, were a part of the national tradition. Even before his death Iorga had become a legend.

It would be folly to attempt to reconcile with each other his many ideas, theories, programmes and statements. During his long career the times changed and he himself changed. As an eminent Roumanian journalist, Tudor Teodorescu-Braniște, pointed out in a recent article, he was too great a personality to be subject to any simple method of classification or to ordinary canons of criticism. "A towering figure of lights and shadows, of lofty summits and unfathomable depths, he must be taken in his entirety for what he was : a great romantic, a deep sentimentalist, himself inspired and an inspiration to others, eternally thirsting for what he felt to be right

<sup>1</sup> I should like here to express my thanks to Dr A. Golopenția of Bucharest and to Dr Emil Turdeanu of Paris for their help in obtaining recent material on Iorga which has appeared in Roumania since his death.

and just . . . incessantly seeking perfection." His temperament coloured his history and his politics. It gave him great qualities, and notable weaknesses, as an historian. It was in large measure responsible for his failure as a politician, but that failure was matched by extraordinary success as a moral and intellectual leader of his nation in times of crisis.

From the time when he delivered his inaugural lecture on "the present concept of history and its origin" on taking the chair of universal history at the University of Bucharest in 1894, at the age of twenty-three, Iorga was Roumania's teacher. From the time when he began, at the turn of the century, to write for *L'indépendance roumaine* and *Epoca*, he was his country's foremost political publicist. With the appearance of his literary periodical, *Sămănătorul*, in 1903, he assumed a leading rôle in the cultural life of the nation. Until his death he continued to occupy his chair at the university, serving for many years as its rector also. From 1906 to 1940, with very few gaps, he wrote his daily article for his own newspaper, *Neamul Românesc*. Iorga was never at a loss for ideas, all of which appear to have found their way into print. He never stopped thinking and he never stopped writing. Wherever he was, wherever he went, he read, wrote, or dictated to his secretary or his companions. He could dash off several articles while on the train between Bucharest and Vălenii-de-Munte, or a five-act historical drama on a longer trip. In quantity of output he had no competitors. What newspaper reporter or hack novelist in any country has produced as many words and pages as Iorga? And his are pages of scholarly history, biography, world affairs, political theory and the practice of politics, literary criticism, poetry and drama. The "production" statistics are scarcely credible. Barbu Theodorescu, who devoted several years to the task of merely listing Iorga's works, gives us the following totals, up to the end of 1934: 1,003 books, 12,755 articles, and 4,693 book reviews. Theodorescu, who lists these titles in two ample volumes,<sup>2</sup> remarks that he had to leave out some 100 articles in foreign periodicals which he was unable to consult. There were, moreover, six more years of Iorga's life, years of fruitful activity in which, without interrupting the flow of articles and reviews, he produced his master work, a ten-volume history of the Roumanian people. During the course of his career he found time to write

<sup>2</sup> Barbu Theodorescu, *Bibliografia istorică și literară a lui N. Iorga* (Bucharest, 1935) and *Bibliografia politică, socială și economică a lui N. Iorga* (Bucharest, 1937). Iorga's later works are listed by Aurelian Sacerdoteanu in *Revista Arhivelor*, Bucharest, IV, 1941, pp. 410-37. Theodorescu, in 1941, estimated the final totals at 1,200 books and 23,000 articles and reviews.

thirty plays, many of which were produced at the National Theatre in Bucharest ; some were translated into Italian. His first poems were published in 1890, when he was nineteen years of age, and he continued to write and publish poetry through wars and crises, through periods of intense scholarly activity, during his tenure of office as Prime Minister, and up to the very day of his death.

### III

Iorga's early years as a student and young professor were spent in the most avid devotion to learning. While abroad, studying for his advanced degrees at Paris and Leipzig, he lived in libraries and archives. In Bucharest his house was piled high with books whose contents, according to the legend, he was able to absorb by glancing at one page out of every four, not having the time to cut the pages. But Iorga had too much energy and too much interest in the contemporary scene to spend his whole life in the seclusion of classroom, library and study. He threw himself into the fight for causes in which he believed.

Two great issues faced the Roumanian people at that time : national unity and the social problem of the land and the peasant. To Iorga, whose career covered the high tide of nationalism in south-eastern Europe, these were two aspects of one great issue, the struggle of the Roumanian nation to achieve its destiny. It was the same romantic nationalism which had inspired Mazzini, Michelet, and the men of 1848 all over Europe. Iorga added little, by way of doctrine, to what men like Bălcescu and Kogălniceanu, both historians, had preached fifty years before. He was a far better trained historian than they had been, but he remained untouched by the materialism which had so extensively penetrated political and social thought since their day. Iorga had the organic concept of history. A nation's past, he felt, could not be described mechanically as a series of events ; it was an unending struggle to preserve and develop the national character, the national language, national ideals and values. He saw that struggle as still going on, approaching a climax. He felt compelled to take part in it. The ideal, as he envisaged it, was a united national state with a common culture based on the experience of past generations. He placed particular emphasis on the experience of the peasants, who, by their work, their sufferings, and their tenacity, had preserved for the nation its language and its ancestral lands. In the innermost recesses of the peasant mass was the " soul " of the Roumanian nation of which Iorga often spoke so eloquently. " A nation is not a piece of terri-

tory," he wrote later in life, "nor a state, nor an economic necessity, nor a creation of treaties . . . but a soul, . . . an elemental, almost mystic thing."<sup>3</sup>

Iorga was active throughout the 1890's in the Liga Culturală, a society which interested itself in the "brothers beyond the borders," the Roumanians of Transylvania, the Banat, Bessarabia and Bukovina. Later he became its moving spirit. Most of the League's activities were of a cultural nature, some were political and even conspiratorial; their effect was to encourage separatist movements among the Roumanians of the neighbouring states, especially Hungáry. Iorga himself travelled extensively in the "unredeemed provinces," returning to write books on the history and culture of their Roumanian inhabitants. He is credited with having done much to keep alive the question of Bessarabia, where a century of Russian rule and the recent measures of Russification had had a telling effect. Another venture was his "popular university" at Văleni-de-Munte, where every summer Roumanian students and intellectual leaders from in and outside the country gathered to exchange ideas.

His campaign for strengthening the national consciousness of all Roumanians led Iorga directly into new literary and political controversies. He founded a review, *Sămănătorul*, later replaced by *Floarea Darurilor* and *Neamul Românesc Literar*, to carry on the fight for his concept of national culture and to oppose what he called the slavish imitation of French literature. This was a controversy which had been going on since the Roumanian upper class first began to succumb to French influences nearly one hundred years before. But none had entered into the lists to slay the French dragon so ardently as Iorga. His students rioted in the streets of Bucharest and occupied the National Theatre to prevent the showing of French plays and thus to defend "the language, literature and highest interests of the Roumanian people."

While Iorga's new nationalism led him often into tilts with literary windmills, it brought him also face to face with the country's most serious and pressing social and political problems. At the time of the great peasant revolt of 1907, which was put down with the greatest brutality by General Averescu and the army, Iorga's was a solitary voice speaking in defence of the peasants. He was no revolutionary. Nor did he have a broad understanding of economic and social forces in history and of the development of the

<sup>3</sup> Iorga, *Rumanische Seele*, in Ernst Gamillscheg (ed.), *Vom Leben und Wirken der Romanen*, Rumanische Reihe, Heft 1 (Jena and Leipzig, 1933), p. 3

agrarian problem in Roumania. But the peasantry, he felt, not the westernised upper class, was the backbone of the nation. Ignorant, despised, robbed and ground down for centuries, the peasants were driven by circumstances to revolt. Iorga had the courage to say so. His approach to the peasant problem, after the stifling of the revolt, was the following: the government should treat the peasant with understanding, gratitude and sympathy; through education it should give him light and thus prepare him for the political rôle which he would be called upon to play; when the time came, it should say to him, "Here is your country, it is yours to govern." It was characteristic of Iorga that he saw the problem as a moral one and proposed its solution through sympathy and education; that he saw cultural solidarity as the key to the appeasement of strife between classes.

A third guiding thread in Iorga's thought, in addition to his nationalism and his cult of the peasant, was his sense of identity with the wider cultural traditions of Europe. He made much of Roumania's "Latinity" without carrying it, like certain other Roumanian historians, to absurd lengths. Roumania, in his view, was not just a backward Balkan state (indeed, he devoted a book and several articles to proving the proposition that it was not a Balkan state at all), but was throughout history a part of the civilised Mediterranean world. In his historical writing he stressed "the seal of Rome" on the peoples of the lower Danube and the Balkan Peninsula, and "Byzance après Byzance," the heritage of Mediterranean, Christian civilization which lived on, especially in the Danubian principalities, after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. His full-length history was not merely the history of the Roumanians but also of "la romanité orientale." The Roumanian nation was the guardian of these traditions, just as ancient Dacia was the outpost of civilisation on the edge of the barbarian world.

France and Italy were at the centre of Iorga's civilised world. He felt deeply attached to France despite his intensive campaign against the pseudo-French culture of the Roumanian upper class. Paris was to him a second home. After the first World War he lectured every year at the Sorbonne or at the Collège de France. He founded, at that time, the École Roumaine en France at Fontenay-aux-Roses, just south of Paris, and sent there each year the most promising young Roumanian scholars. For Italy also Iorga had a profound attachment, so profound in fact that he could not help admiring Mussolini as a new Cæsar and glorying in the civilising mission of the modern Roman legions in Ethiopia, even



though Iorga himself did not swallow Fascism with all its works and was disturbed, to put it mildly, by the new Cæsar's support of Hungarian revisionism.

Iorga was not blindly or consistently anti-German. He had studied in Germany and found much to admire in German thought and German methods. But when war came to Europe in 1914 he did not hesitate a moment in taking the side of France. He began immediately to write and speak against Germany and against the Roumanian government's policy of neutrality. Only through the defeat of the central powers could Roumania hope to win Transylvania. Iorga thus had strong nationalistic motives for his position. He also had other motives. To him Germany, in this war, represented the forces of darkness and barbarism. "France cannot perish," he wrote on 27 July, 1914. "That would be a moral catastrophe for all mankind."

#### IV

Active though he was in every form of intellectual and political activity, Iorga's fame rests primarily on his work in the field of history. Much of his attention was given to what the Roumanians like to call "universal history." It is a measure of his stature that, strong and often narrow nationalist that he was, he did not confine his teaching and writing to Roumanian history alone or to defending the national cause before world opinion. His was a wider vision. In his teaching at the University of Bucharest and at his own Institute of Universal History he gave two generations of Roumanian students a sense of the sweep of world history. He wrote both monographs and general works on mediæval Europe, on the Byzantine empire, on Ottoman and on general Balkan history. Most of these were written in Western languages and won recognition outside Roumania. His *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle* (Bucharest, 1899-1916) came out in six volumes, his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Gotha, 1908-1913) in five. His history of the Byzantine empire, which was translated and published in England in 1907, he later expanded into a three-volume *Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest, 1934), then added two more volumes of *Études byzantines* (Bucharest, 1939). He also produced an *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité* (Paris, 1926-1928) in four volumes, a bold attempt to write "universal history."

With such quantity the quality could hardly be expected to be uniformly high. The specialists have pointed out some of the weak spots. There are errors of fact and dubious interpretations. The

astonishing thing is that he could write so much on such a variety of subjects without forsaking the discipline of the historian. Iorga had good, solid training in the school of Leopold von Ranke, whom he tried to emulate. His teacher at Leipzig was Karl Lamprecht. He knew languages and he knew his source material. Even his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, which neglects primary Turkish sources, stood for years as a standard work. He based it chiefly on the earlier classic accounts of Hammer and Zinkeisen and added a great deal as the result of his own researches and his wide knowledge of the history of the Christian peoples of the Balkans.

Iorga was one of the few Balkan historians who were also historians of the Balkans. His concern with neighbouring nations was not limited to attempts to disprove historic claims to this or that bit of disputed territory. He did a good deal of that, engaging in jousts with his fellow-historians of Hungary and Bulgaria, but also, through his study of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires, he had an understanding of the many factors common to all the nations of the Balkans. His *Histoire des états balcaniques jusqu'à 1924* (Paris, 1925) has something of this approach. Even more stimulating are some of his shorter studies: on the common character of Balkan institutions, on the origin of the idea of independence in the Balkans, on the influence of the French Revolution in south-eastern Europe. Unfortunately he never carried on to make a really competent general study of the development of the Balkan nations. He was not at his best in handling Slavic materials. That is one of the big gaps in his work, and a rather important one since Roumania was all but surrounded by Slavic peoples.

Following his habit of establishing "institutes" for study in fields in which he was interested, he founded a South-Eastern European Institute in 1913 and began publishing a review, in French, devoted to Balkan history. Like so many of his ventures, the institute was Iorga himself. He wrote most of the articles and practically all the book reviews. Although its standards were kept high, the review never attracted the scholars of other Balkan nations, as the later *Revue Internationale des Études Balkaniques* of Belgrade succeeded in doing. Collaboration with Iorga was apt to be neither easy nor pleasant unless the collaborator was prepared to be dominated.

In view of the vast quantity of writing he did on wider historical subjects, the magnitude of his contributions in the field of Roumanian history is all the more astounding. There is not a dark corner anywhere in the Roumanian past that has not been visited by Iorga

in his search for documents and other evidence. In the early years of his career he devoted his great energy to the collection of source material. He went everywhere, to churches and monasteries, cities and towns, public and family archives; he sought out material on Roumanian history in the archives of Paris, Rome, Genoa, Venice, Vienna, Kronstadt, and many other cities. He collected the writings of travellers of many nationalities who had visited the lands inhabited by Roumanians. His monumental documentary collections, carefully edited, provided a basis for a scientific history of the Roumanians that had not existed before. Among them were the thirty-one volumes of *Studii și Documente cu privire la Istoria Românilor*, three volumes of *Acte și fragmente cu privire la Istoria Românilor*, and seven volumes in the important Hurmuzaki collection.

With this material in hand Iorga began to turn out monographs in profusion on all aspects and all periods of Roumanian history. He was primarily a political historian, but covered many other aspects in pursuit of his aim of picturing the whole living past of the nation. His work included histories of Roumanian commerce, of industry, of the press, of education, of the army, of the church, of Roumanian law, of individual families and of several cities including Bucharest. One volume after another on the history of Roumanian literature flowed from his pen, two on the 18th century, three on the 19th, and then two more on contemporary literature. He founded an historical review, *Revista Istorică*, in 1914, and filled each issue with his own articles. He directed the historical section of the Roumanian Academy, which published many of his scholarly monographs.

All this activity was preparation and background for his major works of synthesis on the history of the Roumanian people. The first of these was written as part of the Lamprecht series, *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*. Entitled *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes in Rahmen seiner Staatsbildungen*, it was published in Gotha in 1905. Not translated into Roumanian until many years later, this work was little noticed in Roumania but for Western readers became the standard history, supplanting Xenopol's *Histoire des Roumains de la Dacie Trajane*. In it Iorga attempted to trace the history of the nation in the framework of its ethnic unity regardless of "ephemeral" political frontiers, and to avoid mere narration of political and military events. "I have wished first of all to picture the development of the Roumanian people," he wrote in the preface, "not through their great men but as a living being . . . Of the great

men I have written only in so far as they have contributed to that two-thousand-year development. Secondly I have sought to picture that development in connection with the history of neighbouring peoples . . ." In general, Iorga succeeded in the aim set forth in this statement of his approach, although he was not one to minimize the historical rôle of chiefs and princes. An individualist himself, he was always partial to "great men" as a motive force of history.

The *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes* was solidly based on documentary source material so far as such material was available. But it was no lifeless German dissertation. Iorga had something of the historical novelist and the epic poet in him. He saw the Roumanian people's history as a great epic and he could not keep that element out of his history. He did not want to keep it out. In explaining, later in life, his own conception of the historian's task, he insisted first on truth and second on "beauty of presentation." "For myself," he said, "I should have wished a greater poetic talent in order to approach more closely to the truth."<sup>4</sup>

His second general work appeared first in French as *Histoire des Roumains et de leur civilisation* (Paris, 1920) and subsequently in English, Italian, German and Roumanian versions. The English edition was published in London in 1925 as *A History of Roumania; Land, People, Civilisation*. This book was written hastily during the war and for a purpose, to place a brief history of Roumania before readers in Allied countries at a time when vital decisions concerning that nation were being made. It was less scholarly than his earlier history in German and was very sketchy indeed on some periods, the 19th century in particular. Iorga himself did not regard this work highly and did not by any means intend that it should be considered as his definitive history of the Roumanian people. Unfortunately for his reputation, it was read widely and was sharply criticised by younger historians, his own former pupils. He followed it with a more ambitious work in three volumes, *La Place des Roumains dans l'histoire universelle* (Bucharest, 1935-1936), which contained some new material and new ideas but did not quite live up to its title. These books were but stepping stones on the way to the crowning achievement of his historical career, the ten-volume *Istoria Românilor* which he completed one year before his death.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Iorga, *Generalități cu privire la studiile istorice*, 3rd ed (Bucharest, 1944), p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> *Istoria Românilor* (Bucharest, 1936-1939, 10 vols.) The first four volumes appeared in French translation as *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale* (Bucharest, 1937).

Iorga's *Istoria Românilor* is a stupendous work, even though not all of it can be called careful, analytical history. In it he presents the pageant of the history of a nation, the fruit of his long and intimate acquaintance with its past. Stung by his younger colleagues' criticism that he was writing history according to his intuition rather than according to the truth, he filled these volumes with citations and references to source material. Most of the references are to his own works, which is not surprising since in many fields only he had done the necessary spadework. Inaccuracies there are, and even his prodigious memory seems occasionally to have played him false. Iorga's critics were able to trip him up on questions of detail and even to present convincing arguments against some of his conclusions. In its main lines, however, Iorga's *Istoria Românilor* stands as a monument of great historical writing, a fitting culmination of a remarkably productive career.

Towards the end of that career Iorga found himself engaged in bitter controversies with the younger generation of historians, just as he himself many years before had crossed swords with Xenopol, his own teacher, and others of the generation which preceded his. On the whole the younger historians seem to have had the better of the argument. Constantin C. Giurescu's *Istoria Românilor*, of which several volumes have already appeared, bids fair to be a more dependable history than Iorga's. But such a history would never have been possible without the great work of pioneering done by Iorga. He it was, as one of his former critics, Gheorghe Brătianu, pointed out a few years ago, who went into the forest, felled and cleared away the trees by dint of his own unlimited energy, ploughed the land and sowed it, so that others might reap.<sup>6</sup>

Roumanians are inclined to forgive Iorga his use of intuition where the facts were not available, for both his sound interpretations and his doubtful ones redounded to the greater glory of the Roumanian people. Roumanian history was to him a miracle, "not a miracle of fate but our own miracle." The Western reader finds something of that faith in miracles in Iorga's historical writing and can discount it. Without that element he would not have been Iorga. With or without it he was a great historian.

<sup>6</sup> Gheorghe Brătianu, "Nicolae Iorga, istoric al Românilor" (*Nicolae Iorga, trei cuvântări*, Bucharest, 1944), p. 67

## V

In politics Iorga did not attain the peak of eminence that he did as an historian. From his entry into the arena in 1907 he was in the thick of political battles. He founded the National Democratic party in 1908, one year after he was first elected to the Chamber of Deputies. His programme was nationalist in that it was anti-foreign, anti-Semitic, favoured the development of national industries, and urged the maintenance of a big army. It was democratic in that it proposed universal suffrage and increased rights for the peasants. Iorga's closest friend and colleague on the political scene of that time was Professor A. C. Cuza, the notorious theoretician of the anti-Semitic movement. Iorga's party, in those years before the first World War, was insignificant in numbers. He himself was distinguished principally for the energy and enthusiasm with which he defended his pet causes. At the time of the second Balkan War he became a fervent proponent of intervention. Roumania, he said, had to redress the balance in the Balkans. Even more vital, in his opinion, was the need of the Roumanian nation to assert its national spirit, to refurbish the military glories of the past. He went along with the army on its military parade into Bulgaria and rejoiced in Roumania's acquisition of southern Dobruja, which then became sacred "national" territory even though populated by Bulgarians and Turks.

It was in the World War that Iorga took on the stature of a great national leader. Here he was not dealing with votes and parliamentary combinations but preaching a cause. To him this moment was not only the climax of his own lifetime work; it was the climax of centuries of Roumanian history. During the period of neutrality he went up and down the country making fiery speeches to hasten the approach of "the hour for which we have lived our whole life as a nation, for which we have written, worked and fought." Then, in 1916, came Roumania's entry into the war, quickly followed by overwhelming defeat. The army was crushed, the capital and all but a corner of the country occupied. Germany's victories were followed by the collapse of Russia, Roumania's ally. In Jassy, to which king, cabinet and parliament had moved, Iorga was the soul of the resistance. He denounced the politicians who truckled to the Germans. When the treaty of Bucharest was signed, he wrote to King Ferdinand that no treaty could alienate the territory bequeathed to the nation by its ancestors. In his speeches, in his articles in *Neamul Românesc*, which he continued to publish every

day in Jassy, in his personal contacts with the royal family and with political and military leaders, he strove to keep alive the hope of victory in a period of almost universal despair. And somehow he found the time at Jassy to write a series of books on the history of Roumania's relations with the various Allied nations.

The war over, Iorga enjoyed immense prestige in the new Greater Roumania. In 1919 he became president of the first national assembly elected by universal suffrage and thus presided over the inauguration of what was looked on as a new democratic era. But all did not go well in the new Roumania either for democracy or for Iorga's prestige. He himself tells the story of post-war politics with a wealth of detail in his autobiographical writings, which give a fascinating picture of the political scene and an even more fascinating picture of Iorga himself. The politicians, as might be expected, played politics, and politics in Roumania were on a rather low moral level. The grant of the vote to the peasants had not altered the political system. Iorga allied himself temporarily with Maniu's Transylvanian party and with the Peasant party to oppose the dominant Liberals. But he soon became disgusted with the ways of all the parties and party leaders. He deplored the prevailing materialism, the lack of ideals, the shameless dishonesty. His experience in politics, combined with his interpretation of Roumanian history, turned him more and more toward the monarchy as the necessary seat of authority and stability in political life. The combination of political authoritarianism and integral nationalism which Iorga came to represent was, as a matter of political theory, not so very far from fascism, but he rejected the system of absolute dictatorship and the "violence and caprice" of the fascist régimes. For Roumania's local fascists, the Iron Guard, he had nothing but contempt, and they marked him down as an irreconcilable enemy.

One reason for Iorga's disgust with the politics of parliamentary democracy was his righteous indignation at the way Roumanians practised it. Another was his lack of success at playing the game himself. He was a man of integrity, but he was egocentric, irritable, overbearing, and did not tolerate in his circle any independence of thought or character. His was a one-man party which, to wield any influence, had to make temporary combinations with other groups and party leaders. None of these combinations was stable, for Iorga had little respect for other leaders and they considered him unpredictable. He was accused of changing his opinions three times a day. Nicolae Lupu called him the Don Quixote of Roumanian politics. He managed to alienate nearly everybody, including Maniu

whose integrity and patriotism were unquestioned. Titulescu he ridiculed as a man of beautiful speeches but of no substance. To his credit he also alienated his old friend Cuza, who accused him of treason to the cause of anti-Semitism.

In 1931 King Carol named Iorga Prime Minister of Roumania. This was the king's first attempt to rule without the parties through his own favoured politicians and "technicians." The attempt was a failure. Iorga was not fitted for the job of governing the country, and the world economic crisis brought with it problems far too great for any Roumanian government to solve. Iorga's ministry included men like Constantin Argetoianu, an unscrupulous and effective political manager but incompetent as Minister of Finance. Iorga had the idea of purifying the administration; he had also a plan to attack the "moral crisis" by a reform of education. Such plans could not save his ministry from disaster, and the king had to give up the experiment after one year. Bitterly criticised as he left office, Iorga lamented that the new generation, despite his unceasing efforts, had lacked the solidarity necessary to create "a true New Roumania."

Five years later Carol dissolved the political parties and set up a one-party régime. In Iorga's opinion the parties had themselves committed suicide. He supported the king's new programme, although he warned Carol that the crown would need the support of party leaders and could not establish a totalitarian régime.<sup>7</sup> As an ex-Prime Minister he served in the new Cristea government and had a hand in drawing up the new authoritarian constitution with its corporative parliament (an idea which he had advocated since the start of his political career). He appeared, looking somewhat ridiculous, in the sky-blue uniform of Carol's Front of National Rebirth which all servants of the state were required to wear on festive occasions.

Iorga's veneration for the Roumanian monarchy, even with the throne occupied by princelings of an imported German dynasty for whose personal capacities he could hardly have had much respect, is traceable to his political theories and to his personal relationship with Carol, whose tutor he had been, whom he had defended when the young crown prince renounced the throne and took the road to exile, and whose return in 1930 he had heartily welcomed. In a lecture given in 1938 Iorga offered the following opinion: "Here in Roumania it is evident, and it is a good thing, that the nation is drawing closely round the Sovereign. . . . It is not a question of

<sup>7</sup> Iorga, *Memoria*, Vol. VII (Bucharest, 1939), p. 456.



ideology but of concentration of the national will in a great representative figure" <sup>8</sup> The sovereign, however, to meet Iorga's requirements, would have to personify the nation's will in time of crisis, as did Stephen the Great of Moldavia, Michael the Brave, and King Ferdinand, after some hesitation, in 1916. Carol the Second let him down

In the new national crisis, as in that of 1916-1918, Iorga appeared at his best, a man of courage, of integrity and of ideals. When Russia suddenly demanded Bessarabia and northern Bukovina in June of 1940, under threat of force, Iorga alone spoke in the Crown Council in favour of resistance. Carol sided with Tătărescu and the others who counselled acceptance of the ultimatum. Two months later came the Axis powers' Vienna Award, which gave northern Transylvania to Hungary. Had the Roumanians refused to yield, they could not have held out long against Hungary backed by Germany and Italy. Russia might have invaded the country from the east. In the Crown Council the drama of the previous June was repeated. The weight of opinion favoured capitulation, and Carol yielded. For the second time he gave up Roumanian territory without a struggle, and ended his reign in ignominious flight from the country.

Iorga, as he showed in his last years, had a sense of the values at stake in the world struggle. He was concerned, as always, with the interests of his nation, with its "destiny" as he conceived it, but also with the wider issue of freedom. He believed in a mild royal authoritarianism for Roumania but not in the denial of the dignity of the individual or of human liberty. In the European crisis of 1938 he spoke out against the "violence without limit" of the Nazis, against "acts of aggression at which the conscience of the Roumanian people revolts." In the following year he stigmatized as "miserable souls" those Roumanians who were ready to serve the Nazis. When the war began, Roumania was at first neutral. At the Crown Council held on 6 September, 1939, Iorga stated frankly that this was not the policy that he would have wished to follow; but if circumstances did not permit a policy of support to France and England, then at least Roumania's neutrality should not be such as to harm their interests. "The public does not desire war," he said, "but neither does it desire the victory of Germany." Roumania should never base its policy on fear, or yield to force merely because it is force. Such yielding would be a degrading act and a betrayal of all the past and present sacrifices of the nation.

<sup>8</sup> Iorga, *Ce înseamnă astăzi concepția istorică?* (Vălenii-de-Munte, 1939), p. 6

"But alas," he added, "historians write only the history of the past and not that of the future."<sup>9</sup>

Roumania's neutrality did not survive the drastic change in the balance of forces on the continent brought about by Hitler's victories in 1940. These events brought the dark days which Iorga had foreseen, with the entire continent of Europe in the hands of those whom he regarded as the new barbarians. Those barbarians, he knew, had placed his name near the top of the list of those whom they had sworn to liquidate. Neither his seventy years of age, nor his half-century of service to his nation, nor his world renown saved him from his violent and tragic end. His friend and colleague, Mario Roques, paid one of the most eloquent and meaningful tributes to his memory a few days after his death. Iorga's concern with the moral values of history and with the liberty of man, he said, gave to the crime which struck him down a particularly tragic horror, but by the same token his sacrifice became for others, in the present state of the world, a symbol of hope.

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<sup>9</sup> Notes on the Crown Council meeting made available to me through the courtesy of M. Alexandre Cretzianu

## THE NEW SETTLEMENT POLICY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE foundation of the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1919 marked the close of three centuries of subjection of the Czechs and Slovaks by the Habsburg Monarchy—an essentially German domination, transformed since 1867, so far as Slovakia was concerned, into an official tutelage of the Magyars. But Czechoslovakia did not become *ipso facto* a national Slav state. She obtained from the Allies recognition of the natural frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia, and Slovakia's access to the Danube; in short, the endorsement on "geopolitical" lines of the historic limits of the Czech and Slovak lands, which the historians of Bohemia have never ceased to claim throughout the course of the 19th century. At that moment there lived on this territory 3,500,000 Germans, nearly 700,000 Magyars and 550,000 Ukrainians (the latter having been transferred by mandate to the government of Prague and the so-called "Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia"). Only a little more than two-thirds of the population of the Republic was Slav, and the Germans formed nearly a quarter (23%).

For something like a century past Czechs and Germans had been involved in an historical controversy as to whether the Germans could be regarded as no less "autochthonous" than the Czechs, whether they could not even claim historic priority in the Lands of Bohemia, or were, on the contrary, late arrivals on Czech soil. In these discussions the German historians made much of the migrations of the Marcoman tribes into Bohemia in the 2nd century B.C. The Marcomans were perhaps Germans, but they did not strike any deeper root in Bohemia than the Cimbrians and Teutons in Gaul at very nearly the same period. The first peasant settlement occupying the country when the historical epoch begins is a Slav population, and up till the 8th or 9th century the documents reveal no trace of germanic elements. German influence first penetrated in the form of Catholic missionaries sent by the German bishops to counter the efforts of the Orthodox Church to win over the Czechs. But the first real wave of German settlement was due to the initiative of the Czech kings of the Premyslide dynasty, who were led away by the development of the artisan and commercial class in Germany and called in Germans to develop new sources of wealth in these domains (the exploitation of mines,

the building up of an artisan class and urban trade). The newcomers soon aspired to the mastery of the country, but they came up against the national Hussite movement. German influence reappears in the 16th century, when the Crown of Bohemia passed to the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand I, brother of Charles V. The germanisation of the Czech lands provoked a new national reaction, marked by such famous episodes as the Defenestration of Prague and the rally of the Czech nation against the Habsburgs. But the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620 was the grave of Czech hopes.

For three centuries the Germans were to be masters of the Czech lands, and to occupy all the leading positions in the economic and administrative field and in cultural life. They succeeded in creating such confusion by stressing social and political factors above civilisation that they won acceptance even among certain Czech historians for the idea that, if the presence of the Germans was a national misfortune, it had none the less created compensating conditions of technical, economic and cultural progress. The German population of Bohemia and of Moravia-Silesia, which was at one and the same time a numerical minority and a ruling class, developed towards the Czechs a racial contempt which became a manner of thought no longer open to discussion. For the German the Czech language was a patois of the peasantry and "*petites gens*," incapable of becoming a language of literature and culture; and in his view the Czech was only fit to carry out subordinate tasks within the framework of German organisation. The national Czech renaissance, from the '40s onwards and in particular the declarations of the historian Palacky, found the Germans of Bohemia infinitely more hostile and more opposed to political concessions than the Government of Vienna itself. If Pan-Germanism in the Germany of William II and in the Austria-Hungary of Francis Joseph seemed a programme of economic expansion and a policy of prestige inspired by the ruling elements of the two régimes and by business men absorbed in selling on foreign markets, among the Germans of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia it assumed the character of a popular doctrine justifying their daily attitude towards the Czechs and the subjection of the Slavs to Germanism.

The ruin of Austria-Hungary, the defeat of Germany, the creation of national states and in particular of Czechoslovakia, amounted to a profound revolution for the Germans in the Czech lands. None the less, the strict observance of Wilsonian principles in the matter of national rights assured to them conditions of political and cultural life such as they had never dreamt of granting at the time

when they themselves still enjoyed power. The members of the National German minority under the First Czechoslovak Republic received the same civil and political rights as the Czechs and Slovaks. German towns were administered by German municipalities, the Germans freely elected German deputies and could claim seats in the Cabinet on equal terms with the Czechs. After 1925 they were to possess three portfolios. They could become officials, officers and diplomats. They enjoyed every political liberty, including the right of association and assembly, freedom of the press and freedom of speech in the German tongue. In addition to political equality, a special minority statute was granted to them, assuring to each borough in which there were more than thirty children of school age the right to open a German school, and making it possible for them to employ the German language for any form of legal procedure in districts where the Germans represented not less than 20% of the population.

German pride did not fit in with an alignment of German political and cultural values with the Czech. Despite conciliatory efforts on the part of the Czechs and the growth of an "activist" tendency among certain sections of the German population—Christian Socialists, Agrarians, Social Democrats and Communists—the mass of Germans, discreetly worked upon, especially among the youth, by such Pan-Germanist leagues as the Turnverband, inspired by parent societies whose headquarters were in Germany,<sup>1</sup> readily responded to every kind of nationalist and racial propaganda. With the triumph of the National Socialist Party, Germany raised the standard of Pan-Germanism and this was enough to draw away supporters from the Activists. It must also be remembered that certain Germans professed activism for purely opportunist reasons, in order to assure for themselves an inside view of politics and administration and to maintain control of key-points in the financial and industrial machine. In 1935, after an electoral campaign of indubitably Hitlerian type, Konrad Henlein rallied nearly two-thirds of the German vote in defence of German claims. In 1938, when the Nazi character of the Henlein movement (*Sudetendeutsche-partei*) was publicly affirmed, when it was a question of coming out against the very existence of the Czech state, 91.3% of the Germans of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia voted for their "Leader" and placed themselves outside the Czechoslovak state.

During the Munich crisis and the period of the Protectorate,

<sup>1</sup> The most notable of these were the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Auslande*, the *Ausland Institut* in Stuttgart, and the *Bund Deutscher Osten*.

the Germans of the Czech lands faithfully and actively upheld the policy of the Third Reich. They shared in all its acts of violence against the Czech nation. Karl Hermann Frank, the executioner of Lidice, was a Sudeten German, and so were Pfitzner, the German Mayor of Prague, and Henlein himself and the number of German anti-Fascists who effectively fought the Hitler régime and demonstrated their loyalty towards the Czechoslovak state is as insignificant as that of the Germans who, in the course of the First Republic, accepted the idea of marriage with Czechs—in each case about 5%. One cannot therefore be surprised at the unanimity and spontaneity of the popular movement which immediately after the liberation urged that the Germans should be expelled from the reviving national state. The decisions of the Government of the Republic and of the Allies at the Potsdam Conference only served to ratify the popular will. The internal peace of the new Czechoslovakia and of Central Europe implied the departure of the Germans, who never accepted the existence of the Republic. The vitality and courage of the Czechs and Slovaks have given proof of their right to live. It is only logical that the Germans, who had declared that they could only live in a state of their own, should withdraw behind their national frontiers. The decrees signed by President Beneš have left undisturbed inside Czechoslovakia those actually anti-Fascist Germans anxious to remain (the majority of Germans have preferred to pursue their political activities in Germany and have crossed the frontier after selling their property or leaving it in the hands of the administrators), and also mixed families (about 150,000 Germans married to Czechs) and certain specialists and miners. Out of the 2,700,000 Germans who remained on the territory of the Republic at the end of the war (up to 800,000 left in the course of the war or emigrated before the German collapse) a total of 2,400,000 has been transferred to Germany between the autumn of 1945 and the end of October 1946, while 300,000 have been authorised to remain in Czechoslovakia and are receiving citizenship. President Beneš has not concealed his view that this political act, which may be described as a great historical event, involves considerable economic consequences. The departure of almost one-fifth of the population, occupying highly industrialised regions and forming in certain districts nine-tenths of the inhabitants, raises extremely complicated problems, and renders necessary a reorganisation of the population and the economy. It was a crisis which called for, and has actually received, an immediate solution.

## THE REPOPULATION OF THE FRONTIER DISTRICTS

In order to appreciate duly the extent of the problem of repopulation created by the removal of the Germans, it is necessary to indicate briefly the position held by the latter in the First Czechoslovak Republic. Forming small colonies in most of the big towns, they constituted the majority of the population in a certain number of frontier districts, both in Bohemia and in Moravia-Silesia. Contrary to the propagandist assertions of the Third Reich and of the Henlein movement, there never existed a German district in the purely geographical sense of the term. The expression "Sudetenland" is a neologism of geopolitical origin which deliberately created confusion between a geographical reality, namely the existence of the Sudeten Mountains in North-East Bohemia, and an historic and human fact, namely the presence of a series of predominantly German enclaves on the periphery of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia. Of the eight districts the following were the most important: (1) the Egerland, the western angle of Bohemia round Cheb (Eger) and Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), with 841,000 inhabitants; (2) the northern district between the valley of the Labe (Elbe) and the projecting district of Frydlant (Friedland) with the industrial centres of Liberec (Reichenberg) and Jablonce (Gablonz), with 808,000 inhabitants; (3) the north-west of Moravia, the real Sudeten district, with 326,000 inhabitants.

The Germans, who represented in these enclaves three-quarters to nine-tenths of the population—Czechs living in the German districts totalled 700,000 in 1938 as against 3,000,000 Germans, in other words, less than 20% of their total population—shared in every form of economic activity. Speaking broadly, however, the industrial and commercial professions showed a higher percentage of Germans than the agricultural. Out of 3,000,000 Germans living in the frontier districts 800,000 to 1,000,000 lived from agriculture, that is 26% to 33%. Two-thirds to three-quarters of the German population were urban, consisting of workers, tradesmen and industrialists, including representatives of the liberal professions and the official class. 84% of the industrial enterprises of these regions belonged to Germans before the war, and it was also from among the Germans that a large number of engineers, technicians and skilled workers were recruited. The problem of repopulation thus has to be met not only quantitatively but also professionally and qualitatively. The land evacuated by the German peasants has to

be reoccupied, while the factories have to be got going again, with fresh workmen and staff.

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When the German peasants went away, over 1,000,000 hectares, formerly occupied by 250,000 families, were given up. It is not a question of the best land of Bohemia and Moravia. Some of the rural holdings in the former Egerland, in the Sudeten Mountains, and on the slopes of the Šumava in south-western Bohemia were of poor quality, and a good number of the German peasants suffered considerable hardship. The problem with which the Government of the new Republic was confronted was that of bringing in new settlers into the evacuated territory in sufficient numbers to safeguard strategic and national interests, while making good the shortcomings from which agriculture had suffered. On the other hand, it was to be foreseen that it would not be possible to find 250,000 families of Czech and Slovak peasants to replace the departing Germans, without risk of unduly depleting other agricultural districts. Hence agricultural resettlement has led to a vast rehabilitation and transformation of the agrarian structure, in which the main objective was to find for each new settler a holding such as would enable him to maintain a high standard of life and to utilise rational and progressive methods of work. At the Ministry of Agriculture it has been calculated that the optimum for a family holding would in these districts be from ten hectares of arable land to thirteen of mixed agricultural land. and they have consequently allotted holdings of that size to the Czech peasants of these regions. The rest of the land available has been divided into two different categories: holdings of rentable land apportioned in sizes varying from ten to thirteen hectares, and poor land assigned to stock-raising and reafforestation, and placed in the hands of agricultural co-operatives. These holdings have been assigned on a basis of priority to applicants who could lay claim to the nation's gratitude—members of the armed forces, partisans, political internees, especially those of peasant origin, who could give guarantees of technical competence. They have been settled into such of the already existing buildings as were best suited to the working of their holding, and they have had a share of the live and dead stock left behind by the German peasants. The successful applicants are landless peasants or smallholders and peasant farmers drawn from all parts of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia, and to some extent Slovakia. Generally they are added on to a local nucleus of old



Czech families which have survived German domination. Thus new rural communities are coming into being which are imbued with a pioneering spirit.

By the end of 1946 rather more than 125,000 families had been settled in the frontier regions since the summer of 1945, i.e. about 500,000 persons. The rural population has thus been cut down by about a half, a more rational agrarian structure has been brought about, and the standard of life of the peasant population has risen appreciably. The growth of co-operative purchasing, machine-maintenance, and distribution of fertilisers, the setting up of farm-schools and studs in some of the best equipped of the former German *latifundia* are a guarantee of technical and social progress on the land

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Immediately after Munich and the *coup de force* of 15 March, 1939, the Germans completely germanised the commercial and industrial economy and made certain of the direction or at least absolute control of all undertakings.<sup>2</sup> Those which could be turned on to war work were kept in full production, the others were usually closed down. When the Germans left, the restored Czechoslovak state found itself left with an industrial *no man's land*. Quite apart from the nationalisation decrees, former German undertakings or those created or swollen by German capital, or those which the former Czech owners had handed over to the Germans, automatically came under public ownership.

Under the Two-Year Plan for the restoration of the national economy there is in active progress a reorganisation of the industrial economy parallel to that which is going on in agriculture. Badly sited factories, away from modern means of communication, or those with out-of-date machinery, are going to be abandoned. The rest are incorporated in groups covering undertakings of the same kind, having a common board of directors, responsible for the distribution of plant, equipment, personnel, orders and the nationalisation of production. This system implies an important reduction in the number of staff employed. A part of the plant not wanted in this regional reorganisation but capable of being utilised is sent off to other districts where industrialisation is under way, notably to Slovakia.

<sup>2</sup> Notably by *aryanisation*, i.e. by the confiscation of all undertakings belonging to Jews, and by overwhelming increases in the capital of Czech undertakings which thus passed into the control of the new German shareholders.

Workers and personnel are recruited from inside Czechoslovakia. Appeals have been made to workers in other parts of the Republic, offering prospects of good housing conditions and wages. An urgent appeal has been made to Czechs and Slovaks who had to emigrate in the period between the two wars (particularly during the economic crisis of 1932-1935 and the German invasion) and who have not changed their nationality in the meantime.

By the end of 1946, the number of non-rural settlers in the frontier districts was estimated at about 1,000,000. The optimum population for these districts has been put by experts at about 2,400,000, including the peasants. There were already about 400,000 Czechs who had survived Munich and the germanisation policy (out of 700,000 who lived in these parts before 1938), so that the required number of settlers is something like 2,000,000. Agricultural settlement has already reached the figure of 500,000 people which has been laid down for it, and so there is room for about 1,500,000 people in the towns and industrial centres. If this estimate is correct, then at the end of 1946 the number of settlers fell short by about half a million of the desired total. It is certain that during 1947 there will be a number—perhaps some tens of thousands—of Czechs and Slovaks who will return from abroad, and it is also possible that some Slovaks may decide to take up work in the frontier districts of Moravia at least. But full employment everywhere makes unlikely any considerable further dislocation of man-power. It is to be expected that in twenty-five years natural increase will have filled in the gap, but for some time a shortage of man-power will be felt, even if an increase in the birth-rate will eventually solve the problem. More or less controlled immigration has been thought of as a solution, and some negotiations were started along these lines, but the Slav states which might be able to supply easily assimilable settlers themselves need all the man-power they can get after the holocaust of war. It would seem that the most immediately positive solution would be far-reaching nationalisation of methods and work and fuller employment of women in production.

From the qualitative point of view, the German administrative, technical and specialist staffs have been replaced without much difficulty by Czechs. The very widespread system of general and technical education in Czechoslovakia under the First Republic, and the active participation of Czechs in various specialist professions make it fairly easy to reorganise man-power and recruit the necessary personnel. All the same, the closing of universities and

high schools for six years by the Germans (17 November, 1939, to May, 1945) has seriously retarded the studies of young people who at present are overcrowding all the institutions of higher learning. The crisis is mostly felt in the luxury industries which play an important part in foreign trade and payments for imports of machinery and raw materials. In metallurgy and other industries which had to work for the German war the Germans themselves were obliged to train Czech specialists to replace their own nationals who were called up. Now these can help those who were trained before the war to get the reconverted factories going again.

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In a very short period of time the Government of the Third Czechoslovak Republic has solved the essentials of the problem of resettlement in the former German districts, and further also the related problem of the geographical and economic disposition of the national state. This resettlement has been accompanied by important reforms in the structure of the agricultural and industrial economy, which open the way to a serious nationalisation of the exploitation of the country's resources and to important economies in human labour which offset to some extent the gross reductions in the density of population.

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## THE FREE STATE OF CRACOW

1815-1846

"THE free, independent and strictly neutral city of Cracow," erected by the Congress of Vienna, was one of those creations of high diplomacy meant rather to iron out differences between the Powers than to serve the desires or needs of the people concerned. Her victory over Napoleon permitted Russia to control the larger part of the Polish lands, and to push her influence deep into Central Europe. Hence the opposition of Austria, England and France, seen in the anti-Russian alliance of January, 1815. Alexander I wanted to incorporate Cracow into the "Congress Kingdom," since it was the ancient capital and the seat of national monuments; but it lay too close to Silesia, Moravia and the road to Vienna, and Austria would not agree. From the Russian standpoint, in Austrian hands it would be an undesirable bridgehead on the left bank of the Vistula, from which one could enter the Russian-ruled provinces. A compromise was thus agreed on, on the basis of terms suggested by Czartoryski—the creation of a tiny neutral state. The Tsar's proclamation assured the inhabitants that "under the protection of the three Powers, they would enjoy quiet and happiness, devoting themselves only to the sciences, the arts, trade and industry." Being still true to his early convictions, he drew up a fairly liberal constitution; and the Act of Foundation was added to the concluding terms of the Treaty of Vienna and thus secured the collective sanction of the Powers.

The Free State lasted thirty-one years, after which the resolve to put an end to any remains of Polish independence led to its abolition. Cracow was incorporated in Austria in November, 1846, but its history has more than a local significance. The liberty enjoyed by this corner of Poland made it possible for the political processes of those times to reveal themselves in a remarkable way. The peculiar situation of the city made it of special importance to Polish efforts at liberation: and since the existence of the Free City was guaranteed by international agreement, it became a bone of contention. The purpose of this brief sketch is to bring out three points—the internal changes in Cracow society, its part in the struggle for freedom, and the consequent diplomatic complications.

## I

The territory included 1,100 sq. km. on the left branch of the Vistula, having Austria on the south, Russia to the north and a short common frontier with Prussia on the west. In 1815 it numbered over 100,000 inhabitants, of whom 23,000 were in the city proper. Article 3 of the Act declared that the Free City could import goods from all three Powers free of duty, but must pay duty on exports. This regulation favoured trade but injured industry. The city soon became the chief commercial centre for the surrounding provinces, the main market for farm produce, and the distributing point for manufactures brought from the west. A second factor making for success was the ancient university, to which students came from all sides. Living was cheap, and Cracow became a favourite place for conventions and entertainment. It became also a safe refuge for eminent men, who settled down here among ancient buildings to end their days.

During fifteen years the city prospered. Its population rose to 33,000, merchant houses became wealthy, tumbledown palaces were restored, the Plantations took the place of the mediæval ring of fortifications. Prosperity came not only to the townsmen but also to the village-folk, who were free from military service and less burdened by taxes than those outside.

The Constitution of 1815 placed executive power in the hands of a Senate—a President and twelve members, half of them chosen for life, the other half yearly. Two members were sent by the university and two by the cathedral chapter. The rest were chosen by an Assembly, familiarly called the Sejm (Diet), which had also to pass laws, authorise the budget, appoint officials and justices of peace and watch over their work. These fairly liberal terms were not matched by a far from democratic franchise. Only property owners had the vote, together with business people, the secular clergy, teachers and “top-class artists.” This meant the gentry, the wealthier townsmen and the intelligentsia—altogether only a few hundred families. The smaller burghers, peasants and Jews remained without political rights. The peasants had obtained personal freedom in Napoleon’s day, and now on the lands belonging to Church and State (making four-fifths of the whole) the *corvée* was converted into tenancy. In 1818 each village was permitted to send one delegate to the college of voters, and so share in political life. As for the 7,000–8,000 Jews, they lived apart in a cultural

circle of their own, and were permitted to trade only in one section of the town.

The slender stratum of society which ruled was far from homogeneous. One historian has spoken of two camps: those whose income came from property, and those who lived from their work. To the first belonged chiefly the landowners. Their number was not large, and they were led by a few magnates, who had great influence and support. In addition, many nobles from other parts of Poland had for long possessed town houses in Cracow, and some were settled there for good. This little world of the aristocracy looked down on the burgher class, though admitting a few richer patricians to their circle. Tradition made these men feel themselves, if not the sole holders of authority, at least the born leaders of the nation. Thanks to the backing of the monarchies outside, they wielded the chief power, though they were a numerical minority.

The Constitution was not put into force at once. During three years an Organising Commission, appointed by the three Powers, was in control. It chose the first Senate, giving of course preference to the upper classes. The President, Count Wodzicki, took care to keep his executive positions for good, and the Russian and Austrian Commissioners backed him in this. They revised the constitution, giving the executive agencies complete power over the legislative, and the Senate over the Sejm, which was suspected of liberalism. Only the former could initiate legislation, and the right of the Sejm to suggest changes was restricted. Neither freedom of the press nor trial by jury was ever realised.

The burghers did not actively resist these doings. They had been through six political convulsions in twenty years, until they lost faith in the permanence of anything; so for years after 1815 they remained indifferent to their independence. They too were not a homogeneous group, for many business families had come in from Germany since the Partitions, and were only slowly being assimilated. Only the University could really be a counter-weight to the nobility, but its scientific level was not high, since the Austrians had removed many Polish professors, and their places had been poorly filled. In any case, there were to be found eminent lawyers, doctors, and men of letters among the professors—the vanguard of the only-now-being-formed intelligentsia. The Rector, an ambitious lawyer, Litwinski, was able to secure for the university a large measure of autonomy, thanks chiefly to the help of the Prussian Commissioner, Baron Rubnitz, an enlightened liberal.

The university statute made it almost independent of the Government, and the Rector was even put over all the schools, both elementary and secondary.

This "state within a state" soon became a source of troubles for the Free City. The rivalry between the university and the Senate, leading to a duel between the Rector and the President, was in fact a struggle for power between the nobles and the intelligentsia. There was as well the conflict between tradition and enlightenment. The professors were Free Masons, so the President sought the support of the clergy. Though a disciple of Voltaire, he felt that the priest would be the best watchdog over the simple citizen. By the same token the professors got the support of the patriotic youth, while the Senate balanced this by calling in the Powers.

The issue at stake on the surface was trivial enough. In the summer of 1820 a school-youth, unjustly charged with thieving, was arrested by the police. His colleagues then broke the windows of the headquarters. The school authorities investigated and expelled from the school and the city three students, whose homes were elsewhere. President Wodzicki used this incident to alarm Metternich, as well as that arch-enemy of Poland, the Russian Commissioner in Warsaw, Novosiltsov. The university was arraigned as the home of moral perversion and revolution, whose autonomy should be abolished, etc etc. These complaints came just when Metternich was busy with an ambitious campaign against liberalism, not the least against universities. The Cracow events helped him to convert Tsar Alexander to his way of thinking. On the demand of the three monarchs the statue of the university was suspended, and a new Rector installed, General Zafuski, who had been in Russian service. For the first time the independence of the Free State was shaken.

Fortune soon turned against President Wodzicki. The Opposition of the burghers became more threatening, and even voted its people into the Senate, without regard to their status and qualifications. This was a mistake, for which the burghers paid when the matter came to a head. In 1827 the President failed of re-election, the Chairman of the Court of Appeal beating him by three votes. The beaten party then left the chamber, in protest against the illegality. Again the Powers came to its rescue, declared the elections invalid, and reinstated Wodzicki. This time it was not Metternich but the new Tsar, Nicholas, who exploited his chance. All the Opposition elements were removed from the Senate; and

preparations made to abolish the Sejm, and subject the Free State to "Residents" representing the Powers. Austria opposed this, but in 1830 the disagreement was patched up, and the two dynasties were just about to use force when the November Rising broke out and delayed them.

## II

The violation of the laws by the aristocracy and the latter's links with Russia only made the burghers more patriotic than before. The Rising became a signal for dethroning the President and taking over the authority. They had the support of the students, who were in secret contact with Warsaw, and also of the man in the street. But they were in no way radicals. Their first step was to arm a civic guard of well-to-do burghers, in order to protect themselves from the "commons." The fear of street riots inclined both the Government and the Residents to concessions. At the latter's instance the Senate took back the five members expelled in 1827; but a few weeks later a mob broke into Wodzicki's house, and demanded his trial, and the Senate forced its President to resign. He was accused of acting counter to the Rising, which was clearly wrong. Both he and Załuski did join it later in Warsaw, just as did a large part of the gentry, while the burgher party maintained the neutrality of Cracow, which served the Rising better. When all was over, however, this fact was bound to weigh heavily on the fate of the city.

As long as the war went on, Cracow remained quiet, since the more ardent elements had left for the front. A few hundred volunteers as well as large funds and some material were its contribution. A Citizens' Committee openly collected help for the wounded, while in secret it bought and smuggled through weapons and other equipment. This work was supervised by a delegate of the National Government in Warsaw, who was also a political agent. Though formally neutral, the city was heart and soul for the insurgents, and it shared the fruit of their failure. One of the broken detachments took refuge in the city, and while some of the men remained others dispersed themselves in Galicia, handing over their arms to the Austrians. On orders of the Russian commander, Paskievich, Russian troops now entered the city under General Rudiger, and began to seize the insurgents, imprison suspects, and confiscate property said to belong to the National Government. The city had to bear the costs of the occupation as a penalty.



But more than reprisals followed. In the spring of 1833 a new Organising Commission arrived, which set about reforming the constitution to suit the new conditions. Unreliable senators were deposed from office, and a new president installed. Civic liberties were restricted, the rights of the Sejm whittled down, its open deliberations forbidden. The university was robbed of its autonomy. The Bishop, who had shown his interest in the Rising, was compelled to leave his diocese. Finally, the Senate itself was stripped of its power, and made a body for carrying out the orders of others. The Board of Residents was made permanent in 1834 as the supreme authority; and in this way the sovereign rights of the Free State were destroyed. They remained from now on a shadow and nothing more.

The people of Cracow had a feeling that behind all this even worse decisions were in train. The truth was that Tsar Nicholas was resolved completely to liquidate the Free State. Once the Congress Kingdom was gone, an independent Cracow became a direct danger for Russia as a reminder of former liberties and a possible centre for liberation efforts. The simplest thing was to occupy it for good, but the Tsar remembered the situation of 1815. Being in conflict with the Poles, he had to keep Austria on his side. It was decided to offer the Free State to Vienna. This was a tricky business, since it meant upsetting the terms of the Treaty, respect for which had been the cornerstone of Metternich's policy. Only circumstance made it easier for Russia to achieve this end.

In the spring of 1833 there had arrived in Poland some scores of emissaries from the *émigré* community in France. In small groups they entered the Russian provinces, preaching equality, and land-parcellation, aiming at rousing the peasant for war. The action failed and the agents were seized by the police. Investigation traced the whole thing to the "charcoal men"—revolutionary elements in Italy and Germany. All this drew Austria nearer to Russia, the more so as France and England were calling in question her right to interference against the insurgents. The result was the meeting at Munchengratz, September, 1833, and the agreement into which Prussia was soon drawn. Russia guaranteed the *status quo* in Italy and the German *Bund*, and got in return needed support for her Polish policy. In regard to Cracow it was set down that on the least sign of breach of neutrality, it was to be occupied by the three Powers until further notice.

This decision was reviewed two years later at Teplitz and made final by the secret Berlin Convention of 14 October, 1835. The

Powers concluded that the continuance of the Free State was against the interest of its inhabitants as well as a danger to neighbours, and that it should be included in Austria. In order to avoid troubles with France and Britain, the Senate was to be induced itself to ask for the change. Two courses were open to the Powers, either to punish the city for supporting hostile activities, or to force on it political suicide.

It was not hard to find in Cracow intrigues against its neighbours, for the place swarmed with conspirators after 1831. They derived mainly from two sources—students and *émigrés*, i.e. soldiers who did not decide to take refuge in France. Its central position meant that strangers could enter almost unquestioned, and the police were indulgent. From 1833 there existed here a group of “charcoal-men,” and by the next year they were in touch both with conspirators in Galicia and with Paris. Under the wing of “Young Poland,” founded in 1834, a centralising of efforts at intrigue came into being—the Polish Populist Society, having far-reaching aims for social reform, as well as for national liberation. Its Head Office was in Cracow, its driving spirit the poet, Goszczyński, and its threads reached out to Lwów, Warsaw and Wilno. In the Free City itself agitation went on among students, artisans and even the Jews, not to mention the peasants round about and the miners not far away on the Silesian border. Forbidden books and pamphlets were smuggled in, both Polish and translations from other tongues—e.g. Lamennais’s *Paroles d’un croyant*. The plan of action was of long range, but it raised the temperature in the city, and made easier the task of repression.

In their conferences the three Powers had decided to settle the Cracow problem by first evoking unrest; and as materials for an outbreak the refugees could serve. There were many scattered all over Galicia, and now word was put about that they would be welcomed in Cracow. Larger groups soon gathered, in some cases handed over by the Austrian police. In vain did the Senate warn the Residents that such an influx would almost certainly lead to trouble; and they even asked for the extradition of certain known agitators, but the warnings fell on deaf ears. On the heels of the refugees came spies—one of them, a certain Behrens, had spied on the Poles in London as an agent of the Tsar. But the *émigrés* had their own secret service, Behrens was discovered, and three well-known members of the Populist Society lured him out of the city and killed him. As he was not robbed, the inference was clear.

This happened on the night of 6th January, 1836, and it took

three weeks for the Powers to decide on their tactics. The Tsar wanted the Austrians to do the cleaning-up, and threatened otherwise to seize the place. On 9th February an order was sent to the Senate by the Residents to expel all "aliens" from the Free State, in so far as they had taken part in the Rising. They would be taken to Trieste, and sent to America. This order was based on Article 6 of the Act of 1815, which forbade the harbouring of deserters or people sought by law. The Senate was too wise to disobey and the order was given, but to carry it out was less easy. During five years many "aliens" had become domiciled, had married, and even entered public service. Others sought to conceal their identity, and their neighbours helped them. The President therefore asked the Residents for time, but was told that since the city was impotent the Powers would themselves take over the restoration of order. On the 17th an Austrian corps entered the city, followed a few days later by Russian and Prussian detachments. It was announced that only a purging of the place was intended, and a general ambush was laid for all ex-insurgents. Every citizen had to report and establish his identity, and in a few weeks over 1,000 refugees were expelled.

This was only a prologue to the real drama that followed. Under the pretext of reorganising the police, the Residents brought in a famous Justice of criminal procedure, a certain Herr Guth, who instituted a veritable reign of terror. Under threat of handing them over to the Russians, he got various people to turn informers, all of which sufficed to compel the Populist Society to move its Head Office to Lwów. The city authorities resisted this whole invasion as best they could, one of the aldermen even daring to set free some arrested students. The result was that the election of Justices of the Peace was abolished and a special court set up for political offenders, presided over by foreigners. The Senate was again purged, and the Chief of Police permitted to appeal to the Residents against its injunctions. The civic militia, composed of 300 volunteers, was dissolved and a new one formed—of Austrian soldiers. The censorship was so tightened as to outdo even that of Austria itself, being applied not only to newspapers but even to visiting cards and epitaphs! *Gulliver's Travels* and *Robinson Crusoe* were put on the Index, and from *Hamlet* was expunged the Soliloquy on Death. Yet the Free State lingered on as a formal thing, the Sejm meeting from time to time but accomplishing nothing. The reason was that the whole issue had become an international one.

## III

In the Act attached to the Treaty of Vienna, Article 118, it was declared that the Cracow Constitution was to be "*partie intégrante de cet acte, comme si elle y était textuellement insérée*" Thus the status of the Free State received the guarantees not only of the three Powers involved, but also of France and England. This article was to be a source of many troubles for Austria, Prussia and Russia, while for England it became a useful political instrument, just as for the Poles it was the source of illusive hopes.

The Rising of 1830-1831 had coincided with the coming of Palmerston to the Foreign Office and a worsening of relations between London and St. Petersburg. In regard to Belgian independence, and in particular in the Near East the influence of the two capitals was in conflict. In nearer Asia Russia was on the offensive, and the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was an all too obvious sample of a policy aiming at ousting the Western powers. The impulsive "Lord Firebrand" was in no mood to yield to Russia in any sector, and he did not overlook the Polish issue as a shaft in his quiver. Hence his statement of 9th June, 1833, that Russia had violated the treaties about Poland "systematically, and in scandalous and barbaric fashion." This was no rhetorical phrase, for Palmerston sincerely favoured the Poles, and wished to help them where possible. The realist in him knew that he could not secure their independence, but in the struggle for Her Majesty's vital interest he used the weapon Poland furnished him.

Six months earlier Prince Czartoryski had drawn his attention to Cracow, sending memoranda to both the English and French Ministers to point out their right and duty to defend the Free State. He showed that this lay in their interest for economic reasons, since Cracow was the chief centre for the export of wool, and the import of English manufactures. The Free State needed capital for developing its coal, zinc and sulphur mines, as well as for the publishing of books, which had the whole of Poland as a market. In particular the Prince desired that the Western Powers should set up consulates in Cracow, a pertinent suggestion since offices of this kind were maintained in the German Free Cities, Hamburg and Frankfurt. It was to be foreseen that the three Powers would not tolerate in Cracow agents of this kind who would be spectators of all that was going on, and the Poles in Paris foresaw that international complications would be unavoidable.

One immediate result was that the Foreign Office instructed its

Warsaw consul to visit Cracow from time to time. During his first term Palmerston arranged satisfactorily the Belgian and Spanish affairs, but in the Near East clouds were gathering and a conflict with Russia was quite possible. Then came the monstrous occupation of Cracow. Metternich handled this in a way insulting to England, since on Russian advice he kept the French informed but left London out. Russia did indeed hinder a *rapprochement* between England and Austria, but Palmerston's wrath was now turned on her. This fact was exploited by the Polish *émigrés*, and four debates took place in Paris and London within three months on the Polish question. In the House of Commons Stratford Canning, who was vexed at not being chosen Ambassador in St. Petersburg, led the discussion, and he was supported by O'Connell, and Lord Dudley Stuart. Even Peel declared himself as hostile to Russia. Palmerston stated that the occupation of Cracow "violated one of the most important diplomatic agreements of the present time," and promised roundly that a consul would be sent to Cracow. Actually, he employed careful tactics, meant to force Russia to concessions in the Near East. In both Houses and in the press he encouraged pro-Polish sentiments, and permitted men like Urquhart to provoke the Tsar openly, while his real aim was to find a compromise on the basis of mutual concession. He could not act otherwise, owing to the attitude of France, which was releasing herself from English apron-strings and seeking an understanding with Metternich. Thiers let the Poles know in May, 1836, that he regarded the occupation as a *fait accompli*, that the three Powers had every right to get rid of dangerous agitation, and that he was not disposed, like Palmerston, to mislead them (the Poles) with unreal promises. In the sequel both France and England lodged formal protests in the three eastern capitals, receiving the answer that these protests were regarded as *non-avenu*. Moved by public opinion, both of them opened their frontiers to the expelled refugees, who, curiously enough, did all they could to avoid being sent to America.

For a whole year all Europe was talking about the Cracow consuls. In March, 1836, the French consul, M. Minaut, passed through the city on his way to Bucharest, and was welcomed at a citizens' banquet. In the autumn another guest arrived, Henry Reeves, political editor of *The Times*, an old friend of the Poles (e.g. Krasinski), whose name was mentioned by many as a possible consul for Cracow. Reeves met the leaders of society, was charmed with the ancient monuments, and made a friendly report to the

Foreign Office ; but no consuls were appointed as the three ambassadors concerned stoutly opposed the plan and Palmerston had to back down. In the following March he let Czartoryski know that he would not send a consul to Cracow "since it would do more harm than good." But he at least succeeded in getting the annexation of the city postponed, as well as the conditions of occupation improved. The Russian and Prussian troops left and only a small number of Austrians remained.

The stir created about the Free State had unexpected reverberations in Poland as a whole. A good portion of the liberal burghers had taken seriously the news that came from Paris and London, and were hoping for help from the West. In February 1838 the Seym ventured to ask the authorities of the three Powers for commercial favours and a restoration of civil liberties, but the Residents took no notice. Then came a chance of appealing to a friendlier factor. Colonel Barnett, consul in Warsaw, came on a visit to Cracow, and met there the very able and ambitious journalist, Hilary Meciszewski. Through him the latter made contact with Czartoryski, and for years through the English diplomatic "bag" detailed information as to what was going on reached Paris, together with documents, minutes of court proceedings, etc., part of which was published in Paris in 1840 in two languages. In the meantime Meciszewski prepared an address to the French and English governments, asking for a Five-power conference on the whole Cracow question, and this address reached Czartoryski in the same manner.

The use of these materials was beset, none the less, with difficulties. Most of the complaints were directed against Austria, since more of its officials were in evidence in the city. When the latter's free-trade privileges were taken away, the Senate had no course but to seek incorporation in a larger economic unit. It leaned rather in the direction of the Congress Kingdom whose real material progress was being made, by contrast with the backward Galicia. On the other hand, the Poles in France kept the Cracow issue to the fore mainly as a weapon against Russia, with justice seeing that Nicholas I from the start had been the chief enemy of the Free State. In any case, a front against Austria had little chance of success, since both the Western Powers were engaged in cultivating good relations with Metternich. This explains why Czartoryski wrote in his Memoranda about "the upright, wise and parental" Austrian system—words which could only offend his colleagues in Cracow.

Czartoryski had other troubles also. It was now 1840, the year of the tension between England and France in regard to Turkey—a blow to Polish hopes. Palmerston got his way, prevailing on Russia to accept his solution of the problem; which meant that he could not annoy the three Powers by raising again the Cracow matter. Czartoryski, on his part, sought to rouse English opinion against the Foreign Minister, and the speeches made in the House contained information furnished by his colleagues. On 13th July, two days before the famous Convention in regard to the Straits was signed, Stratford Canning reviewed in the House of Commons the whole course of the Free State issue, and thus gave Peel a chance to attack the inconsistency of Whig foreign policy. Palmerston got out of the difficulty in a masterly way, speaking with sympathy of the Poles and of Cracow, and admitting the receipt of Meciszewski's address: but he said plainly that no intervention was possible, and no consuls would be sent. Behind the scenes he achieved only this: the three Powers gave him formal satisfaction by withdrawing the Austrian troops after five years of occupation. Nevertheless, under the cloak of the Austrian militia, they controlled the life of the Free State as before.

The coming to power of the Tories in 1841 weakened Polish influence in the West. Aberdeen listened more readily to the Russian diplomats, and did not even want to read the Polish Memoranda sent him, "for fear," as Lord Beaumont said, "of being too well informed." The three Powers could have made an end of the Free State, for Guizot, now Prime Minister in Paris, was more Austrophil even than his predecessors. But a fresh obstacle arose which postponed the settlement for five years.

There was a new king in Berlin—Frederick William III—who desired by his liberalism to win over German opinion and to free himself from control by the Tsar. Even in the thirties Prussia had not desired the handing over of Cracow to the Habsburgs, and when in 1842 Metternich made a new proposal, to include Cracow in the Austrian tariff union, Berlin laid a strong protest. The reason at bottom was economic. If Cracow became part of Austria, Prussian manufactures (chiefly Silesian) could no longer be admitted tariff-free. Now precisely its geographical position made of the Free State a favourite field for smuggling, and large consignments of textiles, as well as sugar and tobacco, got through it steadily to Galicia, or even (on a smaller scale) to the Russian side of the boundary. Less upright Cracow dealers did well by these transactions, but the Silesian producers even better. Austria wished

to stop this, but Prussia took the opposite view—at least until the shock of revolution forced even Berlin to change its front.

#### IV

We must now return to look at the changes going on inside Cracow itself. Formerly there had been two rival parties, those of the gentry and the burghers; now a third appeared, the revolutionary group, which united the intelligentsia, the students and many townsmen, and even made some converts among the well-to-do. It will be remembered that in the twenties the Senators of the Right were undermining the position of the Free State through their fear of liberalism. Now, more than ever, when revolutionary propaganda was abroad, the gentry were ready to sacrifice political liberty on the altar of security. After 1836, Alfred Potocki, who was a welcome visitor in Vienna, suggested to Metternich the abolishing of the Free State, saying that the citizens would not make much trouble if they were given economic advantages.

The Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg knew of this, and they found ways of making the Cracow people pay for their liberty with a thousand economic restrictions. The secret Teplitz treaty provided that the Free State should not be permitted to found a National Bank so as to get better facilities for credits. The occupation had burdened the city's treasury, and also made freedom of commerce more difficult. In 1836 Russia allowed the Austrians a preference on Hungarian wines, by-passing Cracow; and thus they ruined the merchants whose transit trade had been 7,000 butts yearly. We have seen how they turned to the West for help, but when things changed after 1840 they looked for help elsewhere.

For some time there had existed in Cracow a group of people who were beginning shyly to proclaim a policy of compromise with the three Powers, and of the maintenance of nationality by nurturing cultural and economic life. They were wealthy landowners from the Russian-ruled provinces—Popiel, Swidzinski and, ablest of all, the Marquis Wielopolski. They were united by devotion to the social hierarchy, the Church, and by common hatred of revolution and conspiracy; but at bottom they were thinking about an understanding with Russia. Out of their ranks there was to grow with time the Conservative Party. What concerns us here is that the wealthy burghers of Cracow were behind them. Formerly these merchants and lawyers had been liberals and masons, but now in the face of economic stress and social unrest they were ready to



obey the nobles and the church. A typical attitude was that of Antoni Helcel, son of a wine-merchant but withal a man of learning, an eminent legal historian. In friendly relations with Popiel and Wielopolski, he became the thinker and adviser to the group. The owner of the greatest banking house, Kirchmayer, went the same way. For the moment there were not many such, but the promise of far-reaching change was at hand.

The majority of the citizens tended after 1840 in exactly the opposite direction—that of revolution. A paramount influence in this direction was now exerted by the new organisation of the *émigrés*—the Democratic Society.<sup>1</sup> Keeping a middle path between the older tradition and utopian socialism, this body announced clear and realizable aims. the levelling of the classes, complete democracy, and the giving of the land to the peasants. Rejecting all hopes of foreign assistance, it proclaimed revolt based on self-help. The Headquarters of the Society in Versailles united the majority of the Poles abroad, and then covered the homeland with a network of conspiracies, better organised than in 1830. In Cracow a young physicist was in charge, Ludwik Gorzkowski, whose scientific career had been broken by political persecution. The organisation reached even the villagers, who were mostly free from the *corvée* and so could not be stirred up by the Austrian authorities as they were in Galicia. Even members of the land-owning class joined the movement, in part out of patriotism, in part for hopes of the speedy success of the venture.

As so often happens, the more radical and impatient elements got the upper hand in the conspiracy, demanding sharper tactics and a speeding up of the programme. A factor in this was the young and able literary critic, Edward Dembowski, a clever agitator, virtually a communist but drawing after him people of every age and estate. He and his fellow-romanticists forced the hands of their more cautious colleagues. The date of the Rising was set for February, 1846, a Government was set up, and Mierosławski made Commander-in-Chief. On the day set the Poles of Poznań and Galicia were to lead off, set their provinces free, and then enter the one-time Congress Kingdom, Warsaw being their objective. The whole plan, fantastic in conception, was to end in catastrophe.

At the New Year, Nicholas I stopped in Vienna on his way back from Rome. Once more he took up with Metternich the Cracow matter. The preparations for insurrection were well known

<sup>1</sup> Famous for its Manifesto of 1836, which may still be called the Charter of Polish Democracy.

to them both, and the Tsar asked that, on the first sign of outbreak, Austria should seize Cracow—in defiance of Prussia and Europe. One may surmise that he used much the same words then as he did later to the Austrian Ambassador Colloredo :

“ J’ai cinque cent mille hommes, vous en avez autant, nous n’avons pas besoin de nous soucier de ce que veulent ou ne veulent pas les autres. . . . Il faudrait pourtant que vous vous décidiez si vous en voulez ou non (de Cracovie), car si vous n’en voulez pas, je suis bien décidé à la prendre pour moi, quelque chose qu’on fasse.”

Vienna had always hesitated between greed and the fear of complications ; now she succumbed to persuasion.

Events fell out, however, as neither Power could foresee. The Austrian Resident, observing the excitement of the pre-Rising days, lost his head entirely. He saw himself taken prisoner, or even on the gallows, and discerned a hope in the calling-in of the Imperial forces. Against Metternich’s instructions, he convinced his colleagues of the need for precautionary action, and got for the asking from the Senate a formal request for military help. On the evening of 17th February he summoned General Collin, who was waiting with his troops just across the river in Podgórze ; and the next day saw the entrance of nearly 1,000 Austrian soldiery. The conspirators were dismayed, and thought of calling off everything ; the more so as news had come from Poznań of the arrest there six days before of all the leaders, including Mierosławski. Nevertheless the Cracow leaders resolved to go ahead, without even moving the date forward : and the unexpected happened. A few hours of fitful skirmishing in the city frightened the aged and incompetent Collin, and he ordered a retreat. With his troops across the river went the militia, the Senators and the higher officials. The Austrians seemed to think that scythesmen were attacking from all sides, for they kept on marching till they reached Wadowice, 30 miles away. The people of Cracow were left to their fate.

This is no place to go over again the course of the ten-day revolution, but only to bring one significant fact into relief—that of the breach in the local community when faced with the prospect of bloodshed. At the news of the flight of the proper rulers a group of respected citizens tried first (in vain) to call them back ; and then formed a Security Committee with four members—two nobles, Wodzicki and Moszyński, the banker Bochenek and the professor Helcel. These men were faced by three as yet unknown leaders of

the insurgents, Tyssowski, Gorzkowski and Gregorzewski, who forbade their functioning and declared themselves a National Government. Behind the three stood the armed fist of the masses, shouting their songs of freedom. The Committee accepted the ultimatum and joined the Rising, but without much heart.

The Manifesto, proclaimed that same night, not only announced war on the three Powers but also a fairly bold programme of social reforms: the abolishing of serfdom without compensation to the landowners, the division of income "according to merit and ability," the guaranteeing of the individual citizen. Savouring of socialism, these words were bound to frighten the possessing elements, who had little enthusiasm anyway for the enterprise. Their immediate reaction was, when the Rising could not be hindered, to join it, get control, and blunt its social edge. On the very next day, apart from the Government's call to arms, these men created their own Civic Guard, sharing the leading functions among themselves. They gladly accepted portfolios in the Cabinet, e.g. that of Internal Affairs, Justice, Cults and Finance, but they brought no enthusiasm to their work. To the eye the feeling in the city was united, but in reality there were two camps: in the one the gentry, the merchants, the students from well-to-do homes, and most of those in some position; in the other the free-lance intelligentsia, the journeymen and part of the peasants. Even the clergy were not of one mind, for the younger priests were for action while the dignitaries held back.

Two days later Tyssowski got rid of his rather incompetent colleagues, and declared himself dictator. He was a private official from a big estate, an honest social worker, but a man of small calibre, called by chance and against his will to high responsibility. He had no strength of will or character, no clear idea of action. While putting much effort into establishing order he neglected the most important matter of defence. Dembowski, idol of the masses, urged an offensive, but Tyssowski (though knowing better) submitted to the burghers. He stopped the execution of traitors, and did not touch private fortunes, though he took over the Treasury and distributed salt from Austrian supplies to the masses. Such moderation did not win him the confidence of the Right, who tried on 25th February to unseat him. The movement was led by the journalist Meciszewski, who had by now become anxious to break off the struggle. His candidate for the office was the popular and honourable professor of Polish Literature, who had never been in politics, Wiszniewski. At the head of armed students the professor

broke into the dictator's office at night, and the latter resigned his office. Sensing the pro-Russian feelings about him, the new leader toyed with the idea of calling in Russian troops to restore order; but a few hours later another group of insurgents, led by Dembowski, drove him out and reinstated Tyssowski.

These vagaries went on because the Austrians were in a panic and did nothing. Only a week later did the terrible news of the "massacres in Galicia" reach the town. The peasants of the Tarnow region had been stirred up by the Austrian officials equally against their landlords and the insurgents—though both were promising them liberation. Taking vengeance for age-long oppression they murdered and plundered their masters, and the conflagration drew near to Cracow. A mob, led by Austrians, broke up a detachment of insurgents and slaughtered their prisoners. Dembowski was killed in another skirmish in the suburbs. Fear fell on the city, Tyssowski withdrew his little force to the west, and they laid down their arms on the Prussian boundary. The Russians, entering Cracow ahead of the Austrians, were welcomed with acclamation, almost as saviours, since they looked like rescuing the people from the mob of peasants. On their heels came the Austrians and the Prussians, and the Free State was at an end.

Eight months, however, went by before the matter was settled in the international sphere. Russia and Austria had to wear down Prussian opposition to the annexation. Frederick William was convinced by the fact of the Rising, which had enveloped also his own provinces, that the Cracow "hornets' nest" had to be destroyed, but material considerations entered into the matter. Plans were on foot for the enhancing of Cracow as a distribution centre—the railways from Vienna, Berlin and Warsaw were to meet there in 1847. In this first stage of railway expansion, the city was to become one of the chief connexional points between Western Europe and the Black Sea, and such a point could not be handed over to Austria! Political arguments got the upper hand, nevertheless and under Russian pressure Berlin signed the secret convention which handed Cracow over to the Habsburgs.

Through fear of complications Metternich was not yet ready to announce this. The unhappy Rising had brought Poland to the attention of the world, and all the discontented elements which two years later were to break out in the upheaval of "the Spring of the Nations," were already exploiting this fact as a reason for attacking the Prince and Guizot. In the liberal press, in the Chambers of Deputies, in meetings of all sorts Cracow was talked of. Marx

and Engels, who were beginning to build up their international revolution, were pointing to the Cracow *Manifesto* as a model for imitation. In England the passivity of the Government served the radicals as a second ground for attacking Peel. Scarcely had he resigned when the friends of Poland broached the Cracow question in the House on 7th August. Palmerston inaugurated his third Ministry with his famous warning aimed at Metternich, "that the Treaty of Vienna must be regarded as a whole; . . . and that, if he showed himself evil on the Vistula, he must be the same on the Rhine and the Po."

At bottom, these were words and nothing more. The Minister's policy was directed chiefly at this time against France, only indirectly against Austria, and not at all against Russia. When the British consul in Warsaw, Du Plat, as warm a friend of Poland as his predecessor, warned London of the intrigues of the three Powers, and pointed to the losses that British trade would suffer if Cracow was annexed, Palmerston called him to order and forbade him further visits there. The Queen and the Prince Consort came out for firmer support of the Poles, but with an eye to the liberal German camp, and against an Austro-Russian hegemony. The fate of the Free City was sealed by an incident that took place in Madrid. The Spanish marriages had so separated France and England that Metternich no longer needed to worry. On 6th November a rescript of the Emperor Ferdinand announced the incorporation of Cracow. As was foreseen the protest of the Western Powers expressed regret and surprise rather than wrath at the breach of justice. Guizot was isolated and needed more than ever the support of Vienna, while Palmerston was winning Nicholas for an anti-French move. The restored Holy Alliance did not need to reckon with either. The diplomatic controversy soon quieted down, and only in the smaller German and Italian capitals did the impression last. Who could feel safe in Europe, if the larger states were to feel free to swallow their neighbours at any time? Even Constantinople realised that Bosnia or Roumania might come next. The Poles in Paris tried to cash in on these sentiments, arousing mistrust of the Holy Alliance, but the approaching revolution soon interrupted their efforts.

In all this Cracow herself was not consulted. The citizens did their best to avoid the Habsburg yoke, appealing to Berlin, even asking to be joined up to the former Congress Kingdom. But from the spring a higher Austrian officer had taken over, in the summer the Russians and Prussians left, then the Residents too—and the

annexation followed. A stern régime of Germanisation was instituted, the prisons were full, and the administration was modelled on that of Vienna. Many people left the city. To make things worse the expected economic crisis set in, with high taxation and cost of living. The merchants were ordered within six weeks to pay duty on all their stocks at the excessive Austrian rates, and they began to sell out at any price. The inhabitants provided themselves for years with woollens and cottons as well as with sugar, spices, etc., which were all soon to become dearer. On the last evening before the fatal day, whole sacks of tobacco and other overseas goods were thrown out into the streets. Only a few firms survived the ordeal and its repercussions were felt far and wide, specially in Prussia. The severe crisis of 1847 in Silesian and Saxon textiles, which were a cause of the revolutionary attitude of the workers the following year, had an indirect source in the tottering condition of trade in the Polish lands.

## V

In the year 1848 the Cracow "book" was closed with a characteristic epilogue. Hardly had the news come of the events in Vienna and the escape of Metternich when the Polish city was in motion. Political prisoners were set free, a National Guard and a Citizens' Committee set up, and a deputation sent off to Vienna to demand autonomy. The general upheaval seemed to bring liberty for Poland, and the most eminent people let themselves be carried away by the belief that the peoples, having thrown off their yoke, would join hands to bring down Tsarist tyranny as well. The same men who had cursed the Austrians and sighed for Nicholas I two years earlier, now cheered for the revolutionaries in Vienna and got ready for war with Russia. But all this did not last long.

The imperial amnesty made possible the return of prisoners but also of *émigrés*. They arrived in crowds from France, among them members of the Democratic Society Headquarters. Their aim was clear: by their own strength to restore the independence of Galicia, join hands with their fellow-Poles in Prussia and strike at Tsarist rule over the border. The city was galvanised to action by their arrival. A Directorate was set up, by way of a National Government, in which the portfolios of Home Affairs, the Army and the Police were given to newcomers while Finance, Education and Industry were entrusted to burghers. A National Guard was quipped and steps were taken to abolish serfdom everywhere.

The gift of the land to the peasants was to wipe out all memories of the horrors of 1846 and win the masses for the cause.

These plans were met by a double reaction. In spite of the general confusion the Austrian Command began to take measures of defence, forbidding the Government to hold sessions and the peasants to take up arms. Orders came from Vienna to hold the Poles in check, and Nicholas I announced that he would regard the restoration of the Free State as a *casus belli*. Russian detachments were posted near the city, and the Austrian Commander told the citizens that he would bring in the Cossacks unless they behaved. On the other hand the notables of the city, after a period of excitement, began to sober up in the face of the programme planned by the returned *émigrés*. They wanted a Polish Cracow, but without a conflict with an Austria which threatened to repeat the events of two years earlier. They had an understanding for the need for liberating the serfs; some of them carried it through privately, but the majority were sensitive about the ways of effecting it, in particular the need for compensation. Above all they feared the authority claimed by the radicals who had arrived from France. On 24th April a group of moderates applied to Vienna for a sensible engaging of the *émigrés* in useful occupations with a view to getting them away from political agitation. This attempt was fruitless and could not hinder the catastrophe.

Conflict broke out when the Austrian Prefect ordered the frontier closed against further *émigrés*. The Citizens' Committee sought to have this order recalled, but an angry crowd broke into the prefecture and forced Baron Krieg to reverse his decision and to permit the populace to arm. Only with difficulty did the Committee protect him from personal injury. On the next day the Austrian Commander tore up Krieg's order and began the fortification of Cracow. As usual no one could be sure who fired the first shots, but a general conflict followed, with barricades in the streets. The burgher Guards and leading citizens did what they could to prevent it, and even tore down the barricades, but the common people fought, led by the radicals; the Austrian Commander withdrew his troops to Wawel Hill and began a bombardment. Rains checked fires, but the shells killed forty people—soldiers and civilians. This brought a general sobering in the town. Two aristocrats, Wodzicki and Jabłonowski, undertook to mediate and in the evening the Committee signed a capitulation. Among other things it was agreed that all *émigrés* were to leave Cracow within three days.

This day, 26th April, was significant for the history of "the

Spring of the Peoples." For the first time reaction won out with the help of heavy guns. The surrender of Cracow was followed by those of Naples, Prague, Paris, Vienna, Lwów and Dresden. True, other peoples were so occupied at the time that they did not note this dangerous precedent. An attempt at a monster demonstration in Paris in the interests of Poland failed, and for a long time this interest lay dormant in the French mind. In the House of Commons Lord Dudley Stuart spoke on 16th May about the newest violence done to Poland in Poznań and Cracow, and described Metternich's fall as Heaven's punishment for the abolition of the Free City; but he got an indifferent hearing since British opinion was concerned rather with the matter of the Union of Germany. Palmerston himself laboured to avoid war, and saw in the Cracow revolt a prelude either to war with Russia or to a strengthening of Russian influence over Austria. With Europe in confusion, he did not wish to annoy St. Petersburg, while urging her to take a milder line toward Poland.

As for Cracow itself, the owning classes made their choice definitely for law and order as against violence. At the end of the year the famous daily, *Czas*, began to appear as the organ of the Conservatives, taking as its platform the defence of the Church and of private property, a break with the *émigrés* (even those of the Right), an end of conspiracy, and collaboration with Austria. Cracow was now to become the chief supporter of "the Austrian orientation" in Polish affairs.

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## WIELOPOLSKI TO METTERNICH :

APRIL 1946

"In the 1843 session of the Galician Diet in Lwów, Tadeusz Wasilewski proposed the choosing of a Commission to consider means for improving the lot of the villagers by ending their serfdom and making them owners of their land. By a majority vote that body rejected the proposal, regarding it as too radical, and instead addressed to the throne (i.e. the Court in Vienna) a request for a Commission to study the question as to what changes in the lot of the villagers were needed. But the Emperor rejected this request, at the instance of his chief advisers, who sensed in it revolutionary influences. In the following year the Diet made a new suggestion—that a Commission be appointed to prepare a register which would reveal the actual condition of affairs in the country in regard to the ownership of land and the services done on it. To this Vienna agreed, and the Diet chose the Commission in 1845. On motion of Krainski, this body then approached the Emperor and asked for an extension of powers, such as would allow it to take up the setting out of ways and means for the transforming of serfdom into the renting of farms and for the redemption of these rents. In all this, public opinion rightly discerned the proof that the initiative in the matter of making the villagers of Galicia owners of their acres came from recognised Polish sources. The Commission decided not to begin its work until an answer was received from the Austrian authorities.

"In the meantime, however, the revolution broke out. Already during the session of 1845 there had been live agitation among the deputies in regard to land reforms. Some members urged loudly that the Diet at once take the initiative in making the villagers owners of their farms, but the plan was paralysed by the reactionary attitude of the Austrian government. There were also in the Diet signs of a desire on the part of some people to hide behind the cover of that government in defence of private interests.

"The Vienna authorities, who from 1843 in relation to the Galician Diet had been showing the greatest shyness in the matter of agrarian reform, had begun to cultivate among the villagers hostility toward the plans for a Rising. German authors stoutly deny this, but we have on the Polish side too much evidence to allow us to accept their denial. The governing elements in Galicia,

feeling that their control over the country was weakening after so many years of domination, initiated a plan for using the villagers as their allies in order to block revolution.<sup>1</sup> They therefore put about the news that the Emperor was ready to release the peasants from serfdom, but that the insurgents, in one word 'the Poles,' were not willing to permit the will of the Emperor to be realised in this matter. And at that time not only for the Ruthenians but also for the 'Masovians' the word 'Pole' was a synonym for 'revolutionary' Limanowski gives a number of facts to show how the common people believed in the improbable report, clearly put about by design, that the insurgent Poles wanted to slaughter the peasants themselves. Mizes (*Bauerliche Verhältnisse in Galizien*, p. 104) clears the Austrian authorities of all charges, but does not deny that on hearing of the approaching outbreak, the government did not permit at all that stronger forces be assembled, relying on its conviction that the common people would prevent the Rising."

In these studiously measured terms the Polish historian, Władysław Grabski, sets out the bare facts of one of the most lamentable chapters in the social history of his country—a chapter which is almost unknown to Western readers, and which provided the immediate cause for the famous letter (also little known) of the Marquis Wielopolski to Prince Metternich. Detailed and much more impassioned accounts of what happened can be found, for example, in the pages of Limanowski, or in our own day, of Świętochowski—men whose warmth of feeling and regard for the national honour made them portray the facts, both in regard to what occurred and the causes behind it, in bolder relief. At the distance of a century—one packed with events of earth-shaking significance—it is easier to view with detachment the tragedy of the Galician "slaughter" (the Polish word is that used for the killing of animals, for human consumption); but let it be said at once that not only the Polish nation but western Europe as well, including the German states, was profoundly shocked by what happened. The lead was given, as might be expected, by Paris, where both the Chamber and the Press devoted time (and space) to central European affairs to a degree impossible in a London that was still for a long time to regard the continent as a distant planet; and was in any case absorbed during February by the great debates on the Corn Laws, and in March by the struggle with the Sikhs and the Oregon question.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meinecke in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, Vol. XI, p. 47: "With the silent connivance of the Austrian authorities, who felt themselves powerless to check the movement [sic!], one resolution was quelled by means of another"

All students of Polish literature recall at once the poignant verses of Kornel Ujejski on this theme, of which the *chorale* beginning "Z dymem pożarów" is the best known. They know equally well the *Psalms of Grief*, written abroad by the "unknown poet" (Kraśiński), who never really recovered from the blow dealt him by the Galician horrors. But Frenchmen, Swiss, Germans and Britons of varying distinction associated themselves with this outburst of mourning and indignation, from Montalembert and Victor Hugo, who led the attack in the French Chamber on the absolutist dynasties and their henchmen, to the plain citizen who spoke at the mass meeting at the *Star and Anchor* in the Strand on 25 March. However, whereas the French Chamber devoted hours again and again to the tragedy of a wasted revolutionary effort and the manner of its suppression, never was the subject debated in the House of Commons. News travelled slowly in those days, and continental news reached London, it would seem, almost entirely through the French Press: while these in turn depended on German sources of various kinds. Only three fugitive scraps of information appeared in *The Times* before 5 March, but from then on whole columns of space were given. On the 12th came a column of news and a resounding editorial. In the former *Hamburger Korrespondenz* was quoted:

"It is not merely the voice of justice and humanity which protests in favour of Poland: it is the national interest of Germany, it is an interest of security for the whole of Europe."

The editorial took a realistic view of the abortive Rising but was frank in its condemnation of the methods that had provoked it, and included this significant sentence

"What has not Europe lost during the last sixteen years from the interruption of all social intercourse with Poland? And are we never to look forward to its renewal?"

Only on 19 March did *The Times* again give editorial space to Central Europe, this time to the Galician "slaughter," which was branded as a blot on the Habsburg escutcheon, in particular the use of bribery to instigate men to lawlessness and murder. For the characteristically detached tone of this survey the editors did indeed atone a week later when they reported in full the fiery speeches made and strong resolutions passed at the Friends of Poland meeting in London already mentioned. The man in the street was clearly

exercised about Polish affairs, even if Westminster was prepared to turn a blind eye to them.

The temper of Paris, as we have seen, was far less complacent. People heard with enthusiasm the words of Victor Hugo, "Let France speak, and the savage acts that we are deploring will become impossible!", while they repeated grimly the satire dedicated to the Poles by Barthélemy:

"Et quand des millions d'hommes qu'on supplicie,  
N'importe la contrée, à Naples, en Galicie. . .  
Il faut, les bras croisés, comme les vieilles femmes,  
Contempler, en pleurant, les meurtres et les flammes,  
Sans pouvoir accourir à leurs cris déchirants. . . .  
C'est là le droit des gens?"

# I

Every intelligent observer knew that what was happening in the remote and unvisited uplands of the Carpathians was only one detail of a larger picture—that of a restless, wretched and nearly desperate Europe, which was alive with people proclaiming that the revolution was not over and gone, but was going on, and would at any time break into open action. The reasons were partly political, partly cultural (even religious) and partly economic: even Nature seemed suddenly to have become the fore of her own children.

The thirties had witnessed a revolt of the mind and spirit in the form of what we now call "utopian socialism," in which the major demands of 1789 were reiterated but not divorced from the Christian faith. To this movement, which was mostly centred in France, England provided a more concrete response with the passing of the Reform Bill and the beginnings of the Co-operative Movement, led by Robert Owen. As for troubled Italy, the figure of Mazzini now commanded the scene, with a programme of revolt against Habsburg domination in the north and of the unification of Italy under one sovereign lord. His famous *Letter to Charles Albert of Savoy* (1831) had been countered by Metternich, and failed of its immediate purpose; but the raising of the standard of "Young Italy" was the signal for similar movements elsewhere, of which "Young Poland," created at Berne in 1834, is only one example.

The liberation of Greece had been won by force of arms. The faraway peoples of South America had achieved independence of the hated Spanish Bourbons, and were now safe behind the bulwarks

of the Monroe doctrine. The peoples of central Europe, face to face with Habsburg absolutism, were slowly but surely achieving national consciousness. In this the lead was given by the secular-minded Czech Churchman, Josef Dobrovský, founder of Slavonic philological studies, the historian and linguist, Josef Jungmann, who (in Ernest Denis's phrase) provided future Czech writers with "the elements of their success," and the three men of letters, Jan Kollár, Paul Josef Šafařík (both Slovaks) and the historian, František Palacký. Save for the first of these, who died in 1829 but whose work lived on, all of them were active right through these years, and were sowing seed that was a constant anxiety to the watchdog of reaction, Metternich.

Nor did Tsarist Russia, groaning under the stern controls exercised by Nicholas I through men like Uvanov, Muraviev and Paskievich, remain unmoved. After years of preparation there came into being in January 1846 the Society of Cyril and Methodius, founded in Kiev and envisaging a great commonwealth which should embrace all the Slavonic nations—on the basis of equality and brotherhood. Of this one of the ablest adherents was the Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko.

As if in support of these voices, denouncing what was and demanding what ought to be, Nature suddenly turned her back on man: the potato blight brought untold misery on countries as far apart as Ireland and Silesia, and the wet summer of 1846 was to "rain away the Corn Laws." Changes were being wrought on all sides, the defenders of the *status quo* had their backs to the wall. They saw in the Poles, scattered over Europe since the collapse of the 1830-1831 Rising, their most dangerous enemies. "Polonism," said Metternich, "does not declare war on the monarchies which hold Polish territory: it declares war on all existing institutions, and proclaims the destruction of all the common foundations which form the basis of society." From his point of view, this was of course the truth; but from other points of view it was a compliment rather than a condemnation.

It was the truth because from 1831 onwards groups of Poles were to be found in association with all who were working to see the ideas and ideals of 1789 carried into Central Europe and realised there in fact. In particular the central office of the *Emigration* in Paris had its emissaries at work in the homeland, "going among the people," and preparing the ground for a Peasant Revolt in all parts of the country. By a curious coincidence the old Polish kingdom had known little or nothing of serious peasant outbreaks—*jacqueries*;

and certainly nothing that could compare with the *Bauernaufstände* of 1525 in Germany or the great uprising under Pugachev in the Ukraine two centuries later. Not that the Polish serfs were contented with their lot, for they were far from that ; but they showed less initiative or impatience, less disposition to violence, less ability to organise as a class. Now, however, they were to be roused to action both on national and social grounds ; and from their proposed leader, Ludwik Mierosławski, they were to hear the romantic call : " With your staves you will capture muskets, and with the muskets big guns." What is more, misled by the idealistic views of Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who ascended the throne of Prussia in 1840, the leaders fondly imagined that Poznań could be made the organising point for revolution—directed as it was mainly against Tsardom and the Habsburgs, and that the Free City of Cracow would set the example for others.

Delegates met in Cracow on 8 January 1846, laid plans for the Rising to take place on 21 February, prepared a Manifesto to be issued by a National Government, and even named the men who were to head this. Among them was the philosopher, Karol Libelt. But of course their doings were soon known to the watchful police, and on 12 February all the Poznań leaders, including the Commander-in-Chief, were arrested. They were taken to the Moabite prison in Berlin and the *Riesenprocess* followed in due course, which condemned nine to death and a round hundred to imprisonment or loss of property. None of the death sentences were carried out, and the condemned were all released when the revolution struck Berlin in 1848.

The plans for a general Rising were officially called off, but some of the leaders, for example those in Cracow, refused to accept this. The result was a mixture of comedy and tragedy. The extremists in the Free City found themselves in conflict both with the burgher elements, their own fellow-Poles, and with the Austrian army leader, General Collin, who occupied the place. An effort was then made to raise the standard of revolt in near-by Tarnow, but in doing so the insurgents ran foul of organised peasant groups, egged on and paid by the Austrian authorities, whose chief representative was the Prefect of Tarnow, Breinl von Wallenstern. He had found a ready agent in a former Polish army corporal, with a criminal record, a certain Jakub Szela, into whose charge he gave the ignorant and trusting peasant malcontents. " There are only two people who count now," Szela was told, " the Emperor in Vienna and you in Galicia." In vain and too late did the insurgents seek to get a

hearing among the excited villagers. Violence, plunder and bloodshed broke loose, scores of manors were burned, enormous damage done to property, and up to 2,000 lives were taken, mostly of innocent men and women. As Grabski says, the Austrian authorities were able to use the simple people of Galicia, not only to thwart those working for liberation, but to spread terror and death over what was a fair, if rather poor and crowded, countryside. It was this act of perfidy that stirred the nation as nothing heretofore, provoked the emotional outbreak of the poets, and called forth a pronouncement few could have foreseen—the above-mentioned letter of the hard-headed realist leader, later to become virtual governor of Central Poland under Russian overlordship, “the last of the barons,” Aleksander Wielopolski.

This passionate and unexpected protest, coming from the heart of a thoroughgoing aristocrat who had long been an admirer of Metternich, was by no means an isolated expression of Polish opinion. A feeling of despair as to the future was voiced by men like Władysław Zamoyski at home and Prince Adam Czartoryski in Paris. Sentiments of anger and disillusionment in respect to Habsburg, and thus to German policy in general, which brought in their train a willingness to turn for mercy and even salvation to Tsarist Russia, were expressed by Poznanian Poles like Eugeniusz Breza and the prominent nobleman, Tytus Działyński. The former declared in a pamphlet that the hatred of his fellow-countrymen towards Tsardom had turned overnight into its opposite. The latter who, while preserving a stoutly Polish attitude toward the Prussian authorities, had never hidden his dislike of insurrectionary methods, succeeded in getting inserted in the *Preussische Staatszeitung* an article on the “slaughter” in Galicia, in which he branded the criminal tactics of Austria; and he then proceeded to approach the Russian ambassador asking for the protection of Russia for his betrayed nation.

“Threatened with the loss of what we hold dearest, we beg for the protection of the Tsar, and throw ourselves at his feet. Under his sceptre the nation will be able to live on. the Russians are Slavs, just as we are.”

In view of what had been going on in the Prussian-ruled provinces of Poland since 1831—what came to be called “the Flottwell policy”—one could not be altogether surprised at these pronouncements; but it was one thing for the Poznanian patriots to take such a view and quite another for the Count Wielopolski, Marquis

Gonzaga-Myszkowski, to give him his full title, who fifteen years earlier had been the official representative in London of the National Government in revolution against Tsarist Russia, to face right about as he did. The publication of his letter in French, in Paris, on 15 April was an event of European importance. Metternich had been hurt by the Działyński article, and made strong representations in Berlin about its appearance in a German paper of recognised standing ; but he was touched to the quick by the indictment levelled at himself, his government, and the civilisation he represented by a fellow-aristocrat of Wielepolski's standing. It is said that on reading it, he fell ill.

## II

In the *Lettre d'un gentilhomme polonais sur les Massacres de Galicie adressée au Prince de Metternich à l'occasion de sa dépêche circulaire du 7 Mars 1846* there spoke the true blue, the convinced aristocrat, and the angered Polish patriot. The three elements, so mixed up in the Marquis, were by no means always at peace with one another ; yet, as we shall see, each reinforced the other on this particular occasion. The first and longer part (the whole printed text runs to 47 pages) contained an analysis of the situation in southern Poland and a stern condemnation of the whole policy of Austria during the seventy years since the first Partition ; mounting to a fierce arraignment of the callousness and perfidy shown by the state officials in February, 1846. It ended with the personal reproach : " In old age, Your Highness, your foot has slipped in blood ; and it has been the blood of the descendants of those who shed theirs once in the defence of Vienna." The second part drew the bold, and, for most of his countrymen, unpalatable conclusion that Działyński had drawn : the nation had no course left to it save to throw itself on the mercy of " the most magnanimous of our foes," Tsar Nicholas I.

Certain things about the *Letter* itself are noteworthy. Written in French, the accepted language of diplomacy, and published in Paris, it was clearly designed for external consumption only : to this day it has never appeared in a Polish dress. Two years later, it is true, a German edition was published by Grunna, with a Foreword explaining the occasion and purpose, but by then the events of 1846 had become history, and were being overshadowed by others, with a far wider outreach. It was not meant for mass-consumption. The author would never for a moment have stooped



to plead his case before the common man—it simply wasn't done in those days! Wielopolski would either ignore "the masses" or despise them—or both. One is tempted to compare the circumstances of that time with the far different ones of two generations later, when Sienkiewicz addressed his no less famous public letter to the German Emperor, William II <sup>2</sup>

As I have said, the Marquis wrote like a true blue. His pride of blood and station, though the Wielopolskis could not be counted among the "great families," his sense of belonging to the class or caste called of Heaven, as he believed, to guide and govern the rest of mankind, made him fiercely jealous for the reputation of any other member of that class, even when the person concerned belonged to an alien nation. In Metternich he discerned a man whose position in Europe, by every count accepted in those days, was unequalled, and whose departure from the long-accepted, not to say consecrated, rules of the game, meant a tarnishing of the fair name of all. For him the ancient principle *noblesse oblige* was sacred: it cut across all other claims or precepts, determining for everyone who cared the main rules of procedure

At the outset he put the Prince on the horns of a dilemma. The very nature of the Austrian régime in Galicia (the benevolent despotism of Joseph II) involved the assuming of wardship, the taking over of all controls, the exercising during seventy years of an all-embracing paternalism. This meant the exclusion of the one-time (Polish) ruling classes from the very active, even if mis-conceived, rôle they had played in a patriarchal system which, with all its defects, did work, and it was tantamount to accepting all responsibility for the consequences. Now, says the Marquis, what you have done is an admission of bankruptcy. Your paternalism has not elevated the common man, but the reverse. "You have begun with a long period of depravation: you have ended in impotence. . . . In this deed done in Galicia men have seen your legitimacy, for the sake of greater glory, devour its own members." This was his personal reproach, based on his sense of the high calling of his class. Realist as he was, cold-blooded as he showed himself both now and fifteen years later, when he held high office under the new Tsar, he could not contain his anguish of heart—or was it plain pride?—at what looked to him to be a betrayal of trust.

But Wielopolski wrote also as an aristocrat, a reactionary (as we should say to-day), who disliked all social ferment, all radicalism, all efforts of the masses to achieve self-expression, to claim for

<sup>2</sup> Both the original and the 1848 German translation are in the B M Library.

themselves any right to be partners in public affairs, and to upset the existing order, made sacred by time and tradition. For him the leaders of the Left in the *Émigration*, and in particular the emissaries delegated to work among the peasants in the homeland, were simply "troublers of Israel." What they regarded as legitimate educational activities he set down as pure mischief-making, as the latest phase of what had been going on in Europe since 1789. True, he had served in 1830-1831 as the envoy of the National Government in revolution to the Court of St. James, but long before that Rising was over he had come to see that armed force could achieve nothing, and had broken with all such romanticism for ever. From now on he was to regard "direct action" as an unmixed evil, and—in his own way, and ploughing a lonely furrow—to belong with those who saw in Tsar Nicholas and Pope Gregory XVI the guarantors of law and order. He himself had hoped to find these rather in the Habsburgs, but now came disillusion. When the Chancellor of Austria stooped to foment violence and anarchy, and to bribe ignorant people to plunder the manors and slay their own masters in cold blood, he could hold up the far juster, though still severe, practice of the Hohenzollerns, and base on community of race a new-found faith in the Romanovs.

The Marquis was at pains, at too great pains, to make it clear that his fellow-Poles of the gentry class had in no way been involved in, or given their approval to, the plans for a Rising in the early months of 1846: conversely, that they had done everything consonant with the dignity of patriots to oppose them. But this aversion to bloodshed, which was tantamount, at least for the present, to an acceptance of the existing order of things, was now seen to be wasted, since in his declaration of 7 March Metternich had thrown all the blame for what happened on those very gentry, and the Emperor Ferdinand himself a few days later had issued two statements of thanks—one to the peasants for the proofs shown of their devotion, and the other to the Austrian officials for the way they had done their duty! This was the last straw. To Wielopolski it meant the collapse of such defences of the established order of things as still existed, at least so far as the Western civilization, to which Poland belonged, was concerned. "We (Poles)," he declared, "shall continue to preserve the same confidence as before, whether in the face of those who destroy in the name of anarchy or those who destroy in the name of power": but something had to be done, and Wielopolski may have recalled the cry of Staszic of half a century earlier, "the West has deserted us!"

Finally the *Letter* was the work of a patriot. No one could ever doubt the attachment of the Marquis to his nation and its traditions of that he had given plenty of proof from 1830 onwards. True, his education in Paris in law, and his doctorate in philosophy at Göttingen, had left on him very definite traces of a non-Polish character; but these were swept aside when he saw what he considered to be the essential features of Polish culture trodden underfoot. This had been going on for some time in the Prussian-ruled provinces and Wielopolski had watched it with concern. But the harshness of Prussian methods was sweetness and light by comparison with the contemptible tactics he now saw being practised by the Habsburgs. The Polish "nation" still meant for him the "commonwealth of the gentry," but he explained with warmth in his *Letter* how this upper class had been knut together through the centuries with the masses of the villagers in a patriarchal system for which much could be said. Now this relationship was being drowned in blood. What may well have been, as we can see from the *Letter*, the last ounce which tipped the scales in favour of the unexpected stand now taken, was the enthusiastic reception given by the people of Cracow to the Russian troops that entered the city on 23 February. So thoroughgoing was their horror at the crimes committed by a German dynasty and its minions, that the Tsar's detachments were welcomed as deliverers. In this, it would seem, Wielopolski was ready to discern an omen of a better future.

But in all this love of country there was a large dose of pride, both of the kind that is legitimate and of the extreme sort that runs grave risks of a fall. The outstanding leader of the nation in these years had been Prince Adam Czartoryski, head of the Conservative faction of the *émigrés*, "uncrowned king of Poland," who during fifteen years of exile had been tireless in his efforts to enlist the support of the Powers in the Polish cause. These tactics were denounced in the *Letter* as "begging," and therefore as beneath the dignity of a national leader. Wielopolski himself recognised only one way, that of direct negotiations with the Partitioning powers—in effect with Russia, *on the basis of the Treaty of Vienna*. He had enough faith (some called it *nawété*) to believe that, although that Treaty had been discarded by St. Petersburg after 1831 in favour of the Organic Statute of February, 1832, a return to it might be realised: and his undoubtedly exaggerated ideas about the importance of Poland as a factor in European affairs convinced him that she would be able to enter on negotiations with Nicholas on

something like equal terms. The sequel was to show how mistaken he was.

### III

Right here, it seems to me, one factor explaining the position now taken up by the Marquis, the futility of which was so soon to be evident, has not been duly appreciated by any of the people who have written about him. I refer to the anomalous nature of his concepts, and the mutually contradictory character of the constituent elements in his political creed. Perhaps this can be made clearer by quoting some notable words from Professor Namier's Raleigh Lecture.

"The basic conflict of 1848 was between two principles—of dynastic property in countries, and of national sovereignty: the one feudal in origin, historic in its growth and survival, deeply rooted, but difficult to defend in argument; the other grounded in reason and ideas, simple and convincing, but as unsuited to living organisms as chemically pure water. To the man of 1848 the dynastic principle stood for arbitrary rule and autocracy, that of popular sovereignty for human rights and national self-government. . . by a crude over-simplification the conflict presented itself to them as a fight between reason and unreason, between freedom and unfreedom."<sup>3</sup>

It is, of course, true that what happened in Poland in 1846 cannot be viewed as all of a piece with the more startling events of "the spring of the nations"; but no one will deny that Mieroslawski's effort was a prelude to the latter, and Professor Namier's comment can thus be applied to the whole movement. It is pertinent for a double reason. On the one hand, the democratic leaders of the Polish Rising, who were out to achieve both national liberation and social revolution, were certainly guilty of the over-simplification referred to, seeing only right on their side and only wrong elsewhere: on the other, even Wielopolski and his kind, who objected to social revolution both as a blow at their own class and for the methods employed, shared the other aim to the full. Nevertheless there was one important difference between the position in which the Poles found themselves—whether the aristocracy or the

<sup>3</sup> Namier, "1848, The Revolution of the Intellectuals," Raleigh Lecture (British Academy), 1944

common people—and the position of the Germans (notably those of Austria) or of the Magyars, or even of the French. The ruling classes of the latter three (and even the commons), each in their own way, knew a sense of piety and attachment toward dynasties as such, to which they had sworn allegiance and without which their own existence would have been an anomaly. The Habsburgs had been a sacred institution of long standing, their “ throne ” an almost sacred symbol, any assault on which amounted to sacrilege, the crown of St. Stephen in its turn stood for the integrity and continuity of the Magyar nation; even the Bourbons, though shaken by 1789, were still a power in France. In Poland the situation was quite different. Such fealty and devotion as may have existed in earlier generations toward the line of the Piasts or that of the Jagiellos (and it was always of an ill-defined character at best) had been dissolved for good in 1572; when Zygmunt August died, leaving no heir, the succession became a matter of election, for which not only Polish nobles but also foreigners of distinction were accepted as candidates. From now onward no divinity hedged the crown whatever. The dynastic principle was replaced by a popular sovereignty that certainly approximated to the thing described by Professor Namier, and cannot be said to have been in conflict with it. What is more, the *pacta conventa*, to which Henry of Valois took such exception that only ambition induced him to sign them, were precisely the concession to the will of the subjects (a small fraction of them, it is true) that could stand at this stage of political development in Central Europe for what Jeffersonian democracy stood for two centuries later in the West.

The Polish aristocracy were thus faced by a dilemma out of which a way was never found, a vacuum (if such things can exist in politics) that was never filled. Wielopolski's case was not the first but it is the most patent. One may surmise that, had Niemcewicz and his friends got their way during the Great Diet of 1788-1792 and the principle of an hereditary monarchy been accepted by the ruling classes of Poland, the position of the nation, even in the bitter circumstances of the Partitions, would have been much stronger than it was. But this did not happen, and the legitimate object of allegiance had to be sought elsewhere.

The Polish cause was from the outset threatened with disaster. It could not be expected that, constituting an island in Eastern Europe, which did not recognise the divine right of rulers, set in a sea of peoples committed as yet to the dynastic tradition, one nation could be permitted to plot and follow a course running

athwart the prevailing order. Internally they had no visible and continuing symbol of unity commanding the loyalty of the subject ; externally, those who toiled to overthrow the existing state of things found themselves denounced, both at home and abroad as "reds," "Jacobins," and enemies of society. In this vortex of forces no one could hope both to eat his cake and also to have it—as Wielopolski desired. His *Letter* made no impression on (seems indeed, not even to have been read by) the one person apart from Metternich, whom it vitally concerned, viz. Tsar Nicholas. It was even rejected by many of his own colleagues and friends. For the time being it fell flat, though echoes of it were to be heard later on.

What the Marquis could not, or would not, see was that imperial Russian policy in regard to Poland was in no way different from that of Vienna. For years Nicholas had done everything in his power to have the Free City banished from the map ; and the crowning act of the whole drama was seen in 1849 when he sent his armies into Hungary to ensure the quelling of revolution there and to save the Habsburgs. The reason was simply his rooted antagonism to social ferment of any kind, and to the ever more loudly voiced demands of the common people for recognition as partners in the state. In this antagonism he was, in 1846, to find strange allies—a Guizot in Paris, explaining if not defending the policy of Vienna on the ground of "communist agencies" in Galicia ; and Pope Gregory XVI, who condemned in an encyclical the victims of the assassins.

Scarcely less strange bed-fellows, be it observed, were to be found on the other side. Few people of that generation had more diverging views of life than the Polish Marquis and the rising apostle of Socialism, Karl Marx ; yet the latter, while declaring that "in Poland the communists support the Party which called forth the Rising of 1846," did not flinch from condemning as roundly as Wielopolski the actions of the Austrian authorities in Galicia.<sup>4</sup> He was at least consistent, while Wielopolski's mind reflects the confused state to which things had come in the heart of the most civilised of continents a generation after the Congress of Vienna. In the composition of the *Letter* he let one element of his complex nature get the upper hand. In that document, says Wilhelm Feldman,

<sup>4</sup> One might add the name of another, quite different, and scarcely less interested observer—that of Palmerston himself. On 9 September, 1849, after the pacification of Hungary, he wrote these words (quoted by Seton-Watson in *Britain in Europe*, p. 266) "The Austrians are really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilised men," and then went on to speak of their "atrocities" in Italy, Galicia, Hungary and Transylvania.

“ there vibrates a deep sense of pain but also of injured pride and of hatred seeking vengeance. A mighty wave of passion flooded the mind of the writer, dictating words that neither Staszic nor any other Slavophil would have uttered before his words of malediction addressed to the whole civilisation of the West. Only an oligarch could propose such a programme, one who was looking at the upper strata of his own nation as at the other. It never entered his head to look for the blame on his own caste, to look for strength in his own nation, to build this up and to depend on it for the future. That would have meant depending on the democracy which he despised just as much as he despised Metternichian bureaucracy.”

## IV

Fifteen months before the *Letter* of the Marquis appeared in Paris another letter had been indited in that same city, also in Polish hands, and addressed directly to the illustrious personage whom Wielopolski was appealing—Tsar Nicholas. The writers were Mickiewicz and Alexander Chodźko (soon to succeed him as Professor at the Collège de France) and they acted on instructions of the Towiański *Circle*, given at its celebration of the thirteenth anniversary of the November Rising. Here may be found the supreme expression of the Messianic doctrines, no longer Polish but Slavonic, into which Mickiewicz had grown under the influence of Towiański and which he had put into concrete form in his later Lectures at the Collège de France. Space does not permit of their analysis here, but it is worth while remarking the curious turn of fortune by which serious leaders of the Left, poets and romanticists, arrived at the same position as the hard-headed realist of the Right.

Towiański's Russophil tendencies did not offend Mickiewicz; they did Słowacki, but rather matured him—not of course the poet but the citizen. He could thus put his signature to a document which asked that the past be forgotten, that Poles realise how they themselves had been in error, and that the Tsar be recognised as the leader, the inspired creator of a new world.

“ The time has come when all guilty persons, united in the spirit of a love that has neither been understood nor fulfilled until now, should unite their efforts. . . .”

Admitting that Poland's misfortunes were Heaven's punishment for the failure to realise her true historical mission, the writer went on :

“ The revolutions have not been a success, but have turned rather against those who began them ; for the greater any nation is, as the Instrument of the Word, the more of the divine treasures and of the flame of Christ it possesses, the holier is its responsibility.”

Then came the address to Nicholas I,

“ The salvation of millions has been entrusted to you, Most Serene Lord. As the one who leads so many Slav peoples, subject to your sceptre, you are the instrument of the Divine Will, the greatest on earth. If, Most Serene Lord, you will listen to the voice of God, your subjects, faithful to God and consecrating themselves to His thought, will devote themselves to your greatness, to your happiness, . . .”

The letter was handed in at the Russian Embassy in Paris, and nothing is known as to its further fate ; but it is a significant document none the less.

## V

If now we ask why the general chorus of protest at, and condemnation of, Wielopolski's proposal, we cannot stop with noting only the objections, important as they were, of those who declared that Poland was being called upon to sign away her liberties for ever. The problem is a deeper one.

The *Letter* offered nothing beyond a formally political solution in the shallow sense of meaning “ what is good policy.” In the writer's view it offered a way of saving a measure of constitutional rights for a nation that had been violently robbed of them half a century earlier : as he boldly said, it was a choice among evils of the lesser ; but it could not be a cure for any of them. Least of all could it be a cure for the root-evil of Polish public life—the lack, as yet, of a broader foundation for political self-government. With absolutism like that of the Habsburgs, Romanovs and Hohenzollerns in the saddle, no achieving of national independence was possible ; and to come to terms of any kind with any one of them would have meant a perpetuation of the patriarchal class-society which advocates of democracy (the Poles in the vanguard) could never accept. The Marquis might be content with this but the fast developing national enlightenment could not.

Wielopolski was neither the first nor the last distinguished Polish leader to make this kind of proposal. Fifty years earlier the noblest



of his time, Stanisław Staszic, had called on his fellows to "unite with the Russians and educate yourselves!" (Just what he meant by the term "unite" is not clear) Fifty years later the foremost political leader of his generation, Roman Dmowski, founded a political party, whose *raison d'être* so far as international affairs were concerned was the unification of all Polish lands under the Tsar as a means of rescuing them from German aggression. But neither of these men was attracted in any way by things Russian; and the latter, at least, cordially despised everything that Empire stood for. Both of them were children of the enlightenment, rooted in 18th-century France. Dmowski formulated his policy in *La Question Polonaise* (published in 1907) with an eye to the general alignment of the European powers. The Marquis on the other hand had no place at all in his thinking for that enlightenment. This made his position more hopeless than ever.

One wonders whether he would have acted differently could he have looked into the future. His brief years of public service, defeated alike by the temper of his own people, by the mounting cultural antagonism of the Russians, and by his own clumsiness, ended just at the moment when Bismarck took over the reins in Berlin and ushered in a generation of collusion among the Powers resolved to keep Poland off the map of Europe. Against the Iron Chancellor other methods had to be used, and were used with success, than those he proposed. Then came the upheaval of 1914-1918, the end of the dynasties everywhere, and the emergence of a new Russia—the one we know to-day. In the world of our time Wielopolski would have been lost—a museum piece that could attract the curious but nothing more. Yet by a curious coincidence the conviction that underlay his *Letter* is not dead. The failure of the League of Nations to make possible a Europe in which the smaller nations have as good prospects of survival as the larger has been a far worse blow than most people surmise. It has not yet sobered us all as it should have. The simple consequence is that, unable to get what ought to be, we must accept what is. That means for some a far worse prospect than for others. Facing a similar situation a century ago the Poles resolved on "work from the ground up," and they won through. It is a long guess that they will do the same to-day.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

# THE WORKING CLASSES OF BRITAIN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS \* (1848)

THE relationship between Continental revolutions from 1789 onwards and their echo in England, as expressed in review articles, political arguments and general literature, was similar to the relationships which exists between a vigorous Turner water-colour and a 19th-century engraving. The British echo, like numerous engravings in fine books of the period, tried to give an elaborate, almost photographic picture of events. Political arguments, indeed, contained a certain amount of drama in their judgement of revolutionary leaders. But their picture of the actual revolutions contained no real colour comparable to that of the events themselves, a colour which can be found only in real revolutionary situations, street-fights and executions, sudden changes of sovereignty and power. An ideological "black and white" manner of presentation compensated the British people for the lack of Turner colour. Certain groups, nations, classes and personalities were considered "dark forces" or "snow-white angels," according to the ideological camp of the speaker or writer. No wonder that among these monotonous black-and-white drawings of Continental revolutions some relatively colourful British gestures caught the fancy of the contemporary public and the interest of historians. The self-sacrifice of Byron in the Greek war, the assault upon Haynau, the "butcher of the revolution," in London by the workers, the famous reception of Kossuth; the planned participation of Britons in Garibaldi's action: these and similar gestures were and are considered the most important expressions of British public opinion.

But the historian should never forget that it was the *total* reaction to Continental revolutions which influenced a certain section of British political life. The British public built up its ideas about the rôle of small nations in the progress of humanity, about the problem of intervention and non-intervention and about the relative value of the culture of different nations while meditating upon the birth and death of Continental revolutions.

\* From the proposed introduction to a forth-coming book on the British Working Classes and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849 (Ed Note).

It would be a great mistake to imagine that the sympathy felt towards Continental revolutions, and towards the Hungarian revolution in particular, was limited to the working-class or, indeed, to any particular class. The poet Landor, for instance, who liked to call himself a Conservative, was an admirer of the Hungarian cause and of Kossuth from the very beginning. The young Guards officer, A. Massingberd, gave up his military career in order to serve Kossuth, whom he visited in exile and to whom he offered his house in Eaton Place during the glorious days of Kossuth's first visit to England. Apart from these individuals there were many important middle-class politicians who became supporters of Kossuth and of the Hungarian cause. The more radical-minded among the middle-class did not even hesitate to share political platforms with the working-class in protesting against the oppression of the Hungarian nation.

However, the reaction of the British working-class to the 1848 revolutions, and to the Hungarian War of Independence in particular, was as homogeneous and as definite as had previously been the attitude of the middle-class towards the movement for the abolition of the Corn Laws. It was the working-class, and the working-class alone, which listened to the news of the Hungarian war not only with extreme sympathy, as did others also, but also with a readiness to influence public opinion to change the policy of non-intervention to one of intervention even at the risk of war.

Of course it was the French Revolution of 1848 and not the Hungarian Revolution which was mainly responsible for an event as important as the April march of the British Chartists. But the Hungarian War lasted long after the visible forms of revolutionary Chartism had collapsed. Its reaction was therefore deeper and more constant. During the critical times which followed the April failure of Chartism British working-class leaders seemed to think it necessary to refer to the heroism of the Hungarians and the wickedness of their foreign oppressors in order to establish and keep alive an emotional feeling in the British working-class, and to quote the events of the Danube basin as examples in teaching the masses of the British industrial areas.

Thus an analysis which deals with the problem of British working-class reaction to the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence is a modest contribution to the history of the process through which the opinion of this class was prepared and formed on the great questions of European policy, Continental revolutions and counter-revolutions, and the sovereignty of small nations. The results of research in books and essays on early British working-class inter-

nationalism, with which all these problems are connected, can serve as starting points for our work.<sup>1</sup>

# I

The results of these researches in early English socialism convince us that, as Lorwin said, early English and French Socialists "in thought as in action . . . ignored political boundaries and national differences."<sup>2</sup> One of the earliest of these documents was an Address of the National Union of the Working Classes of England to the people of Ireland, dated August 17, 1831. It contained these words: "We hope that the day is not distant when the oppressed poor of every country will unite in sentiment and action for the benefit of the whole human race."<sup>3</sup> Some years later, in 1836, William Lovett, the most internationally-minded figure of the early British working-class movement, formulated the general line of this internationalism in the following words: "Seeing that our oppressors are united . . . why should not we unite in holy zeal to show the injustice of war, the cruelty of despotism, and the misery it entails upon our species?"<sup>4</sup>

During the forties of the last century, though the feeling of internationalism became stronger as the number of Addresses increased, it began to change somewhat. It was at this period mostly the organisation called "The Fraternal Democrats" which issued these statements during the various crises and Continental revolutionary movements of these years, so that internationalism was built up by consecutive statements adapted to various situations as they arose rather than by declarations of general principles. The Polish nation was often the object of an Address,<sup>5</sup> and a special working-class organisation was founded for Poland when working-class intellectuals found the attitude of middle-class friends of Poland too timid and careful. Many other Eastern European peoples were mentioned in these Addresses also.

Thus the problems of Hungarian, Italian and other nationalisms received a certain publicity among the British working-class. If these documents were insufficient to build up a wide knowledge of these Eastern European peoples, they at least helped to spread a knowledge of certain elementary facts about them and to inculcate hatred of their oppressors. Among the latter Tzarist Russia and Habsburg Austria were particularly emphasised. Thus the British working-class received a very unsympathetic picture of the future enemies of the coming Hungarian revolution, and its general pre-

disposition towards Tsarism and the Habsburg Empire was unfavourable long before the revolution started.

By continual reference to the right of oppressed Continental peoples to rise in revolt, the original pacifist attitude of British working-class internationalism was revalued. The main problem of British Chartism soon became the question whether it is useful and justified to use physical force or not. Chartist leaders who played a large part in the writing of these Addresses to foreign peoples believed in, if they did not propagate, the idea of physical force at home. In consequence, the previous pacifist trend soon disappeared from these documents. Julian Harney explained when he moved the adoption of an Address to the working-classes of Great Britain and the United States on the settlement of the Oregon question. "As regards 'war' we are not of those who cry 'peace at any cost.' . . . We fear the time has not yet arrived for 'permanent and universal peace.' There are nations so tightly fettered that we can see no prospect of their chains being broken without the aid of the sword. Poland and Italy are striking examples. . . ." <sup>6</sup>

Perhaps it is open to argument whether these references to the justification of the use of force and revolution in foreign countries contributed to the spread of the idea of the justification of physical force at home among the British working-class, or not. What is of real interest in this connection is that the revaluation of pacifism and the call to stronger nations to help the weaker became a commonplace in the early, pre-1848 revolution documents. Later, during the Hungarian revolution, the British working-class simply applied to the Hungarian situation what they had already declared years ago.

These Addresses began soon to recognise the justification of certain national tendencies. They began to justify the nationalism of small, oppressed peoples if it aimed at the establishment of social progress. Julian Harney in a famous speech in February, 1846, at the annual banquet of the German Democratic Society for the Education of the Working-Classes, declared "Nationality has in other times been necessary. The nationality championed by a Miltiades, a Tell and a Wallace was a positive good, it saved mankind from universal slavery. In our day too, the invoking of the spirit of nationality is in some countries indispensable to rekindle life in these countries and to induce these nations to strike the first blow for liberty. I consider Poland and Italy to be instances where the spirit of nationality may be invoked with beneficial results. . . . Whatever natural differences divide Poles, Russians, Prussians,

Hungarians and Italians, these national differences have not prevented the Russian, Austrian and Prussian despots uniting together to maintain their tyranny; why, then, cannot the people of these countries unite for the obtaining of their liberty? He expects this unity to succeed through the support given it "by the leaders of public opinion throughout Europe." If they work "faithfully to their mission," then unity between nations will be established and the cause of the people served. "The cause of the people in all countries," he continues, "is the same—the cause of labour, enslaved and plundered labour."

Thus we can see that at this time British working-class intellectuals showed a keen interest in the affairs of Continental peoples. There may have been a certain amount of opposition to this interest in the problems of strangers and foreigners. One has only to remember the remark of an older working-man quoted in a book of Kingsley Martin "Damn all foreign countries. What has Old England to do with foreign countries?"<sup>8</sup> It was people like this whom, fifteen years later, an article in *The Reasoner* on a pro-Polish meeting in London answered by explaining why the British working-class should interest itself in international problems: "Many people ask, 'What is the use of such meetings? Nicholas fights and we reason. *Cui bono?*' There is to this question an obvious, sufficient answer—it is always of use to honour the brave and sympathise with the unfortunate. It may be that there is no direct communication between the National Association Hall, High Holborn, and the cabinet of Petersburg, telegraphic or otherwise. But there is a moral connection. If Russia tramples on Poland, and no people complain—power, always intoxicated by submission, grows rampant, Russian ministers will whisper to English ministers: See how well and quietly we succeed here, why cannot you try something of the same kind at home?—and Russian tactics may be tried in the city of London."<sup>9</sup>

This quotation and others show that early British working-class internationalism had very realistic, intellectually-based foundations. We can summarise its characteristics thus far as follows: It had a certain sympathy for the nationalistic movements of small nations (except when this nationalism took the form of an inhuman division between men and men, which the Fraternal Democrats strongly condemned) but only when these served the cause of the oppressed. Further, its earlier pacifism gave place to a firm belief in the duty of stronger nations to help the weaker, even at the risk of war. Finally its method was the education of public opinion, which it was ready to

mobilise in the interest of oppressed nations, firmly believing and emphasising at the same time that this mobilisation of public opinion against oppression abroad might equally defend the cause of freedom at home.

British working-class internationalism was not conditioned by a mystical belief in any "national mission" of the British nation, as was the French working-class of the period. According to Lehning "For the greater part of the French Socialists, who advocated internationalism, France was the pioneer of the revolution, the country *par excellence* to accomplish European unity."<sup>10</sup>

This does not mean that early British working-class internationalism was not coloured by any emotional elements. But these were mostly of an ethical character. References to a just God and Biblical expressions are a constant phenomenon in pre-Marxian British working-class pamphlets and articles. In popular working-class songs of the years 1848-1850 which were influenced by Continental revolutions and contained the names of Hungarian heroes and victims of the War of Independence, the frequency of religious expressions sometimes exasperated the editors of working-class periodicals.<sup>11</sup> G. J. Holyoake, the editor of *The Reasoner*, could not resist this sarcastic comment on the Prayer of Kossuth: "This prayer, which is considered one of the happiest efforts of Spartacus, has been set to music by Miss S. D. Collet. Apart from our estimate of the excellence of this rendering, we insert it in order to express our regret that such prayers are never answered. What can show more forcibly the isolation in which man is left, when a prayer like this—which all Europe, if unfettered, would have responded to—falls again to the earth?"<sup>12</sup>

Holyoake belonged to a section of working-class intellectuals which propagated the teaching of secularism—a school of thought which tried to continue and accentuate the process of the secularisation of ethical dogmas and to emancipate the working-class from orthodox Christianity. The same trend was represented by the Rev. Robert Taylor and the editor Richard Carlile, both of whom attacked orthodoxy among their working-class readers, thus laying themselves open to a charge of blasphemy. Of course these secularists also strongly opposed the political systems of countries which became enemies of the Hungarian cause—Tsarist Russia and Habsburg Austria. Many articles in working-class literature attacked the alliance of Russian Orthodoxy and Tsarism, and of Catholicism and the Habsburgs.<sup>13</sup>

Thus the presence of emotional elements of religious or of secu-

larist belief did not minimise hatred of Eastern European oppressor nations : on the contrary it augmented it. There was a new myth in worldly progress abroad among the working-class, and supernatural forces were secularised. The personalities of the hated systems of reaction became devils in the imagination of the working-class long before the outbreak of the revolution, and the heroes of freedom received a glory previously the privilege only of angels. Metternich, Tsar Nicholas and the like belonged to the first category. In the assault on Haynau there were certain elements of a secularist "exhortation" and it is not without symbolic interest that a contemporary pamphlet caricatured him as a devil with horns

## II

We have seen the general line of the predisposition of the British working-class towards any Continental revolution, and towards any revolution which might occur in Eastern Europe in particular, for it was there that the two great powers of the *status quo* were considered in every connection and by the whole of that class as "dark forces". It is true that theoretically there was created the basis for a sympathetic attitude towards a revolution in any of these countries ; but when analysing the attitude of the British working-class towards the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence the analysis should go further by establishing certain facts regarding the predisposition of this working-class towards Hungary. Was there any interest or possibility of obtaining knowledge about Hungary among the British working-class in those hectic years, when public opinion was mainly interested in the Polish, Italian and French questions, when the Swiss question suddenly became acute and when Mazzini was mobilising public opinion on behalf of a free Italy and of the Slavs ?

The usual channels through which the middle-class received a fairly adequate knowledge of this little country were closed to the working-class. They were unable to augment their poor collection of cheap pamphlets with expensive books on Hungary which were not reviewed in the columns of their periodicals. They were of course unable to follow their wealthy countrymen on their expensive tours of Hungary, even when these became cheaper with the coming of steamships on the Danube, further opened up at this time by the efforts of Count Széchenyi. This noble Count and great Hungarian patriot and reformer was lionised by the authors of these books and



articles dealing with the Danube. Contact between England and Hungary was firmly established, and Széchenyi succeeded in creating not only a bridge between the two banks of the Danube with the help of English engineers, but also a bridge between English liberalism and Hungary with the help of Bentham's *Book of Fallacies* and of articles in progressive English reviews. Széchenyi, too, a disciple of Bentham, became popular among contemporary progressive minds in England, and one of the few foreign members of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Apart from these connections some active British writers tried to interest British business and government circles in Hungary, emphasising the importance for England of Hungarian markets which, they pointed out, would be perfect securities.

But such contacts did not influence the British working-class. Nor was the latter confined to receiving only such information as it could find in the columns of certain new periodicals, which, like *Hovvitts's Journal* in 1847, published articles on Hungarian peasants and poets—articles that received notices in working-class weeklies. Apart from these casual items it was possible to receive first-hand information about the internal situation in Hungary from other channels.

Thomas Frost, in his *Recollections*, gives a vivid description of the scenes which followed the arrival from the Continent of the first news of the Revolution of 1848 and specifically mentions that among the shouts of excitement to be heard was the Hungarian "Éljen!" from the mouths of Hungarian workers in England. "The news of the abdication and flight of Louis Philippe reached this country while we (i.e. the Fraternal Democrats) were holding our monthly meeting, and as it had been preceded by intelligence which had caused a considerable degree of excitement among advanced Liberals of all nationalities, there was a very full attendance of members. The tricoloured flag of the French republic; the black, gold and red symbol of German unity; the green, white and red tricolour of the Hungarian patriots, the flag that reminded the countrymen of Kosciusko of their lost liberties; waved with others above the president's chair." There was present a mixed assembly of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Poles and "Hungarians, who cherished the hope of national independence . . . Suddenly the news of the events in Paris was brought in. The effect was electrical. Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, Magyars, sprang to their feet, embraced, shouted and gesticulated in the wildest enthusiasm. Snatches of oratory were delivered in excited tones, and flags were caught from

the walls, to be waved exultingly, amidst cries of 'Hoch! Éljen! Vive la Republique!' " 14

The greater part of these Hungarian workers had come to London via Hamburg during the previous ten years. Others came from Paris with other refugees after the failure of Blanqui's socialist revolt in 1838<sup>15</sup> Hungarian workers in London joined German working-class organisations. From these in 1846 developed the organisation of the Fraternal Democrats which was considered the First International

A Hungarian, Németh, was a member of the secretariat of the Fraternal Democrats set up on 15 March, 1846. His name was mentioned already by Rothstein among the secretaries of this organisation; and it looks as though he became a secretary of the organisation already in March, 1846, i.e. from its very foundation. It is true that *The Northern Star* in its issue of 21 March, 1846, mentions that six secretaries were elected from England, Germany, France, the Slavonic countries, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland representatively. This item does not mention Hungary, but the same issue of *The Northern Star* published an undated Address of the Fraternal Democrats signed by the following: "G. Julian Harney, Carl Shapper, J. A. Michelet, Peter Holm, Huber, Németh." The next Address of the Fraternal Democrats was issued on 21 September, 1846, and published in the 26 September, 1846, issue of *The Northern Star*. It was "Signed by the Secretaries: G. Julian Harney, native of Great Britain, Carl Shapper, native of Germany, J. A. Michelet, native of France, Peter Holm, native of Scandinavia, J. Schabelitz, native of Switzerland, Louis Oborski, native of Poland, N. Nemeth, native of Hungary." The editor of *The Northern Star* may have thought in March, 1846, that a Hungarian secretary was a secretary for the Slavonic people as they appear to have confused the two from time to time. As, however, we know from Frost that the Slavonic and the Polish sections of this secretariat were usually combined, it might be also that the Polish section was considered Slavonic at the beginning—which would explain the misunderstanding. The mistake of the 21 March, 1846, issue did not occur again and future Addresses were signed by Németh as "a native of Hungary" and by Oborski as "a native of Poland."

Németh was later elected a member of the permanent committee chosen by the workers to deal with Polish matters. His name appears under documents until 1848 when its place is taken by that of Nyitray, the other known Hungarian member of the Fraternal Democrats. Apart from the Poles and a Russian the names of these

two Hungarians appeared on behalf of the many nationalities of Eastern Europe.

Thus we can see that the Hungarian workers' community had a certain standing in Great Britain. The visit Mihály Táncsics paid them bears this out. Mihály Táncsics was of peasant origin, and one of the early Hungarian revolutionaries. He was imprisoned for his writings before the 1848 revolution. As a first revolutionary gesture the "March Youth" liberated him on 15 March, the day the revolt broke out. He was a friend of the peasantry and the working class; and apart from his opinion on the nationality problem, which was that of a Magyar extremist, he was the most progressive personality of this period.

Táncsics visited London in the late summer of 1846,<sup>16</sup> travelling for the sake of study in the utmost poverty. He entered the country at Southampton and, after his bitter experiences of rigid Continental control, was extremely surprised that the British authorities did not demand his passport.<sup>17</sup> He made contact with the Hungarian workers in London and accepted their invitation for a lecture. "It happened for the first time in his life that he was not in a miserable condition when he wrote the text of his lecture. Previously the censors had made his life a misery, whenever he was going to publish anything."<sup>18</sup> His lecture was entitled: *Hungarian Workers Abroad*, or *To Whom Belongs the Country*?. Of it he wrote in his autobiography: "I emphasised in my lecture the natural rights of the four classes of labourers." His thesis in general was that the country belongs to those who work in it, the workers. The lecture was a great success among the Hungarian workers. Táncsics gave them the manuscript for publication and distribution. His biography mentions the fee for what was probably the first Hungarian book intended to be published in London—£2.<sup>19</sup>

A working-class community with a secretary in an international organisation of the period, which was able to organise a lecture like this, had a certain importance in a foreign country. There must have been many politically-minded Hungarian workers in this community who may well have informed Chartist foreign affairs experts about conditions in Hungary. These workers, probably radicals, would have prophesied the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution, have told how Hungarians hated the Austrian censorship and oppression and have been able to give a certain amount of information about the miserable conditions of the Hungarian rural population.

In an 1847 issue of *The Labourer*, the monthly review of Feargus

O'Connor and Ernest Jones, there appeared the following : " Austria and Russia are playing in Turkey their old game of divide and conquer—and then divide again. An insurrection has been resuscitated by Austria in Bosnia through an inhabitant of Rike named Mahmoud. Halil Kiamil Pasha at the head of 3000 Albanians defeated him at Dobrina, with heavy losses on either side. We shall hear of more such Austrian *intrigues* if the growing storm in Hungary does not prevent it. In this latter country the peasant insurrection yet lives on. The government, alarmed, has convoked the people, promising remission of a portion of their feudal obligations of forced labour. To the surprise of the authorities who calculated on the delight and gratitude of the serfs, the latter retired, declaring themselves dissatisfied with anything short of total abrogation of forced labour of every description. Meantime the famine here, too, is so great that nutshells are ground to make bread. Many a revolution at its beginning has been contained in a *nutshell*." <sup>20</sup>

This item characterises the spirit in which Western socialists were expecting the outbreak of the revolution, in which they recognised the importance of the part the peasantry would play. However, these items did not criticise the ruling class as strongly as we might have expected. They concentrated their attacks more on governments. Nor at that time do we find much enthusiasm expressed for the reforming ideals of liberal opposition to feudalism in Hungary, about which there were many sympathetic articles in middle-class periodicals. In the last few days of 1847 a declaration of the Fraternal Democrats affirmed : " The oppressed people of the several European countries may propose to themselves various modes of accomplishing their emancipation ; they may differ as to the peculiar form of the free political systems they seek to establish and they may not agree on the social reforms necessary to render liberty a reality ; on these points unity of sentiment and action may be neither possible nor necessary. But there are two points of agreement for the Democrats of all countries, namely the sovereignty of the people and the fraternity of nations." <sup>21</sup>

In harmony with this thesis there was comparatively little criticism either of the existing social structure of Eastern European countries or of Hungarian ruling-class responsibility for the condition of the peasantry.

The explanation is to be found in the great impression the Cracow events made on the British working-class. The Polish Revolution was suppressed by the Austrian Government with the help of the Polish peasantry, and articles in British working-class

periodicals contained the strongest attacks on this use of Metternich's policy of "divide and rule." The peasant leader, Szela, became a prominent figure and his atrocities against Polish patriots were described in many articles. *The Labourer* published his biography at length. His name often appeared in speeches and articles. Highly characteristic of the way his name occurred in popular songs is "The March of Freedom" by the Chartist poet, Ernest Jones.<sup>22</sup> Written immediately before the outbreak of the February revolution, it describes the March of Freedom through Europe :

Then northwards wandered freedom,  
Where Elbe and Danube flow,  
And Ferdinand and Frederick have  
Their people for their foe !

Like unbound Roman faces,  
Lie the states with dukes and kings ·  
She'll bind them in one rod  
To scourge the sceptred things

By Hungary she's passing,  
And blunt grows Szela's knife ;  
And the famished of Silesia  
Are thinking of their life.

Since the Cracow events the British working-class feared social conditions might disunite the revolutionary front, the victory of which they so passionately desired. An Address supported by Jones and G. Harney, and accepted by a working-class meeting held on 20 May, 1846, in commemoration of the Polish martyrs, said of the events in Galicia that they " will for ever remain a monument of perfidy and cruelty of the Austrian despotism. This despotism affects to be the chief conservator of existing institutions . . . and yet it has laboured by the most atrocious means to excite one class of the community to exterminate the other."<sup>23</sup> Thus the events of the Polish revolution, which contributed strongly to a temporary radicalism in the Hungarian leader, Kossuth, affected the British working-class attitude to Hungary. Nor did social conditions in Hungary at this time bring forth any very strong criticism from the British working-class against any stratum of Hungarian society. This was left to Conservative critics during the revolution itself.

## III

Thus the British working-men's picture of the Hungarian peasant was not a dissonant part of their general idea of Hungary during the pre-revolutionary period. Yet it was still possible that certain disturbing elements might be introduced into it by the question of nationalities. The problem of the Slavs was growing in importance. In Hungary there were serious troubles between Magyars and non-Magyars. Did not this situation create a set-back to a friendly or at least neutral attitude towards Hungary? This problem needs analysing within the framework of the whole question of Eastern Europe.

The most important figure behind the Slavonic renaissance was Mazzini, who was fighting in London for the political liberation of the Slavs, while many English writers were dealing only with problems of Slavonic culture. Mazzini was one of those who prophesied the coming revolution in Eastern Europe as early as 1846. He believed that the revolution of the Slavs in the north and of the Italians and South Slavs in the south would terminate Austrian tyranny. He did not always ascribe the same importance to the rôle the Magyars would play in this concentrated attack, but at the time of his emigration to London he definitely emphasised the importance of the Slavs in his articles and lectures <sup>24</sup>

Mazzini's connections were mostly with radical minds among the middle-class, but he found many proselytes among working-class writers as well. Linton, Cooper and Holyoake were his personal friends. It may have been Mazzini who influenced Cooper, the famous Chartist poet, in the lecture he gave in 1848 in which, after describing the divisions of the Slavs, he speaks of "The Slovacs, who inhabit Northern Hungary and the Slovenzi . . . The story of the struggles with the Magyars, a Tartar tribe who till lately held complete sovereignty over the Slavonic inhabitants of Hungary—and of the persecution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague—with other materials of the history, were full of interest; but we must refer our readers, for the detail, to such works as Menzel's or Kohlhaush's *History of Germany*. A great store of information relative to the Sclavonian races may also be found in different articles in the *Westminster Review* from the pen of Dr. Browning." <sup>25</sup> It is noteworthy that Cooper has to refer to German books. This shows that little was written in English at that time about the struggle between Magyars and non-Magyars.

But Mazzini's Chartist connections gave him no influence over

those Chartist leaders who formulated the foreign policy of *The Northern Star* and the Fraternal Democrats. In fact his working-class friends soon turned against this revolutionary nationalist. His strong criticism of French communism provoked strong counter-criticism in the columns of *The Northern Star*.<sup>26</sup> His ideas on the Slavs had a much greater influence on the middle-class than on the working-class.

David Urquhart also dealt with Eastern European problems. Urquhart was a great enemy of Mazzini, whom he considered a Russian agent. He started a crusade among the working-class to collect followers for his deliberate anti-Russian propaganda. In direct opposition to Mazzini he regarded any pro-Slav attitude with suspicion as pro-Russian and he severed his relationship with Kossuth immediately when the Hungarian leader, in violation of his promise, got in touch with Mazzini.<sup>27</sup>

But it was neither Mazzini nor Urquhart who influenced those elements of the working-class who were interested in foreign affairs and with international revolutions and who were in close contact with Marx and others. These found their long-awaited expert on Eastern European questions in the interesting, but nowadays completely forgotten, Henningsen.<sup>28</sup>

Henningsen was an ex-officer and journalist and in his time a colourful and very popular writer. In politics he belonged to the radical-minded liberal middle-class. He specialised in European revolutions. In 1830 he had published a book on the Belgian revolution. During the forties he turned exclusively to Eastern European problems. His books became the standard works on the political conditions and cultural problems of Russia and Eastern Europe. *The Northern Star* published many long articles on his works, often ten or twelve articles on one book. His statements were quoted in this paper whenever the problems of Eastern Europe were discussed.

The importance of Henningsen's books is that they treat the problems of Eastern European peoples from a political point of view. Not only does he give a picture of the cultural development of these peoples but he considers them also as the victims of Russian and Austrian oppression. This aspect caught the public interest.

To his book on Eastern Europe he attached a map showing the nations which lived under constitutional or under absolute rule. Referring to it he says: "A glance at the rough map accompanying this work will remind the reader that whilst the western half of Europe comprises nearly all its constitutionally governed states (which lie contiguous to each other and are established on the broad

basis of an homogeneity of national population) all the eastern portion of this continent is divided between four despotisms whose rule is established over heterogeneous races, nearly always subdued by a minority and ruled over by a system of deceit and terror, which has hitherto acted on the jealousies, ignorance and abasement (of these peoples) which for their own selfish ends these governments will strive to perpetuate amongst more than half the population of the most civilised quarter of the globe

"It will be perceived that the great bulk of this population is Slavonic, parcelled out between Prussia, Austria, Russia and Turkey to the extent of between 85 and 100 millions

"Finns, Magyars, Italians, Greeks and Albanians are united beneath a common yoke with this vast Slavonic family, which has hitherto been kept in easy subjection by its own unconsciousness; and through the power which its oppressors derived from the abject submission of 35 millions of its numbers (the Muscovites), and the uses made of the prejudice of race by the Germans who in Austria do not number 6, in Prussia 8 millions, and whose amount in the whole of Europe is not assumed at more than 35 and probably does not exceed 30 millions" <sup>29</sup>

Thus he shows the solidarity in misery of the Hungarians and the Slavs. But the events of a single summer, he says, may sweep away for ever the domination of the Austrian and Prussian governments. "Thirty-one millions of restless Italians, warlike Magyars, and discontented Slavonians are plotting its overthrow; and its power reposes on nothing but the tame submission of between five and six millions of Germans, of whom half are colonists dispersed amidst strange populations or mere temporary settlers. . . .

"In thus shadowing forth inevitably impending changes in the fate of all these eastern states, which we are apt to regard by a sort of prescription as so immutable, it is not meant to be asserted that inevitable and entire destruction threatens them.

"The Austrian empire, abandoning its hold of the Italian, perhaps even of its German provinces, may become Slavonic, as proposed in the reign of Joseph the Second. It may gather in a constitutionally federative form all the remainder of its present elements around the nucleus of the Hungarian kingdom; and thus entering on a career of progress, its wholly altered government may exchange a precarious irresponsibility of power for permanent solidity." <sup>30</sup>

Henningsen emphasised the fact that the Slavs had already once emancipated themselves from Russia. Therefore they could not be



considered simply as puppets of Tsarist Russia: "The author is perfectly aware that the resuscitation of national feeling amongst the scattered fragments of the Slavonic family—at least amongst those of the Greek communion—originated in the ambition of the Russian tsars, who saw the prospect of uniting them within their empire. . . . But they had evoked a spirit now beyond their power to lay. . . . Thence, and from other concurring causes, the revival of Slavonic nationality, first devised by Russia, is now everywhere anti-Russian in its tendency. . . ." <sup>31</sup>

According to him Poles and Hungarians should be the link between East and West. "This Polish nation, too, like the Hungarian, must prove the link, acting as conductor to convey to the eastern world beyond, the ideas and civilisation of the west, to which it already aspires." <sup>32</sup>

He is convinced that Austria does not want to introduce social reforms and quotes in confirmation the Cracow events of 1846. Austria had played the same game against Hungary when in 1831 she mobilised the Hungarian peasants against their Hungarian overlords: "The broad day of enlightenment which has dawned in other countries, has however penetrated into Galicia, in spite of all the efforts of the Austrian cabinet. The serf lords of Austria, like the slave lords of Russia, begin to see how wretchedly inferior is their condition to that of the landed proprietors of free countries. But Austria will not, any more than Russia, allow a general emancipation of the peasantry. . . . In the kingdom of Hungary the Austrian cabinet has employed every imaginable art to set the Slavonic against the Magyar population, and the peasant against the proprietor."

"When during the Polish revolution of 1830-1831 the chivalrous Magyars, anxious to fly to the assistance of Poland, offered to the Emperor, through their diet, to march to the relief of that country with a hundred thousand men, the landlords were suddenly alarmed and paralysed by the revolts of their peasantry in different districts, where they burned, massacred and destroyed." <sup>33</sup>

He is very pro-Hungarian: "This Hungarian kingdom contains all the elements of a state which might become more prosperous and powerful than any on the continent excepting France and Poland. . . . The Magyars, a people of Turkish or Tartar origin, are one of the noblest and most chivalrous races in Europe." <sup>34</sup>

He believes that Hungarians and the Slavs represent certain historical values—the Hungarians the idea of liberalism, the Slavs that of democracy: "The progress of opinion amongst the Magyars

took naturally the bent of an aristocratic liberalism. When educated they are usually admirers of our British constitution, whilst the Slavonians lean toward democratic opinions " 35

He sees everywhere the signs of a growing friendship between Hungarians and Slavs whereas Austria wants to create discord between the two races : " The hatred of both to despotism, their antipathy to the Germans, and their sympathy for the Poles (a Slavonic people) are common ground on which fraternity (between Magyars and Slavs) is being rapidly effected. Year by year, month by month, and week by week, the Magyar lords abandon their prejudice against Slavonic villeinage ; and corresponding advances are made by the Slavonic democracy. Austria has perhaps still the power, in an eventful crisis of exciting social rebellions, as it partially did in Hungary in 1831, and has recently done in Galicia , but this state of things is rapidly disappearing and the jealously guarded privileges of the Hungarian diet, and the exclusion by it of Germans from office prevent the perpetuation by the Austrian cabinet of that darkness and ignorance in which its safety lies, and by the dissipation of which its dominion must be overturned." 36

Thus in this book, and in his other writings, Henningsen expressed a belief in a possible collaboration between Magyars and non-Magyars. From his book and from other sources the British working-class learned that the intrigues of the Vienna court lay behind any antagonism between the two

This information was of very great importance before the outbreak of the revolution. Its true import had been summarised for the British working-class in a review of a previous book of his in *The Northern Star* . " Here is the question : In the next European struggle will the English people ally themselves with the people of France, Poland, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, etc., or with the Russian autocrat and his tributary satraps who by force and fraud, craft and murder, keep the nations in bondage and misery ? " 37

We have seen that the British workers were favourably predisposed to the Hungarian cause in the coming revolution. In their internationalism they pictured the Europe of the future as a peaceful concert of independent national states. They considered it the duty of stronger nations to participate, if necessary actively, in the coming struggle between powerful oppressors and small oppressed nations. This was not a result of the events of 1848, though, of course, it was accentuated during the heroic resistance of Hungary.

They recognised the importance of public opinion and they were willing to mobilise it long before 1848. They showed a great interest in Eastern Europe chiefly because of events in Poland. Their knowledge of Hungary was slight but not at all unsympathetic and they were in contact with Hungarians who played an important part in their international organisation before 1848. They looked upon the enemies of Hungary with a great hatred long before the outbreak of the revolution. Neither Hungarian social conditions, nor the national differences between Magyars and non-Magyars conditioned their attitude towards that country. They refrained from passing judgement on Hungarian feudalism and they believed in the possibility of peaceful collaboration between Hungarians and non-Hungarians in the Danube basin. Perhaps they did not expect very much from the Hungarians nor express much hope for the success of their struggle against great odds, expecting more from the struggles of other oppressed peoples. But sympathy for this small country was growing, and it became an important factor in the history of the "foreign policy" of this class.

B. G. IVÁNYI.

<sup>1</sup> Theodor Rothstein, *From Chartism to Labourism*, London, 1929 A Muller Lehming, *The International Association*, Leiden, 1938 L L Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism*, London, 1929

<sup>2</sup> Lorwin, *op cit*, p 12

<sup>3</sup> *Op cit*, p. 14

<sup>4</sup> *Op cit.*, p 18

<sup>5</sup> According to A Muller Lehning (*The International Association*, Leiden, 1938) "... the emigrated Poles—and the fate of Poland herself—played a prominent part up to the foundation of the First International in 1864 in the international activities of the European proletariat. Some authors consider the Polish emigration even the origin and the main factor of the idea of proletarian internationalism" (*op. cit.*, p. 9).

<sup>6</sup> *The Reasoner*, 1846, p 123.

<sup>7</sup> *The Northern Star*, 14 February, 1846, quoted partly by Rothstein, *op cit*, who mentions also the strong criticism of Polish social conditions expressed in this speech.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by K Martin, *The Triumph of Palmerston*, 1924, p. 46 from Morley's *Gladstone*.

<sup>9</sup> *The Reasoner*, 1846, pp 19-26

<sup>10</sup> Muller Lehning, *op cit*, p 7

<sup>11</sup> A review in *The Friend of the People* (3 May, 1851) expresses its admiration for T. Gerald Massey's *Voices of Freedom and Lyrics of Love*, but disapproves of the constant use of such expressions as "God," "Christ," "Hell" in many of the poems

<sup>12</sup> *The Reasoner*, 1850, p 221

<sup>13</sup> "Thus (let us repeat the melancholy truth) out of the comparatively harmless astro-fades of antiquity hath sprung a foul collusion of religiousness and political tyranny, that has been dreadful in its effects. In 1822, the clergy of Austria persuaded the monarch of over forty millions of people to declare, 'I want no men of science, I want only OBEYIENT subjects. I want no education among my subjects but what is given by the priesthood.'" Mitchell, Logan, *The Christian Mythology Unveiled*, in a Series of Lectures, London, 1840, p 112.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Frost, *Forty Years Recollections, Literary and Political*, London, 1880, pp. 127-29.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Charles Andler, *La Manifeste Communiste de Karl Marx et F Engels, Introduction Historique et Commentaire*, Paris, 1922.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. G. Boloni, *Hally Kend Táncsics* (Listen Táncsics), Budapest, 1946 (in Hungarian), pp 189-90

<sup>17</sup> Boloni, *op cit*, p 189<sup>18</sup> *Op cit*, p 190<sup>19</sup> *Op cit*, p 190<sup>20</sup> *The Labourer*, 1847, Vol I, p 90<sup>21</sup> *The Northern Star*, 11 December, 1847.<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 18 March, 1848 This poem was published and reprinted in many working-class periodicals during February and March, 1848<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 23 May, 1846<sup>24</sup> Rudman (*Italian Nationalism and English Letters*, London, 1940) gives a good description of Mazzini's pro-Slav activities in London<sup>25</sup> *The Reasoner*, 1848, Vol 5 "The Slavonic People—An Oration, by Thomas Cooper," 13 and 20 August, p 310.<sup>26</sup> *The Northern Star*, 22 May and 12 June, 1847, disagrees with Mazzini's articles in *The People's Journal* on "Nationality and Cosmopolitanism"<sup>27</sup> See Gertrude Robinson, *David Urquhart*, London, 1920For Kossuth's relation with Urquhart, see Dénes Jánosy, *Great Britain and Kossuth*, Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis, Tom III, Pest, 1937<sup>28</sup> For Henningsen's relation with the Hungarian emigration, see István Hajnal, *A Kossuth Emigráció Torokországban*, Budapest, 1927 (Introduction in Hungarian, text of documents in original languages, many in English) For Henningsen's life, see *Dict of Amer Biog*, VIII, pp 543-44<sup>29</sup> *Eastern Europe and the Emperor Nicholas* by the author of *Revelations of Russia*, London, 1846<sup>30</sup> *Op cit*, Vol I, pp 16-17<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit*, Vol I, pp 19-20<sup>32</sup> *Op cit*, Vol I, p 22<sup>33</sup> *Op cit*, Vol III, pp 315, 325-27.<sup>34</sup> *Op cit*, Vol III, pp 326-27<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit*, Vol III, pp 328<sup>36</sup> *Op cit*, Vol III, p 329<sup>37</sup> *The Northern Star*, 31 Oct, 1846

## MICKIEWICZ IN RUSSIA<sup>1</sup>

THE history of Russian-Polish relations abounds in sad and even tragic pages, and everyone who sincerely believes in the possibility and even necessity of Russian-Polish friendship and understanding finds a welcome relief in the story of the five years' sojourn in Russia of Adam Mickiewicz, the national poet of Poland, of his recognition there as a great poet, of his friendship with many Russian writers and, above all, with the greatest of them—Pushkin. I can do no better than quote from Professor W. Lednicki's French article on Pushkin and Mickiewicz published on the occasion of the centenary of Pushkin's death in 1937. Speaking of the relations between the two great poets, he says :

This encounter is an historical fact. . . . It is also a legend : as such it has endured for a century in the minds of those among the Russians and the Poles who strove at appeasement in Russian-Polish relations and wished to put an end to the eternal strife. This legend has become for them a symbol, a kind of talisman or myth of Russian-Polish friendship—of the possibility and necessity of such a friendship.<sup>2</sup>

### I

Mickiewicz's arrival in Russia in 1824, at the age of 26, took place under circumstances that did not augur well for his stay there. He did not come as a traveller, of his own free will. He was forcibly torn away from his native soil, and brought to St. Petersburg under the escort of Russian gendarmes, as were a number of his friends and compatriots, all of them arrested on the orders of Novosiltsov and banished in connection with their membership of the patriotic students' societies in Vilna which aimed ultimately at the liberation of Poland and her restoration as an independent State. Some of them, including Mickiewicz's closest friends, were banished to remote parts of the vast Russian Empire. His own lot was luckier : he and his friend Malewski were allowed to stay in St. Petersburg, and later in Odessa and Moscow, that is, in great cultural centres where their intellectual cravings and interests could find food and outlet. Some Polish writers, hostile to Russia, including Mickiewicz's son, Władysław, who wrote a full-length biography of his father, as well as the late Monica Gardner in her English book on Mickiewicz<sup>3</sup>—where she naturally drew upon Polish sources—have painted the

conditions under which Mickiewicz had to live in Russia, and which involved police surveillance, restrictions on the freedom of movement, etc., in very sombre colours. Miss Gardner speaks of "galling" conditions.<sup>4</sup> Yet Professor Lednicki calls this period of Mickiewicz's life "une époque particulièrement heureuse de sa carrière littéraire."<sup>5</sup> And in several of his publications on the subject he rightly stresses the fact that for the majority of Polish literary historians and biographers the figure of Mickiewicz the exile, Mickiewicz the patriot, Mickiewicz the prophet of the Polish nation, has completely eclipsed the earlier Mickiewicz of the Russian period—one of happy and fruitful literary activity.<sup>6</sup> The facts as we know them show that the dark picture painted by some Polish writers and by Miss Gardner is greatly exaggerated and that Lednicki is right.

At first it was not perhaps easy for Mickiewicz to get on in his new surroundings. St. Petersburg especially, this embodiment of the hated Empire, with its atmosphere of cold officialdom, must have had a depressing effect on the poet: echoes of his first impressions—seen, it is true, in the post-insurrectionist historical perspective—are found in the famous Russian "interlude" or "Digression" of Mickiewicz's symbolic drama *Forefathers' Eve*. Yet during the very first brief stay in St. Petersburg (from October, 1824, to February, 1825) Mickiewicz made numerous friends among the intellectual *élite*. It was a period of intense intellectual and literary activity in Russia, of ready assimilation of new ideas, a period of political fermentation, of preparations for a political action which culminated in the so-called Decembrist rising of 1825—an unsuccessful attempt on the part of a small enlightened minority among the nobility, imbued with Western ideas of political freedom, to obtain political reforms, which found no support among the people at large and was doomed to failure. It broke against the iron might of Russian autocracy. We know that Mickiewicz soon made friends with some of the leading men in the secret societies, the future Decembrists, and in particular the writers Ryleyev and Bestuzhev, of whom the former was to end his life, two years later, on the gallows for his leading part in the revolt; though how exactly it happened that Mickiewicz came to know them so well still puzzles his biographers and the historians of Russian-Polish relations. In his poem *To My Russian Friends*, forming part of *Forefathers' Eve*, Mickiewicz recalls both of them and says.

Where are ye now? The noble neck of Ryleyev, which as a brother's I embraced, now, by the Tsar's command, hangs on the tree of shame.

. . . The hand which Bestuzhev, poet and soldier, held out to me, that hand, torn away from the pen and sword, the Tsar has harnessed to the convict's barrow, and today it toleth in the mines, chained to a Polish hand." 7

Lednicki rightly points out the surprising rapidity with which Mickiewicz established close relations with the Russians: when he left St. Petersburg for Odessa, he went armed with letters of introduction from Ryleyev and Bestuzhev to the poet Tumansky, in which both recommended the Polish poet in the warmest terms.<sup>8</sup> There is no doubt that had Pushkin been in St. Petersburg when Mickiewicz arrived the two would have met there. But Pushkin himself was at the time living in exile: four years earlier he had been banished from St. Petersburg to the south, and a few months before Mickiewicz's arrival in Russia he was ordered to leave Odessa and to proceed to Mikhaylovskoye, his father's small estate near Pskov. When Mickiewicz arrived in Odessa the memory of Pushkin was still fresh there and the Pole must have heard a great deal about him from his new friends there, Tumansky and others; but the two were not to meet in person till the autumn of 1826 in Moscow.

In Odessa Mickiewicz's life was different from what it had been in St. Petersburg, and so was the *milieu* in which he moved. In a way he must have felt more at home in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the gay Black Sea port. In Petersburg, still new to Russia and shy, he mixed chiefly with Russian progressive intellectuals or with his fellow exiles. In Odessa he led a gay society life, frequenting Russian and Polish salons, dancing, and courting beautiful women. He had two love affairs there, one of them with the beautiful and enticing Mme Sobańska to whom Pushkin had also paid court.<sup>9</sup> This period of the poet's life is sometimes spoken of by Polish writers as unworthy of him, of his ideals, of his high aspirations for Poland. Even his friends and fellow exiles reproached him for his gaiety, his apparent *insouciance* and forgetfulness of Poland's tragic plight. The same reproaches were hurled at him later, during his more prolonged stay in Moscow, where he contracted some firm and lasting friendships, was fêted and lionised by the Russians, and took an active part in the Moscow social and literary life. This in itself was unacceptable to some of the more austere Polish patriots, who refused to have anything to do with the Russians of any description outside purely official relations. One of Mickiewicz's friends and co-exiles, Jan Czeczot, wrote him a letter, taxing him with unpatriotic behaviour. Mickiewicz's reply to him throws a significant light on his personality:

My Janko !—Is it not possible to join and bind to that high and noble love trifles that signify nothing ? Can dinners, dances, songs harm the divine beloved one ? <sup>10</sup>

It is interesting that Pushkin too was often taxed with being flighty and featherbrained, of acting in a way unworthy of his poetic calling, of profaning his genius. There was, both in Pushkin and in Mickiewicz, a gaiety of disposition, a spontaneity of emotions, a capacity for enjoying life, beneath which, however, were to be found a real earnestness of purpose and a seeking mind. Both were poets by God's grace, "inspired from on high"—an epithet which Pushkin more than once applied to Mickiewicz.

But to return to the exile's Russian itinerary : during his stay in Odessa he was allowed to undertake a trip to Crimea, that picturesque and exotic corner of Russia, the like of which he had never seen before—its beauty strongly appealed to his romantic soul.<sup>11</sup> The outcome of this trip was a book of beautiful *Crimean Sonnets* which soon made Mickiewicz famous in Russian literary circles. He was hailed as a great poet. The *Sonnets* were translated into Russian among others by the blind poet Kozlov, known also as a translator of Byron. Before that a prose translation was made by Prince Peter A. Vyazemsky, a great friend of Pushkin and Zhukovsky and a literary critic of great acumen. This translation appeared in 1827 in the monthly review *The Moscow Telegraph* which also published Vyazemsky's critical article on Mickiewicz.<sup>12</sup> Vyazemsky did, perhaps, more than anyone else to popularise Mickiewicz in Russia.<sup>13</sup> It was he probably who introduced him to the editor of *The Moscow Telegraph*, the well-known journalist and writer Nikolay Polevoy : both Nikolay Polevoy and his brother Ksenofont became great friends of Mickiewicz. In his article on him Vyazemsky wrote :

Mickiewicz belongs to a small number of the elect who enjoy the happy right of representing the glory of their nations. I think it can be positively affirmed that his is an honoured place among contemporary poets.<sup>14</sup>

It can be safely asserted that the Russians were the first to recognise the Pole's greatness as a poet and his important place in European literature. In his remarkable survey of Russian literature for 1829 Ivan Kireyevsky spoke of him as a writer worthy to hold a place by the side of Shakespeare, Goethe, Byron, Schiller and Moore, and as a representative of the Polish spirit who has secured for Polish poetry a place in European literature.<sup>15</sup> It gives satisfaction to those Russians who sincerely regret the unfortunate development of Russian-Polish relations that it was in Russia and by the Russians



that Mickiewicz's greatness was first recognised, and that they went out of their way to make him feel at home in their midst ; though it is doubtful whether he could have ever felt quite at home in the country which he regarded as the oppressor of his nation, and where his own stay was enforced and accompanied by vexatious restrictions. Certainly, later, after the Polish rising of 1830-1831, when Mickiewicz went through a deep inner crisis, he came to hate Russia. In his poem *The Road to Russia* and other fragments which were to serve as a link between the third and fourth parts of his dramatic poem \* *Forefathers' Eve*, he gives a dark and gloomy picture of that country. But he retained for ever the feelings of gratitude and affection for his Muscovite friends. The two odd years which Mickiewicz spent in Moscow, where he came from Odessa, were one of the serenest periods in his life. After leaving Moscow for Petersburg in April, 1828, he wrote to his friend Odyniec :

It was not without regret that I left Moscow. I lived there quietly, without knowing any particular grief or sadness.<sup>16</sup>

To his friends Czeczot and Zan Mickiewicz he wrote early in 1827 :

I began to be gay at the Basilian Fathers, and calm and almost wise in Moscow, <sup>17</sup>

and to Zan in April, 1828 :

My life goes monotonously and I would almost say happily—so happily that I fear that envious Nemesis may be preparing some new ordeals for me. Tranquillity, freedom of thought (at least individually), sometimes pleasant distractions, never any violent upheavals (I mean individual ones). I hope that in summer a greater zest for work will awaken, for now I am lazy, although I read and think a great deal. All my days run smoothly.\* in the morning I read, occasionally write, at two or three I dine or dress for dinner, in the evening I go to concerts or some other amusements, returning mostly late. . . .<sup>18</sup>

One of the things which Mickiewicz came to appreciate in Russia during his stay in Moscow was the sincerity, intenseness and high quality of Russian literary culture and life, which compared so favourably with that of his native Poland at the time. We must not forget that it was the Golden Age of Russian poetry. In an interesting letter to Odyniec written in the autumn of 1827, after mentioning the fact that many works of Goethe and Byron were still untranslated, he says :

\* This is not quite in accordance with the facts.—ED. NOTE.

For God's sake stop translating secondary poets. Where, except Warsaw, does one nowadays translate Legouvé and Delille or, what is even worse, Millevoje? Russians shake their heads in sympathy and wonder. In literature we are lagging a whole century behind.<sup>19</sup>

What is more, even in the Russia of Nicholas I, so much abused and vituperated on account of its reactionary régime, the literary climate was conducive to Mickiewicz's own creative work. He was able to carry on his literary activity, to publish his works in Polish, to have them translated into Russian. There can be no doubt that, as a poet, he grew considerably during his stay in Russia—as his Russian translator Kozlov put it, addressing his compatriots: "You sent him to us strong, we are giving him back to you powerful." He had in Russia a chance of giving free rein to his poetic imagination. Not to speak of *Crimean Sonnets*, both *Konrad Wallenrod*, this intensely national Polish work, and *Farys* date from this Russian period.

Of the visitor's vogue in Russian literary circles we may judge by the following extract from his letter to Odyniec, written in March 1828:

I should like to send you Russian translations of my poems. I would have to make a large parcel. In nearly all the best almanacs (a great number of them appear here) my sonnets are printed; there are already several translations of them. The best seems to be by Kozlov. . . .

Zhukovsky whom I have met, and who is very well disposed towards me, has written that if he takes up his pen again he will devote it to the translation of my poems. Pushkin has translated the beginning of *Wallenrod*. . . . The Russians are extending their hospitality also to poetry and out of kindness to me are translating my works. . . . I have already seen Russian sonnets in my vein. You see, what a fame. . . .<sup>20</sup>

To Zhukovsky, Mickiewicz must have been introduced by Vyazemsky who wrote in 1827:

I recommend to you Mickiewicz, a Polish poet whom you know at least by hearsay. At first glance he is not very easy and sociable; but when you have cracked this nut you will find it sweet. Be kind to them—they are victims of Novosiltsov's snobbery and caddishness."<sup>21</sup>

In his article "Mickiewicz on Pushkin," written in 1873, long after the Polish poet's death, Vyazemsky speaks of his intelligence, good breeding and refined manners, and says that while only a few people who knew Polish could appreciate him as a poet, as a man

he had earned everybody's affection. In the same article Vyazemsky wrote :

Mickiewicz, although a prodigal brother who did not return under the parental roof, so that we could not feed him on the fattened calf of reconciliation, remains nevertheless our brother—he is a Lithuanian. We make use of the fruit of the earth without asking on what soil it grew, whether friendly or hostile. It must be the same with the fruit of intellectual soil. Politics is usually a disuniting force : poetry must be a reconciling and blending force. Mickiewicz's political prejudices, sympathies and malice have died with him—we are not concerned with them. But that which was created by the inner spirit and the poet's gift will outlive the attempts at onesided and restless activity of Mickiewicz the exile.

Like Byron, like Pushkin, Mickiewicz could not be an active political figure. He was both above and beneath such a rôle . . .<sup>22</sup>

“ Mickiewicz was not only a great poet but also a great improviser,” says the same Vyazemsky<sup>23</sup> His gift for improvisation, and the part played by his improvisations, accompanied by music, are well known. It was in Russia that he practised this gift extensively. There is a famous picture by the Russian artist Myasoyedov portraying him in the course of an improvisation in the salon of Princess Zinaida Volkonskaya, a remarkable Russian woman who later became a convert to the Roman Catholic Church and went to live in Rome, where her salon became a centre of cosmopolitan literary gatherings. In this picture Mickiewicz is represented standing by a table and reciting one of his improvisations with an inspired look on his fine face. He is surrounded by several Russian celebrities, including Pushkin, Vyazemsky, Homyakov and others, who, standing and seated, listen to him with great attention. Vyazemsky and others have left us some very interesting accounts of the Pole's improvisations and of the effect he produced on his listeners.

Recollecting one particular improvisation, Vyazemsky says .

For a few minutes the poet withdrew, as it were, into his inner sanctum. Soon afterwards he came forward with a face lit up by the fire of inspiration. There was in him something disquieting and prophetic. . . . The improvisation was brilliant and magnificent . . . Zhukovsky and Pushkin, deeply moved by this volcano of poetry, were in raptures.<sup>24</sup>

It was on 30 April, 1828, that Mickiewicz gave one of his improvisations at Pushkin's in St. Petersburg—most probably it was the one referred to by Vyazemsky in the passage quoted above. He improvised in French (some of his Moscow improvisations had

been in Polish which, of course, came to him more naturally) This is how Vyazemsky described the event in a letter to his wife :

The day before yesterday we spent the evening and the night at Pushkin's with Zhukovsky, Krylov, Homyakov, Mickiewicz, Pletnyov and Nikolay Mukhanov. Mickiewicz gave an improvisation in French prose and amazed us, not of course by his phrasing, but by the force, richness and poetry of his thoughts. Among other things he compared his own ideas and feelings, which he had to express in a foreign tongue, with *un enfant mort dans le sein de sa mère, avec des matériaux enflammés qui brûlent sous terre sans avoir de volcan pour éruption.*

Wonderful was the effect of this improvisation. He was himself quite upset, and we all listened with trembling and tears.<sup>25</sup>

And here is Mickiewicz, the genius of improvisation, in a lighter vein again shown to us by Vyazemsky who is telling his wife how after a good dinner on Shrove Tuesday he went to see the famous Polish pianist, Marya Szymanowska, who was very popular in Russia and whose daughter, Celina, Mickiewicz later married :

. . . Listen . after a dinner at Gagarin's with Korsakov I went to Szymanowska who has arrived from Kiev. In her little room I found a great hubbub and a sort of performance in a lunatic asylum. Looking closely at the faces I couldn't recognise anyone or anything. What is it ? Szymanowska dressed in goodness knows what Kozłowski in a woman's frock, stuffed with cushions, a real Lewicka, Mickiewicz as a half-Spaniard and half-Spaniardess. No sooner was I on the doorstep when Szymanowska threw a beret on my head and something or other on my shoulders, and they all implored me to accompany them to Zaleska for whom they were preparing a fancy-dress surprise. All right. There we found the whole Polish colony wearing masks. At last I discarded my fancy dress and stayed there, for the first time in that house, in my frock-coat, until three in the morning. Mickiewicz improvised a lot of poetry to the accompaniment of pianoforte, with remarkable skill as far as I could understand and judging by the enthusiasm of his audience. In my honour he improvised a few touching stanzas. Then I set him a subject—the battle of Navarino, and there were in it many genuinely poetical transports. He ended with a fantasy on Szymanowska's *Murmure*, and his verses then sounded like a murmur and harmonised wonderfully with the music.<sup>26</sup>

It is impossible to enumerate here all the Russians whom Mickiewicz met and made friends with during those comparatively carefree, happy years in Moscow ; they included all that was best and most interesting in Russian intellectual and literary society : the poet Baratynsky (who addressed to Mickiewicz his well-known poem),

Homyakov, the brothers Kireyevsky, Venevitinov, Shevyryov, Pogodin, Sobolevsky—to name but a few. There is no direct evidence of a meeting between the poet and Peter Chaadayev, but it would be most unlikely if they did not meet in the salon of Princess Volkonskaya.<sup>27</sup> When in April, 1828, Mickiewicz left Moscow for Petersburg, his Russian friends treated him to a farewell dinner and presented him with a silver goblet. On it were engraved the names of Baratynsky, Kireyevsky, Sobolevsky and others. On 28 April, 1828 (old style), Mickiewicz wrote to Odyniec from St. Petersburg.

I was deeply moved, and in reply improvised some thanks in French which were received with great approval. They took leave of me in tears.<sup>28</sup>

In the poem *To My Russian Friends*, there is a reference to this goblet as "a goblet of poison," but this must not be taken as a personal reflection on his Russian friends in whose sincerity he believed and for most of whom he retained feelings of affection and gratitude. Several of them—Vyazemsky, Shevyryov, Pogodin—he met afterwards as an exile in Paris. In his 1873 article on Mickiewicz and Pushkin Vyazemsky describes their meeting in Paris:

After many years of separation and even cessation of correspondence we met with Mickiewicz in Paris and met, of course, like old friends. Apart from and outside all political events which had changed and overturned many a thing I did not see in Mickiewicz a Pole; he did not see in me a Russian, but rather simply a Muscovite. With this name both for him and for me were associated most cordial and friendly memories. I found him badly and prematurely aged. Emotions and grief had engraved its marks on the face which even before had borne a melancholy expression. I had the impression that in his attitude towards France and in his political hopes he had suffered many disillusionments. I may be mistaken but I think that the position of an exile was a burden to him.<sup>29</sup>

With some of his Russian friends Mickiewicz maintained close and uninterrupted relations even after leaving Russia. In Rome in 1830, just as earlier in Moscow, he was befriended by Princess Volkonskaya. Here too he saw Sobolevsky, who even gave him material assistance when the poet decided to return to Poland to take part in the Insurrection.<sup>30</sup> With Sobolevsky he met again in Paris in 1837, soon after Pushkin's death.<sup>31</sup> When during his life in Paris his Russian friends learned of his pecuniary difficulties they made a collection for him and sent him 5,000 roubles.<sup>32</sup> Even men of such

Conservative and nationalist outlook as Shevryyov and Pogodin saw in him not an enemy of Russia, but a great poet and a personal friend, and visited him in Paris.<sup>33</sup>

One more episode in Mickiewicz's Russian life is worth mentioning—his short love affair with Karolina Pavlova, or Karolina Jaenisch as she then was. Daughter of a German professor who had settled in Russia, Karolina Jaenisch, who later married Nikolay Pavlov, a novelist and journalist of some repute, was a poet of considerable talent who can be justly described as, chronologically speaking, the first major Russian woman-poet. She wrote poetry with almost equal ease in Russian, German and French, and translated Russian poets, Pushkin and others, into German and French. She also translated some of Mickiewicz's works, including his *Konrad Wallenrod*, into German. She was personally acquainted with Goethe, whose influence can be traced in her poetry. With all her womanliness there was in her poetry a peculiar and attractive virility.<sup>34</sup> During Mickiewicz's stay in Moscow she was a romantically-minded young girl of 17-18. They met in Princess Volkonskaya's salon. She fell in love with the Polish poet—deeply and irrevocably. Death alone—and she died when she was 84—put an end to this deep and genuine feeling. They became unofficially engaged but her relatives were opposed to the marriage. Mickiewicz taught her Polish and found her a brilliant pupil. After he had left Moscow for Petersburg they continued to correspond, and before leaving Russia he wrote for her a poem in which he compared himself with a migrating bird and promised to return. They never saw each other again. Mickiewicz's feelings for her were apparently rather shallow, and the parting left him unscathed: but for Karolina it was a hard blow which left a permanent scar in her heart. She never forgot the hero of her youthful dreams, and among her poems there are at least three which, though Mickiewicz is not mentioned in them, are clearly addressed to him and evoke the memory of their shortlived love. They were written in 1840, 1842 and 1846, when the poet was already living in France and Karolina married to Pavlov. Here is one of these poems which belongs to Karolina Pavlova's best:

So many years have passed—days of grief  
And days of joy were mine more than once.  
So many years—but more than the years  
The events have changed us.  
We parted. Dost thou remember, O poet,  
The gift of happiness offered to us by Fate—  
Perchance yes—or no, perchance?

Who has attained you, ye bright visions,  
 Ye proud, exacting dreams?  
 Who has held back the hour of inspiration,  
 Held back the ray of dawn, the course of sea waves?  
 Who has not stood, affrighted and dumb,  
 Before his uncrowned idol?

In an earlier poem Karolina Pavlova recalls how she had vowed to be his for ever. "How aching my heart trembled," she says, "how proudly the eyes flashed," and asks:

Rising above all the disquiets of the world,  
 Even though life has taken its toll,  
 Hast thou retained within thee this moment  
 Unbroken amidst all the changing things? <sup>35</sup>

## II

And now to the most important episode in Mickiewicz's life in Russia—his relations with Pushkin, their poetical controversy and the interaction of their geniuses

The date of his first meeting with Pushkin is not known to us exactly. It must have been in the autumn of 1826, soon after Pushkin's arrival in Moscow, after he was allowed by the new Emperor Nicholas I to leave the place of his enforced retirement.<sup>36</sup> It is more than probable that the two men met at Sobolevsky's. Sergey Sobolevsky, who was educated with Pushkin's younger brother, was a great friend and admirer of Pushkin, and later the propagator of his fame outside Russia, especially in France through Prosper Mérimée with whom he maintained close personal relations and a lively correspondence.<sup>37</sup> Not a writer himself, he left an important trace in Russian literature as a friend of nearly all the outstanding Russian writers of the period (Pushkin, Baratynsky, Gogol and others) on whom he often had a stimulating effect. He was also known throughout Europe as a bibliophile and bibliographer, whose expert knowledge was used by Brunet and others. He succeeded in collecting one of the best libraries of early travel literature, the greater part of which was acquired after his death by the Library of the British Museum.

Sobolevsky was one of the first Russians to become close friends with Mickiewicz. Their friendship outlived the latter's stay in Russia. It is possible, however, as Lednicki has pointed out, that Pushkin and Mickiewicz met either at the Princess Volkonskaya's

house or at the Countess Laval's. In any case by the time when Pushkin arrived in Moscow the Polish poet had been firmly established in Moscow society and received in most of the houses where Pushkin was likely to go. From Mickiewicz himself we know that by the beginning of 1827 they met often. In March, 1827, he writes to his friend Odyniec, referring to the then new publication, *The Moscow Messenger* :

. . . the strongest mainstay of the *Messenger* is Pushkin. One day I will write to you about him at greater length ; now I will merely say that I know him and that we meet often. He is almost my age (two months younger), witty and fascinating in his conversation, has read a great deal and is well familiar with modern literature. His conception of poetry is pure and lofty. He has now written a tragedy called *Boris Godunov*, I know a few scenes from it of a historical character ; well planned and the details are excellent.<sup>38</sup>

This, as far as we know, is Mickiewicz's first reference to Pushkin and his work. Later he listened in the salon of Countess Laval to Pushkin's own reading of *Boris Godunov* and exclaimed : "*Et tu, Shakespeare, eris, si fata sinant.*"<sup>39</sup> This phrase he afterwards repeated in his French memoir of Pushkin.

The two poets continued to meet in St. Petersburg after Mickiewicz went there in the spring of 1828. There is every reason to believe that their personal friendship became very close during this period. In his *Monument of Peter the Great* Mickiewicz mentions the conversation between two poets standing in the rain, covered by the same cloak and holding each other's hand, at the foot of Falconet's statue of Peter. One, he says, was a new comer from the West, an unknown victim of Tsar's power, the other a prophet of the Russian people renowned for his songs all over the north. "They had not known each other long but well, and for some days had already been friends." It is now more or less generally accepted that Mickiewicz speaks here of himself and Pushkin (and not of Ryleyev, as was thought by Brückner).<sup>40</sup> He speaks of himself very modestly while emphasising Pushkin's wide fame. We know that, on the other hand, Pushkin had a very high opinion of his friend as a poet and, judging by all accounts, looked up to him as a man ; and that a realisation of Mickiewicz's moral superiority was apparently widespread among their mutual Russian friends. There is a characteristic though unauthenticated story about the two. One day, it is said, they met on the narrow pavement of a Moscow street. Pushkin exclaimed, addressing himself : "Step aside, deuce, an



ace is coming ! ” To which Mickiewicz, well known for his gift of repartee, promptly replied : “ A deuce of trumps beats an ace.” Another story is that after one of Mickiewicz’s brilliant improvisations Pushkin exclaimed : “ What genius ! what sacred flame ! what am I alongside him ! ” In Pushkin’s poetical references to Mickiewicz the epithet “ inspired ” or “ inspired from on high ” became a standing one. It was also used by Baratynsky in a poem in which he reproached Mickiewicz for “ lying at Byron’s feet ” when he was himself an equal of Byron. Here it may be mentioned that the Pole presented to Pushkin a copy of Byron’s works with the following inscription : “ Byron to Pushkin is dedicated by an admirer of both.” <sup>41</sup> Puskin’s personal friendship for Mickiewicz is well characterised by the fact that in 1828 he addressed a memorandum to Colonel von Fock, of the Russian secret police, asking that the exile be permitted to return to his native Poland. The request was refused, but Pushkin’s genuine solicitude for his Polish friend is beyond doubt. During the Rising of 1830–1831 Pushkin wrote to Mme Hitrovo :

Of all the Poles Mickiewicz alone interests me. He was in Rome at the beginning of the revolt. I am afraid that he may have gone to Warsaw to assist at the final crisis of his country.<sup>42</sup>

In speaking of the friendship between Pushkin and Mickiewicz it is necessary to bear in mind that while the latter had little reason to like Russia and the Russians as a nation, Pushkin never had any sympathy with Poland. As early as 1824 he wrote a poem addressed to another Polish friend of his, Count Olizar, who was hopelessly in love with a woman whom Pushkin also loved. When Olizar asked for the lady’s hand her father declined it on the ground of national and religious differences. In his poem Pushkin speaks of the eternal strife between their two nations but adds that “ the wonderful flame of poetry unites hostile hearts,” that “ enmity is silenced by songs of inspiration, and peace descends into our hearts.” This attitude explains Pushkin’s relations with Mickiewicz.

When, after a hard struggle, the Polish rising was violently suppressed by the Russian armies, Pushkin took a strongly anti-Polish attitude. Poles and Russians alike have ascribed Pushkin’s attitude to his desire to gain the favour of the Tsar, or even accused him of being a paid flatterer. This thesis, first advanced or at least implied by some Russian contemporaries of Pushkin and afterwards widely propagated in Polish circles, has been ably refuted by

Lednicki. He has shown that Pushkin's standpoint in the conflict was absolutely disinterested, that it did not differ materially from that of the great majority of enlightened Russian patriots, and was dictated by his conception of Russia's national interests and his deep concern for the historical destinies of Russia. In this he was at one with the Emperor Nicholas I for whom—at this time at any rate—he had a sincere admiration and respect, just as he had disliked his predecessor. For Pushkin, just as for Nicholas I, the question was which of the two, Russia or Poland, was to go under—naturally enough, they could not choose or hesitate. Besides, as a Russian patriot, Pushkin was deeply incensed and offended in his national pride by the violent anti-Russian campaign of the European press and public opinion, especially in France. In an outburst of spontaneous and disinterested indignation he wrote his poem *To the Slanderees of Russia*—a fine piece of poetical rhetoric, whatever one thinks of the sentiments voiced in it. It expressed the feelings of the Russian patriots. Together with another poem of Pushkin (*The Anniversary of Borodino*) and a poem of Zhukovsky, it was published in a small pamphlet soon after the occupation of Warsaw and almost immediately translated into foreign languages. These poems of Pushkin (together with a short one on the tomb of Kutuzov they form what Lednicki has called Pushkin's "anti-Polish trilogy") enjoyed great popularity, though some of Pushkin's Liberal friends, in the first place Vyazemsky and Nikolay and Alexander Turgenev, disapproved of them and described his outburst as barbarous and brutal.

Pushkin's and Zhukovsky's poems must have reached Mickiewicz abroad. Both were his personal friends and for both he had great regard; Pushkin he rated very highly as a poet. Their anti-Polish poems could not but wound him and his reaction was sharp. It took the form of the poem entitled *To My Russian Friends* and contained some extremely bitter, unflattering lines which sometimes have been taken to be direct allusions to Pushkin and Zhukovsky:

Others, perchance, endure a fate more dire;  
 Someone, perhaps, seduced by gifts of state,  
 Betrays his free soul to the tsar for hire  
 And bows today on thresholds of the great.

Perchance with venal tongue he lauds the tyrant,  
 And revels in the martyrdom of friends;  
 Smeared with my blood, he curses the conspirant,  
 And boasts of horrid deeds as worthy ends.<sup>43</sup>

That Mickiewicz could not think Pushkin capable of such a behaviour is best proved by the Memoir which he wrote in 1837 for the Paris newspaper *Le Globe*, signing it "A Friend of Pushkin." He spoke here of the staunchness and disinterestedness of the Russian authors, examples of which, he said, would be hard to find in freer and more civilised countries :

I think that not all the money which the Russian Government spends in buying abroad its semi-official partisans would be able to buy a single sympathetic newspaper article, some insignificant praise, or even one polite word, from Russian authors of repute.

It is interesting to note how impartially and generously Mickiewicz spoke in that article of Nicholas I whom he had every reason to regard as his country's bitterest enemy. Referring to the famous interview between Pushkin and the Emperor after the former's return from his rustic exile (the interview took place during Mickiewicz's stay in Moscow, and he may have heard about it from Pushkin himself), he wrote :

The Tsar induced Pushkin to continue his work, allowing him even to print anything he liked without submitting it to censorship. Thus Pushkin created a precedent in favour of freedom of the press. History must not forget that he was the first to make use of it. In this case the Emperor showed a rare wisdom. He was able to appreciate the poet.

Pushkin's reply is found in a noble unfinished poem written in 1834. Full of generous sympathy and sadness, it echoed some of the lines in the already quoted poem to Olizar .

He lived among us as an exile · but no hatred for us nursed he in his soul, and we loved him. Peaceful, benevolent, he attended our gatherings. With him we shared pure dreams and songs (he was inspired from above and looked loftily on life). He often spoke of future times when nations, their strife forgetting, would be united into one great family. Eagerly we listened to the poet. He went off West and our blessings accompanied him. But now our peaceful guest has become our enemy. His poems, to please the wild mob, he feeds with poison. From afar comes to us the voice of the irate poet, familiar voice. Lord, restore thy peace to his embittered soul. . .<sup>44</sup>

This poem is worthy of the high moral and spiritual level on which the intercourse between the two men was maintained in their days of friendship. Pushkin noted Mickiewicz's angered tone but his retort was noble and generous.

On a still loftier plane was Pushkin's poetical controversy with

his friend's anti-Russian poems which constitute together the Russian "interlude" or "digressions" in *Forefathers' Eve* and consist of six separate poems (*The Road to Russia*, *The Suburbs of the Capital*, *Petersburg*, *The Monument of Peter the Great*, *The Military Parade* and *Oleszkiewicz*), followed by *To My Russian Friends* by way of dedication. To this Pushkin replied by one of his masterpieces—*The Bronze Horseman*. The connection between Pushkin's great poem and Mickiewicz's Russian "digressions" has been studied by several Polish and Russian scholars.<sup>45</sup> As Lednicki has pointed out, the two works can be read as a sort of poetical dialogue on Russia and her historical destiny carried by the two poets at a distance in space and time

While resisting Mickiewicz, Pushkin succumbed to the influence of his criticism, and the disconcerting vision of St. Petersburg, a city of tears and abuses, evoked by Mickiewicz, found its way into *The Bronze Horseman* . . .<sup>46</sup>

Inasmuch as *The Bronze Horseman* generated a whole line in Russian literature, bequeathing to it the theme of St. Petersburg, magnificent and squalid all in one, the most fantastic city in the world, a theme which we find developed in Gogol and Dostoyevsky, in Merezhkovsky and Hippus, in Blok, Bely and Annensky, and since this theme was suggested and stimulated by Mickiewicz, we see the importance of the Pole for Russian literature. Russian and Polish scholars have pointed out echoes of Mickiewicz and of a subtle controversy with him in Pushkin's other works—in *Poltava*,<sup>47</sup> in *Gasub*<sup>48</sup>

Pushkin's influence or effect on Mickiewicz is more difficult to see. Certain parallels, it is true, can be drawn between *Pan Tadeusz* and *Eugeny Onegin*. On the whole, however, Mickiewicz, as is proved by his article in *Le Globe*, and by his lectures in the Collège de France, knew little of Pushkin's mature work: it is very doubtful whether he knew, for example, *The Bronze Horseman*. His first-hand knowledge of the other's poetry was probably confined to his Russian period.

Nevertheless his article in *Le Globe* was a warm tribute to the man and the poet.

Had Byron never existed Pushkin would have been proclaimed the first poet of his age.

Mickiewicz certainly exaggerated the Byronic strain in his colleague, and this is accounted for by his limited knowledge of

Pushkin's work. But he was aware that Pushkin was gradually emancipating himself from foreign influences :

. . . from foreign novels and magazines he was turning to folk-tales, to national songs, to the history of his own country.

The Pole may have heard about Pushkin's later developments from their mutual friend Sobolevsky, whom he met in Paris soon after Pushkin's death, but what he said was based chiefly on his personal knowledge and first-hand impressions. Therein lies the value of his article, for instance of the following statement :

His conversation at this time became more serious ; he was fond of discoursing on lofty religious and social themes the very existence of which his contemporaries hardly suspected. He was undergoing an inner regeneration.

Mickiewicz was well aware of Pushkin's significance for Russia :

The bullet which struck Pushkin dealt a terrible blow to the Russia of the spirit. Nobody can replace him. To one country it is not given to produce more than once a man combining such different and seemingly contradictory qualities. Pushkin, whose poetic genius captivated his readers, amazed his audience by the vividness, refinement and clarity of his intellect. He was endowed with an exceptional memory, a justness of judgement, a delicate and refined taste. Those who heard him discourse on foreign politics or on the politics of his own country might have thought that he had matured in politics and had been brought up on daily reports of parliamentary debates

This estimate of Pushkin, who had had with him many a conversation on " lofty religious and social subject," is a valuable testimony to his many-sided genius.

Later on Mickiewicz spoke highly of the Russian in his lectures at the Collège de France. He analysed in these lectures also the work of other Russian poets—Derzhavin, Zhukovsky ; but again they show that while Mickiewicz had a fine general grasp of Slavonic literatures and a gift for generalisation his acquaintance with Russian literature was not up to date, that it hardly extended beyond the period covered by his own stay in Russia.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, what he had to say of Pushkin was of particular interest, because, like his article in *Le Globe*, it was based on a very good knowledge of the man and the poet. The lectures aroused an interest among the Russians in Paris : the Inaugural, which he gave on 22 December, 1840, was attended by Alexander and Nikolay Turgenev and other

Russians.<sup>50</sup> About the lectures on Pushkin, Alexander wrote to Vyazemsky in 1842, referring to someone who had heard those lectures (probably his brother Nikolay) :

He passed on to Pushkin, and said many new things about him which he had heard from Pushkin himself.<sup>51</sup>

Many years later Vyazemsky, in acquainting his Russian readers with Mickiewicz's article in *Le Globe* (in his lectures Mickiewicz developed the same fundamental ideas), thus summed up his opinion of it :

One may not everywhere, always and completely agree with the judgments of the Polish writer : sometimes he is too severe ; sometimes, because of the long lapse of time and, perhaps, the shortage of material at hand, he forgets a few things here and there or misquotes something ; but in general his criticism is marked by healthy sobriety, a profound knowledge of the subject and sympathy. He has well understood and rightly appreciated Pushkin's genius. In his estimate there is thought, feeling and judgment ; one hears in it the voice of an enlightened critic and a great artist. One will hardly find in Russian criticism (and much has been and is being written about Pushkin) such a true, subtle and profound estimate of our poet.<sup>52</sup>

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on two lectures given in 1941 at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London and repeated, in somewhat condensed form, before the Slavonic Society in Oxford. My study does not pretend at either originality or completeness. The sole justification for its appearance in print is to present the subject to the English reader more or less completely and in the light of latest research. The problem of Mickiewicz and Russia has been studied extensively by Polish and Russian scholars, though it still awaits a monograph treatment, and some documents bearing on it may still come to light. One of the pioneers of this study in Poland was Józef Treliak who was the first to discover the connection between Mickiewicz's *Forefathers' Eve* and Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman*, but in recent times the whole problem of Mickiewicz and Russia in all its aspects has been thoroughly and penetratingly investigated by my friend and colleague, Professor Wacław Lednicki, in a number of studies published in Polish, French, English and Russian. See especially his study of *The Bronze Horseman* in the Introduction to Julian Tuwim's translation of it (*Jeździec Miedziany* Opowieść petersburska Aleksandra Puszkina. Przekład Juliana Tuwima. Studium Wacława Lednickiego Warszawa [1932]), as well as *Aleksander Puszkim* Studja Krakow 1926 ; *Pouchkine et la Pologne A propos de la trilogie anti-polonaise de Pouchkine*, Paris, 1928, "Mickiewicz en Russie," *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 1929, *Przyjaciele Moskale*, Krakow, 1935, "Pouchkine et Mickiewicz," *Revue de littérature comparée*, 1937, No 1, "Mój Puszkimowski Table Talk" in *Puszkim 1837-1937*, tom I, Krakow, 1939. All these studies contain extensive and valuable bibliographical references. See also the extremely valuable bibliographical study of Marian Toporowski.

"Puszkini w polskiej krytyce i przekładach, Zarys bibliograficzno-literacki" in *Puszkini 1837-1937*, vol II (Krakow, 1939), and Arthur P. Coleman and Marion M. Coleman *Mickiewicziana Articles, Translations, Bibliographies of Interest to Students of Mickiewicz* New York, 1946 (published by Klub Polski)

<sup>2</sup> "Pouchkine et Mickiewicz," *Revue de littérature comparée*, 1937, No 1, p 129

<sup>3</sup> Monica M. Gardner, *Adam Mickiewicz. The National Poet of Poland*, London, 1911

<sup>4</sup> *Op cit*, p 53

<sup>5</sup> "Pouchkine et Mickiewicz," p 132

<sup>6</sup> Cp W Lednicki, *Przyjaciele Moskale*, pp 158-60

<sup>7</sup> See *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz* Translated by various hands and edited by George Rapall Noyes, New York, 1944, p 367.

<sup>8</sup> *Przyjaciele Moskale*, p 162

<sup>9</sup> On Mickiewicz's stay in Odessa see Arthur P. Coleman, "Mickiewicz and South Russia," in *Slavic Studies*, ed by Alexander Kaun and Ernest J. Simmons, Ithaca, 1943

<sup>10</sup> See Gardner, *op cit*, pp 51-52

<sup>11</sup> For details of this trip see Coleman, *op cit*

<sup>12</sup> Both are reprinted in Vyazemsky's Collected Works: *Polnoye Sobranie sochineniy knyazya P. A. Vyazemskogo*, vol I, St Petersburg, 1878, pp 326-36 and 337-48 Vyazemsky accompanied his prose version of Mickiewicz's *Sonnets* by a verse translation of one of them by I. Dmitriev and the following lines: "Let us hope that this example will arouse competition also among our first-class young poets, and that Pushkin and Baratynsky will consecrate with their names the desired friendship between the Russian and the Polish Muse Let them clothe with their magic colours my bare outline and thus express in language vivid and fiery what I have conveyed in a dead and colourless one" Pushkin did not translate the *Sonnets*, but he translated the beginning of *Konrad Wallenrod* as well as *Trzech Budrysów* and *Chaty* But in his poem *The Sonnet* Pushkin speaks of Mickiewicz as one of the masters of that verse form

<sup>13</sup> Vyazemsky knew Poland and the Polish language For his general attitude to the Polish problem, cp W Lednicki, *Aleksander Puszkini*, pp 142-43

<sup>14</sup> *Polnoye sobranie sochineniy*, vol I, p 327

<sup>15</sup> See I. V. Kireyevsky, *Polnoye sobranie sochineniy* (ed by M. Gerschenzon), Moscow, 1911, vol II, p 35 Cp W Lednicki, *Przyjaciele Moskale*, p 149

<sup>16</sup> *Adama Mickiewicza Dzieła wszystkie*, vol XIII, 1, Warszawa, 1936, p 352

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p 291 <sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, pp 344-45 Cp *Przyjaciele Moskale*, pp 163-64

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, pp 324-25 <sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p 340

<sup>21</sup> Quoted by M. Borovkova-Maykova, "Mickiewicz v pismakh P. A. Vyazemskogo k zhene," in *Zvenya*, III-IV, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, p 217

<sup>22</sup> *Polnoye sobranie sochineniy*, VII, pp 306-07 <sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p 328

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p 328

<sup>25</sup> See M. Borovkova-Maykova, *op cit*, pp 219-20 <sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, pp 218-19

<sup>27</sup> Cp. W Lednicki, "Mój Puszkiniowski Table Talk" in *Puszkini 1837-1937*, vol I, pp 387 and ff Lednicki points out striking similarities between Mickiewicz's *Digression to Forefathers' Eve* and Chaadayev's *Philosophical Letter*, which may be due to their personal exchange of ideas about Russia and her historical destinies.

<sup>28</sup> *Dzieła wszystkie*, XIII, 1, p 353

<sup>29</sup> *Polnoye sobranie sochineniy*, VII, pp 330-31

<sup>30</sup> A. Vinogradov, *Mérimée v pismakh k Sobolevskomu*, Moscow, 1928

<sup>31</sup> See Vinogradov, *op cit*

<sup>32</sup> This story was first told by P. Bartenev in his *Russky Arkhiv*, 1874, II, pp. 223-24 He gives no date. The principal donors were Homyakov, Shevryyov and Baratynsky The latter having died in 1844, this episode must have taken place before that date Most probably it was before 1840, when Mickiewicz was appointed to the Chair of Slavonic Literature at the Collège de France Cp *Przyjaciele Moskale*, p 155

<sup>33</sup> Cp *Przyjaciele Moskale*, p 214

<sup>34</sup> During the "unpoetical" second half of the 19th century her poetry fell into oblivion from which it was rescued by the Symbolists In 1915 appeared her collected poems edited by V. Bryusov

<sup>35</sup> Cp. *Przyjaciele Moskale*, pp 241-59 ("Wiersze Karoliny Pawłowej [Jaenisch] do Mickiewicza") Lednicki mentions an article by S. Kułakowski in *Wiadomości*

*Literackie* (No 36, 1929), entitled "Adam Mickiewicz i Karolina Jaenisch-Pawłowa," which I have not seen. An unfavourable view of Pavlova is given by P. Ettinger in his article "Przyjacółki moskiewskie Mickiewicza" in *Nowe Wzdnokrege*, Moscow, 15 Aug, 1944. Cp. Coleman, *Mickiewicziana*.

<sup>36</sup> The whole question of Mickiewicz's first meeting with Pushkin has been thoroughly examined by W. Lednicki, see, for example, *Przyjaciele Moskale*, pp. 165 and ff.

<sup>37</sup> See Vinogradov, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> *Dzieła wszystkie*, XIII, I, p. 301.

<sup>39</sup> "Mój Puszkowski *Table Talk*," p. 353.

<sup>40</sup> Cp. *Przyjaciele Moskale*, p. 148.

<sup>41</sup> Cp. W. Lednicki, *Aleksander Puszkyn*, p. 213.

<sup>42</sup> *Pisma Puszkina k E. M. Hutrovo*, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 14-15.

<sup>43</sup> *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz*. Translated by various hands and edited by George Rapall Noyes, New York, 1944, p. 367.

<sup>44</sup> For a detailed study of this poem by Pushkin in the context of his relations with Mickiewicz see W. Lednicki, *Aleksander Puszkyn*, pp. 162-212 ("Z historii poetyckiej przyjaźni").

<sup>45</sup> The most recent and thorough investigation of the whole problem was made by W. Lednicki in his Introduction to J. Tuwim's Polish translation of *The Bronze Horseman* (see note 1).

<sup>46</sup> "Pouchkine et Mickiewicz," p. 141.

<sup>47</sup> Cp. M. Aronson, "Konrad Wallenrod i Poltava," in *Puszkyn Vremennik*, II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936, pp. 43-56.

<sup>48</sup> Cp. W. Lednicki, "Jeszcze jedna polemika Puszkina z Mickiewiczem?" in "Mój Puszkowski *Table Talk*," *Puszkyn 1837-1937*, I, pp. 227-47.

<sup>49</sup> See W. Lednicki, "Mickiewicz at the Collège de France, 1840-1844" in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. XX, 1941.

<sup>50</sup> Cp. *Pisma Aleksandra Turgenewa Bulgakovym*, Moscow, 1939, p. 241.

<sup>51</sup> *Ostafyevskiy arkhiv knyazey Vyazemskikh IV Perepiska knyazya P. A. Vyazemskago s A. I. Turgeneyem 1837-1845*, St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 161.

<sup>52</sup> *Polnoye sobranie sochineniy*, vol. VII, p. 317.



## PUSHKIN AND GOETHE

IN 1781, about the same time as in other European countries, *Werther* was translated into Russian. It was read there as avidly as anywhere else, and also imitated.<sup>1</sup> *Moskovsky Vestnik*, a review of Western art, history and literature, printed a picture of Goethe as a frontispiece in 1827, and a letter by Goethe in German and Russian appeared in the same issue commenting favourably on Shevirev's criticism of the then published *Helena*. According to Otto Harnack, Pushkin wrote to the editor of this Moscow magazine, A. P. Pogodin: "Das Journal muss die Erwartungen der wahren Literaturfreunde und die Billigung des grossen Goethe rechtfertigen—Ehre und Ruhm unserem Schewyrew! Sie haben schön gehandelt, dass Sie den Brief unseres Patriarchen in Deutschland abgedruckt haben."<sup>2</sup>

On the inside cover of the journal we find the following advertisement by the Moscow University Press: "*Goetz von Berlichingen*, a Tragedy in Five Acts; Author Goethe," a translation of a work which, if we believe Ferdinand Löwe, served in many respects as a model for *Boris Godunov*.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Pushkin, unlike that other ardent admirer of Goethe, Byron, could read poetry in German. (Bartenev, in *Collected Reports of Contemporaries about Pushkin*, Moscow, 1925, says so.) Indicative of Pushkin's knowledge of German are the numerous phrases and expressions which the poet put into the mouths of his German characters. The Russian writer is even said by these *Reports* to have taken part along with several others in the first *Faust* translation into his own language.

On the basis of the above data, Fritz Strich makes out a rather strong case for his contention that Pushkin was greatly influenced by Goethe, who was considered the undisputed chief among European poets. "Alexander Puschkin," he writes, "began noch im Banne Byrons. . . . Aber man hat die Umwandlung Puschkins oft nicht klar genug erkannt. Es war eine Wandlung, die derjenigen Carlyles verwandt erscheint. . . . Auf jeden Fall ist auch bei Puschkin Goethe an Stelle Byrons getreten."<sup>4</sup> Strich seems to follow closely the views of Harnack who summarised his study in the following way: "Aus unserer gesammten Übersicht ergibt sich das unzweifelhafte Gesammturteil, dass der Einfluss Byron's auf Puschkin wesentlich in die erste Epoche des russischen Dichters fiel, nicht aber in jene Periode, während deren er seine vorzüglichsten

Werke schuf, indem er den Idealen Shakespeare's und Goethe's nachstrebte." <sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, specialists in Russian literature deny the influence of Goethe on Pushkin. Arthur Luther, the editor of *Puschkins Werke*, states that Pushkin "im allgemeinen für die deutsche Dichtung nicht viel übrig hatte." <sup>6</sup> In the years after his change from a wild life in youth to one of self-discipline, he did not read Goethe, but "Shakespeare, die Bibel, den Koran." <sup>7</sup> According to Pogodin, a group of young contributors to the *Moskovsky Vestnik* tried to draw the attention of Pushkin to Goethe. At that time Byron was the favourite among the younger generation. "It was high time that the principle set by Byron should be replaced by that of Goethe," asserted Venevitinov. He even sent a message in verse to Pushkin to convince him that his true teacher lived in Germany, in the "land of dreams," <sup>8</sup> but in vain. Pogodin finds it ridiculous to compare Pushkin and Goethe. As a further example he cites the poet Baratynsky who had grown up under the same influence as Pushkin. Although Baratynsky had even composed a poem on Goethe's death, his work appears to have been almost unaffected by Goethe's. "Bei ihm finden wir die Bekanntschaft mit Schiller, André Chénier, Parny und Tasso, aber es wird sich in seiner Dichtung kaum eine Stelle finden, die davon zeugen würde, dass Goethe ihm nahe stand." <sup>9</sup>

Pushkin mentions Goethe by name in his works only once, and, characteristically, he places Schiller before him. When he portrays the half-Russian (полурусский) Lensky, who had studied in Göttingen and is probably reminiscent of the German *Sturm und Drang* poet Lenz, then Pushkin remembers Goethe also.

Под небом Шиллера и Гете,  
Их поэтическим огнем  
Душа воспламенилась в нем.<sup>10</sup>

In the heaven of Schiller and Goethe,  
With their poetical fire  
His soul was inflamed.

Among many novels little known to us to-day, Tatyana, the heroine of *Eugeny Onegin*, in her "lonely forest," also peruses *Вертер, мученик мятежный* ("Werther, the Passionate"). She herself is not affected by her sentimental reading; in some way she represents the opposite type of Werther, because she overcomes her passion and adjusts herself to society and life. There is nothing

of the despair in her character which we find in Byron, the Polish romanticist Mickiewicz, Musset, or Lenau, or in the novel *Lélia* by George Sand, in which the heroine is a feminine Werther and Faust combined.

Although Pushkin dedicated verses to many people who stirred his interest—among them Daws, the English painter, who lived for a long time in Weimar, and Sand, the Tübingen student, who killed Kotzebue—Goethe did not receive a single line. To be sure, Pushkin mentions Goethe a few times in his correspondence: e.g. in a letter sent from Odessa in 1824 to Prince P. A. Vyazemsky, which brought about the poet's prompt banishment to the village of Mikhailovskoe, because he said that he would prefer Goethe and Shakespeare to the Holy Ghost in the Bible. He was accused of atheism, since the author of *Werther* was rejected especially on account of godlessness and immorality.<sup>11</sup> In another letter Pushkin seems to make fun of the Sage of Weimar: "Wenn der selige Byron mit dem halbsehlgen Goethe in Streit gerieth, so würde Europa keinen Finger rühren, um sie aufeinander zu hetzen, anzufeuern, oder, umgekehrt mit kaltem Wasser zu begieszen."<sup>12</sup> Once or twice Pushkin mentions *Faust*, but in such general terms that Pogodin believes "no special knowledge of Goethe's works was necessary."<sup>13</sup>

It was principally through imitating French models that the Russians of Pushkin's generation learned elegance, polish, and *pointe*. "In der Familie (Puschkins) wurde nur Französisch gesprochen, und so war es kein Wunder, dass auch die ersten dichterischen Versuche des achtjährigen Puschkin in dieser Sprache verfasst wurden."<sup>14</sup>

It is then quite understandable that Pushkin sees *Faust* through French eyes. According to Mme de Stael's *De l'Allemagne*, the hero is not the magician, but Mephistopheles. "Le diable est le héros de cette pièce."<sup>15</sup> As in the case of Mme de Stael, so in Pushkin's *Scene of Faust* the main person is the "Evil Spirit." As in Mme de Stael's review, the bitterest pleasantry is displayed that contempt can inspire; at the same time there is an audacious gaiety that amuses. Here as there, "il y a des discours, une ironie infernale qui porte sur la créature entière" Mephistopheles reviews the whole life of the materially-minded Faust, who is bored with everything (*Мне скучно, бес.*). Like a Frenchman, Faust feels that *ennui* is the worst thing that could happen to him. Mephistopheles enumerates all the instances of boredom in Faust's life: in his youth when he had to study Virgil, when he was enjoying himself with a bevy of girls, when "he plunged himself . . . into the

dark abyss of science." Faust should also remember that from sheer boredom he called the devil out of the hellish fire. And out he danced with his little devils and tried hard to amuse him. Then he took him to the witches and ghosts (*к ведьмам и к духам*). Faust wanted glory (*слава*) and he got it, he wanted love and he obtained that also. He can be best described in the words of Mme de Stael: "Faust rassemble dans son caractère toutes les foiblesses de l'humanité: désir de savoir et fatigue du travail; besoin du success, satiété du plaisir." Gretchen is a simple-minded country maid (*простодушна*). Much ado is made by Pushkin about the autograph album, just as by Mme de Stael: "C'est le livre dans lequel, selon les bienveillons usages de l'Allemagne chacun se fait une marque de souvenir." In both cases a Latin verse is inscribed in the album.

Why did Pushkin write a *Faust* which has not the least resemblance to Goethe's drama? Perhaps the Russian writer expressed the spirit and judgment of his time in regard to *Faust*. In England Coleridge refused to translate *Faust* into English. "Der Faust dünkte ihm zu unsittlich und heidenisch, seine Sprache zu vulgär und blasphemisch zu sein, ja er fasste den Plan, einen Antifaust zu schreiben." <sup>17</sup> Or, possibly, Pushkin wished to please the emperor, Nicholas I, who was very bigoted and the censor of Pushkin's writing, showing him what an enemy of society and morals the German poet was. His Majesty let the verses on human perversion and depravity pass, against the expectation of Pushkin, and only erased two of them. "Sieg! Sieg! Der Faust ist genehmigt, bis auf zwei Verse. Sagen Sie das in meinem Namen dem Herrn, der uns fragte, wie wir es wagen konnten, derartige Verse Seiner Hochgeboren vorzulegen!" <sup>18</sup> Pretty soon after the composition of *Faust*, Pushkin was allowed to leave his exile.

Much more sensibly and quite strikingly, however, Pushkin rendered the scene of *Wald und Höhle*, also very well translated by Mme de Stael, into the poem, *Demon*.<sup>19</sup> This poem was composed already in 1823, when Pushkin was supposed to be completely under the influence of Byron. A youth living close to nature is here filled with the sublime feelings of liberty, glory and love, and for the inspiring arts (*свобода, слава и любовь и вдохновенные искусства*). He is visited by an evil genius who denies everything. he calls the beautiful a dream, he does not believe in freedom and love, he looks at life with mockery.

Pushkin reverts to his old theme of depicting Mephistopheles as arch-villain, and forgetting the striving, uplifting quality of Faust

in his tale of *The Queen of Spades*. The engineer Hermann, of Russo-German descent, is depicted as in the motto for Chapter IV "Homme sans mœurs et sans religion." He has the profile of Napoleon and the soul of Mephistopheles,<sup>20</sup> i.e. Hermann is a monster. With letters copied from recent German novels he arouses the love of Lisaveta Ivanovna, the beautiful but poor companion to an old countess (Thomas Mann in *Tomo Kröger* uses the same name for his artistic Russian lady friend.) According to the common belief, he has already three crimes on his soul. When Hermann has a rendezvous with Lisaveta after midnight, neither her tears nor her charms bother his hardened soul; he does not feel the least pangs of conscience at the thought of the death of the old countess whom he has just killed. He is only thinking of himself, how to satisfy his greed for gold.

It is evident that Pushkin knew Goethe mostly through Mme de Staël's book, *De l'Allemagne*. In the *Demon* where he followed closely the translation of his French model, he was able to show the contrast of the character of Faust and his evil genius, and to give something of Goethe's ideas. The influence of the French writer and her mistaken judgment of the *Faust* theme was detrimental for Pushkin. "Pushkin turned step by step from affirmation and hope to scepticism and despair."<sup>21</sup> This downward trend is even visible in the *Scene from Faust* by Pushkin. The *élan* is lacking as well as the progression which is potentially infinite, or expressed in earthly language

So tauml' ich von Begierde zu Genuss  
Und im Genuss verschmacht' nach Begierde.<sup>22</sup>

The heavenly challenge: Komm! hebe dich zu höheren Sphären!<sup>23</sup> is not found. Pushkin's negative attitude toward the German Faust problem may partly explain the Russians' long delay in understanding Goethe and Tolstoy's aversion to the German classicist. Only in more recent years do the poetry and philosophy of Goethe seem to have taken a greater hold.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by F. Galshenkov, *Strash molodovo Vertera*, St Petersburg, 1781 Tatyana in *Eugeny Onegin* reads *Werther Valerie* or *Lettres de Gustav de Linar à Ernest de G*, a novel by Mme de Krudener, influenced by Goethe's *Werther*.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays und Studien zur Literaturgeschichte*, Vieweg & Sohn, 1899, p 236

<sup>3</sup> *Puschkins Dichtungen*, Ferdinand Lowe, Berlin und Wien, Bibliographisches Institut (no date), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Fritz Strich, *Goethe und die Weltliteratur*, Francke Verlag, Bern, 1946, p 340.

- <sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 329  
<sup>6</sup> Edition of the Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig, I, 20.  
<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 16  
<sup>8</sup> A. Pogodin, "Goethe in Russland," *Germanoslavica*, 1931-1932, III, 338.  
<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340  
<sup>10</sup> Pushkin, *Русские Классики (Russian Classics)*, International Univ. Press, 1921, n.d.  
<sup>11</sup> Strich, p. 206  
<sup>12</sup> Arthur Luther, *Puschkin in seinen Briefen* (To A. A. Bestuzhev, 29 June, 1824, p. 29)  
<sup>13</sup> *Goethe in Russland*, p. 339  
<sup>14</sup> Luther, *Puschkins Werke*, I, 9.  
<sup>15</sup> *De l'Allemagne*, II, Paris, 1818, p. 164  
<sup>16</sup> *Сцена из Фауста*, International Univ. Press, p. 305  
<sup>17</sup> Strich, p. 295  
<sup>18</sup> Luther, *Puschkin in seinen Briefen*, in *Mikhailovskoe*, 31 August, 1837, p. 81.  
<sup>19</sup> Pushkin, International Univ. Press, p. 287  
<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 431  
<sup>21</sup> P. Annenkov, *A. C. Pushkin (В Александровскую эпоху)*, St. Petersburg, 1874  
<sup>22</sup> *Faust*, II, 3249-50  
<sup>23</sup> *Mater Gloriosa* (Mary) to *Una Poenitentium* (Gretchen), speaking of *Doctor Marianus* (Faust), in *Faust*, II, 12094  
<sup>24</sup> E. g. M. O. Gershenzon and V. N. Ivanov, *Переписка из двух углов* (Correspondence from two corners of two who lived in one room), Moscow-Berlin, 1922.

## SHAKESPEAREAN ELEMENTS IN *BORIS GODUNOV*

PUSHKIN's real appreciation of Shakespeare began in 1824, when his own powers were reaching maturity. What followed shows in a striking way how one great poet can learn from another, without ceasing to be himself.

That wide interest in foreign literatures which so distinguishes Pushkin had led him from the French classicism of his upbringing to Byron. But by 1824 he was tired of Byron. He wrote: "Byron's genius faded with his youth. In his tragedies, not excluding even *Cain*, he is no longer that fiery Demon, who created *The Giaour* and *Childe Harold*." This view he repeated three years later: "Byron . . . becomes an imitator, as soon as he enters the sphere of drama. . . . In *Cain* he conceived, created and described a single character (namely his own)." The self-absorption of the Byronic school could not satisfy Pushkin. He turned to Shakespeare, of whom it seems he had known something in his schooldays. While reading "Shakespeare and the Bible," he reflected too on the laws of drama. Like so many writers of that age he met in Shakespeare a force of liberation.

During the next year, 1825, he wrote *Boris Godunov*, his one full-sized play in verse, "after the system of our father Shakespeare." What this "system" meant in Pushkin's eyes we can discover from the design, the spirit and the theme of his play. First, the design. Pushkin "sacrificed at his (Shakespeare's) altar two classical unities, and barely preserved the last one" (unity of action). Neo-classical theory held that on these unities was grounded "verisimilitude," but Pushkin sought a different "verisimilitude," "celle des caractères et des situations." He rejected also a fourth implicit unity—that of style. "Le style en est mélangé." Characters of a coarser type (for example, Fathers Misail and Varlaam, and the hostess) speak as they would in real life. Most of the twenty-three scenes in the play are written in blank verse (with a cæsura on the French model, after the fourth syllable, which Pushkin later regretted), and a few are written in prose. This last feature marks the complete acceptance by Pushkin of the Shakespearean form.

No less important is the spirit of his play. It was not only that Pushkin saw in Shakespeare's work the quality of *narodnost*

—defined by his contemporary Vyazemsky as embracing both the “*populaire*” and “*national*” of French,—and that here was an original and democratic form of the drama which France had corrupted by bringing it to the Court. The supreme merit of Shakespeare lay in his ability “to resurrect a past age in all its truth,” which Pushkin conceived to be the dramatist’s function. Shakespeare stood above prejudice and distortion, and it was to Shakespeare’s attitude that Pushkin appealed in those famous words he wrote to Delvig when their friends among the Decembrists were awaiting the Tsar’s verdict. He contrasted Shakespeare in this letter, wrung from his heart, with the “one-sided” French tragedians. It was precisely the “allusions” of the modern French and Decembrist drama that Pushkin rejected in his play. His primary purpose was “to resurrect a past age in all its truth,” and any allusions that his readers found would be incidental.

The theme of *Boris Godunov* clearly owes much to Shakespeare’s Histories. C. H. Herford, some twenty years ago, observed that from these Pushkin’s thoughts would naturally have turned to “the drama of Russian political history . . . even more than that of Plantagenet England woven of sanguinary dynastic feuds.”<sup>1</sup> The tenth and eleventh volumes of Karamzin’s *History of the Russian State*, published in 1824, gave him a subject, not only akin to those of Shakespeare’s Histories, but drawn from the Muscovy of Shakespeare’s own time. Karamzin served Pushkin as Holinshed and Hall had served Shakespeare, and often put into his hands a fine phrase which he could appropriate as Shakespeare did those of North. The story of Grishka Otrepyev’s fabulous acquisition of the throne, already used by Lope and Schiller and at least one Russian dramatist of an earlier day, could be interpreted in the same manner as the Wars of York and Lancaster. Here were presented the same feudal disorder, and pursuit of power by “indirect crook’d ways” From the Histories Pushkin learned how to conceive the whole political picture with “no prejudice for his favourite thought,” with impartiality and freedom. Shakespeare gave him a perspective, a scheme into which he could fit the events of his own story. The characters (with the one trifling exception of Margeret, who is based on Fluellen) Pushkin found for himself, mainly in Karamzin; or he invented them. But their setting, the atmosphere in which they move, their conduct, are Shakespearean.

The resemblances of *Boris Godunov* to episodes in Shakespeare’s plays have often been noted. They concern the situation, one might say the destiny, of Pushkin’s characters. It is proposed here to



survey briefly those resemblances which are well known, and to suggest a few further connections.

*Richard III* is extremely fertile in this respect. The whole conception of Boris, a ruler who has obtained power by the murder of an innocent child, recalls Gloucester and the little princes (and also King John, and, if we substitute an innocent old man for a child as victim, Macbeth). Like Gloucester (and Julius Cæsar) he feigns reluctance to take the crown, which he only accepts after the people have been prompted to show their enthusiasm. Once having got it, he feels all the uneasiness and forebodings of Richard (or of that more sympathetic figure, Macbeth). And the action develops on the lines of Shakespeare's play: as Herford remarked, in the scenes following Grigory's escape, "the position and tension of the opposed forces is not unlike that in the Fourth act of *Richard III*." At one time the Pretender carries something of the aureole of Richmond. But he had no dynastic significance, as Henry VII had for Shakespeare's public; and Pushkin can afford ultimately to reveal him as the assassin of Godunov's children.

But the career of Grigory resembles more closely that of Bolingbroke up to the attainment of his crown. Like Bolingbroke, he, too, comes to reclaim his own (for his own it is once "the shade of the Terrible one has adopted him") and at his approach the people desert Godunov and the armies go over, as they did from Richard II at the approach of Bolingbroke. However, once Bolingbroke has become King it is to Godunov we must look for the resemblance. Both Henry IV and Tsar Boris are weighed down with cares and disappointments. The parallel between their deathbeds is familiar. Conscious of their own guilt, uncertain of things to come, they cling to the hope that their sons may reign with—

• •

"better quiet,

Better opinion, better confirmation."

Minor resemblances, real or fancied, in these or other plays, need not detain us. Does it add much to our appreciation to know whether Kurbsky's passionate welcome to Russian soil derives from Richard II's emotion on his return from Ireland? Far more interesting are certain adaptations which Pushkin appears to have made. *Measure for Measure*, we know, greatly appealed to him, and in 1833 he even paraphrased its essential story in rhymed alexandrines. It seems to me that the celebrated Fountain scene where the Pretender is alone with Marina reproduces in its own way Angelo's temptation of Isabella. The rôles are different, but in

each scene we find a lover waiting alone, for once without his usual self-mastery; we have the same outburst of revelation which so shocks the woman (though for different reasons); and her threat to tell the world, countered by his "Who would believe thee?" Different as the characters are, the scene has the tension, the rapid, unexpected turns, which Pushkin clearly admired in Angelo's struggle with Isabella.

Then there is the episode of Nikolka the "innocent." Herford said "no one, but for Shakespeare's Fools, would have thought of putting a Russian 'idiot' on the tragic stage" Nikolka, accusing "Tsar Herod" before the people, declares the awful truth, just as the fool declares it to Lear in his daughter's house. Pushkin, seeking to comment on the story, uses Nikolka brilliantly (and entirely in the spirit of Shakespeare), even though he "failed to hide his ears under the idiot's cap." "Allusions" he rejected, but through Nikolka the voice of conscience is heard. So too, the chronicler Pimen, in his obscure cell recording the truth for ages to come, expresses what would otherwise be unheard. His calm penetrating vision is not unlike the Duke's in *Measure for Measure*. And like the Duke he brings the guilty to account in his own time.

But Pushkin is most original in the way he takes over from Shakespeare the crowd scene. There is virtual proof that he remembered Mark Antony when he makes Gavrila Pushkin address the "Muscovite citizens" who call for him to be heard. But Pushkin does far more than bring a Shakespearean crowd on to the stage. He looks on the crowd with other eyes than Shakespeare. For Shakespeare—as for Sidney in the *Arcadia*—the "many-headed multitude" is a brute force which must be controlled or it sets mischief afoot, to take what course it will. Pushkin sees his crowd in that light when they demand the death of "Boris's puppy." But more often, and more significantly, he sees them as *narod*, the people, on whom the Decembrists sometimes rested their hopes. It is no exaggeration to say that the people is for Pushkin in this play a great moral force. They may weep onion-tears at their rulers' bidding; their voice is seldom heard, and then it is a confused voice. But at certain crucial moments the people make their opinion felt. They are shocked by the murder of the Tsarevich and destroy the murderers. Boris may speak of them as the fickle mob, almost echoing the Archbishop of York's words in 2 *Henry IV* :

"A habitation giddy and unsure  
Hath he that buildeth on the vulgar heart."

But it is the people's outraged opinion that brings him down. When Basmanov, the Tsar's general, is tempted to desert, Gavril Pushkin says to him :

"Dost thou not know where we are strong, Basmanov ?  
'Tis not our army, no nor Polish aid  
That makes us strong, but popular opinion."

The people's anger sweeps an impostor to victory. Grishka, the runaway monk, really becomes Dimitry the Tsarevich because the people make him so. When by a foul crime—the murder of Boris's children—he parts from the people, we know he is doomed. Mosal'sky announces that Boris's children have taken their own lives, and bids the people acclaim Tsar Dimitry. Karamzin here records that "thousands shouted . . . but others again in astonishment said not a word (*bezmolstvovali*)."

In the first version of Pushkin's play the people shout for the new Tsar. But in the second, we have the celebrated anti-climax : "*Narod bezmolstvuyet*—the people says not a word."

It is the expression of Karamzin. It also recalls the scene described by Buckingham to Gloucester.

"The citizens are mum, say not a word . . .  
I bade them that did love their country's good  
Cry 'God save Richard, England's royal king !'"

Gloucester. "And did they so ?"

Buckingham. "No, so God help me, they spake not a word ;  
But, like dumb statuas or breathing stones,  
Star'd each on other, and look'd deadly pale."  
(*King Richard III*, III, vii.)

In this example we see a whole episode from Shakespeare recaptured in one single effect. That is the peculiar technique of Pushkin, pointed out, among other critics, by S. M. Bondi.<sup>2</sup> The "laconism" of Pushkin, his classical economy of form, is more French (or even Greek) in its affinities, and it has nothing in common with the diffuse glories of Shakespeare. It is expressed not only in the individual line. The soliloquy and the scene, too, are both handled by Pushkin in the spirit of his peculiar "laconism."

Bondi compares most illuminatingly the death-bed scenes of Henry IV and Boris. He shows how Shakespeare develops over two long scenes—362 lines in all—the same order of events—the ruler's sudden affliction, his demand to be left alone with his son,

his last advice to the son, and preparations for death—which Pushkin reduces to a single scene of 136 lines. The contrast in technique is remarkable. Where Shakespeare works by small shocks of surprise, by new revelations of character and incident, enlarging and deepening the scene as he goes along, with Pushkin all is brief, rapid and definite. He gives us the essential stages in the story, and no more. The scene does not expand or blossom out. It is austere classical, and every line, every phrase tells. This may be a dramatic fault: it certainly puts a great strain on the actors. But it is characteristic of Pushkin's style in all his poetry, and we must not judge it by the same canons as Shakespeare. In fact, the originality of *Boris Godunov* could not have been secured unless Pushkin had kept to his own style.

There are other instances where he has cut down a scene from Shakespeare to his own measure. For example, Scene VII—where Boris gives expression to his disillusion with power, and to the preying of his conscience. This may be compared with the sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth*. In both, the setting is given by attendants who speak of the outward signs that the principal is ill at ease. Lady Macbeth has her terrible dreams; Boris spends his time with soothsayers. Then the principal comes on the stage, and by his words and behaviour confirms what we have heard. But whereas the doctor and gentlewoman remain to watch Lady Macbeth, and deepen our pity and horror by their comments—"What a sight is there! The heart is sorely charged!"—Boris stands before us alone. The attendants have just seven and a half lines to prepare our imagination, and then they go. After which Boris speaks a monologue which is perhaps more narrative than dramatic.

Then there is the opening episode in Scene X (The Tsar's Palace) where the child Xenia is mourning her betrothed. In a few minutes Shuysky will have appeared to tell Boris that a Pretender has arisen in Poland. So she is already doomed, and in her brief conversation with the Nurse—a Shakespearean figure, like the Nurse of doomed Juliet, or Desdemona's waiting-woman Emilia, herself almost a nurse—Pushkin attempts the pathos which surrounds the luckless child-brides of Shakespeare. Desdemona's song of the green willow, a traditional folk-song, or Ophelia's ballads, play a large part in suggesting that pathos. The first words of Xenia—"a tyomnoy mogulke, na chuzhoy storonke"—recall this popular background. But Pushkin gains his effect triumphantly when the Nurse uses the refrain of a folk-song (which he had noticed in Karamzin): "The maiden weeps, as the dew falls, out comes the sun and the dew is

dried." Here too we get only a gleam of the original, but how much deeper is the pathos if we recall Shakespeare.

The scene we have just mentioned has the unity of a little play, and this is true of others, such as that in Pimen's cell, or at the fountain. Pushkin approached the drama by way of the narrative poem. It was in *The Gypsies* (1824) that he first experimented with direct dialogue. Hence his concentration on the single scenes, which separately or in a series of two or three answer to the scope of a narrative poem such as *The Gypsies*. Later (in 1830) he turned to the writing of "little tragedies"—single scenes or small groups of scenes complete in themselves. This method is foreshadowed in *Boris Godunov*, where the scenes can be acted separately, and sometimes contain characters which are not repeated (Pimen, the inn characters, Marina). This gives the whole play an episodic effect. It is more the portrayal of an epoch than of an individual's tragedy. It is almost as though Pushkin's instinct for essentials led him to develop the concentrated single scene. What beauty the play has, lies in the contrast of these finished parts.

So with the soliloquy he controls the thought and fancy of his characters far more rigidly than Shakespeare. All Pushkin's soliloquies, as Bondi has pointed out, are either "narrative or thinking aloud." They are what the speakers might really think or say, whereas often the soliloquies of Shakespeare's characters (Macbeth, for instance) soar into the splendours of the poet's own mind. Pushkin's method, though more prosaic, seems native to the Russian genius, as it developed after him, and in Chekhov we see its flowering—the poetry of realism. This is the verisimilitude, of character and situation, that Pushkin was seeking.

But nowhere does Pushkin's unlikeness to Shakespeare more show than in his style—that bare, flawless, perfectly controlled style which places him among the world's supreme poets.

The style of Shakespeare—responsive to every new thought, rich, turbulent, allusive—is adapted to the speed of an actor's excited voice. Its irregularities and fused images are truly dramatic. On the printed page they startle the admirable stylist like Voltaire. Pushkin began with the printed page (this is not to deny that he was keenly interested in the theatre). He always writes with the grace and harmony of the lyrist. His style has no untidiness, no excess (and yet the glow of imagination). It is instructive to compare Pushkin's paraphrase of *Measure for Measure* with the original, and see how he selects and polishes the lines of Shakespeare. Gone are most of Angelo's fascinating soliloquies.

The Duke's speech on the vanity of life is summarised in two almost prosaic couplets (possibly because Pushkin did not fully understand the original). But how well he turns to epigram what Shakespeare never stayed to perfect, for instance, Angelo's words :

" We must not make a scarecrow of the law,  
Setting it up to fear the birds of prey,  
And let it keep one shape, till custom make it  
Their perch and not their terror "

" Zakon ne dolzhen byt' puzhalo iz tryapitzы,  
Na koyem nakonets uzhe sadyatsya ptitsy."

" The law must not be a scarecrow of rags on which  
the birds end by settling."

It may be one of the disadvantages of this style that it does not suit the theatre. (One should see the play acted before concluding this) But it enables *Boris Godunov* to epitomise in twenty-three scenes the struggle that Shakespeare spreads over a series of plays.

Finally, there is a new dimension in Pushkin's style—that of time. We should not forget that he lived in the age of Scott, that he studied Scott besides Shakespeare, and therefore he saw the past historically, with the eye of an antiquarian. There are numerous archaisms in *Boris Godunov*, as there are countless anachronisms in the plays of Shakespeare. It is not that Shakespeare was unduly careless: only standards had changed by Pushkin's day. Many of his archaisms Pushkin found in the pages of Karamzin (himself doubtless influenced by Scott).<sup>3</sup> He makes skilful use of old-fashioned turns of speech in the language of such characters as Pimen (the famous " *zane* " which Belinsky thought so absolutely in place) His object was " to divine the manner of thought and speech of those times," and here he resembles the Gogol of *Taras Bul'ba*. In Pushkin's day the conception of verisimilitude in a character's speech took account, not only of his rank and calling, but his epoch. So the Patriarch Job, Vorotynsky, the Pretender, each speak their own idiom. They belong to their century, as Pushkin imagined it; though their speech is not fully archaic, and Dimitry, for example, occasionally slips into the lyrical style of the 1820's. This lyrical style, which had been created by Pushkin himself, forms a unified background against which the occasional well-judged archaisms can be better seen.

*Boris Godunov* did not fully realise Pushkin's hopes. His contemporaries failed to understand it, and Pushkin was not able to reform Russian drama as he had dreamed. The play's influence told but slowly. But eventually it did much. In *Boris Godunov*, as in *Onegin* and other works of Pushkin, we see a form which is subsequently neglected (except by imitators), while the inspiration passes to other forms—especially in prose—and is there marvellously fruitful. What *Boris Godunov* gave to Russian literature was the conception of how politics are worked out in history, the means of showing an epoch as an organic whole. That is precisely what Tolstoy did in *War and Peace*. It is a conception which has been very successful in Russian literature, even when the period described is nearer to hand than in either of these. And ultimately it derives from Shakespeare. We need not consider whether Pushkin was wise in trying to write a Shakespearean drama without a theatre like Shakespeare's. Certainly the attempt comes immeasurably nearer success than one would have thought possible. But the vital thing is that Pushkin sensed in Shakespeare what Russian literature needed—

“Philosophy, impartiality, the statesmanlike thoughts of a historian, insight, liveliness of imagination, no prejudice for his favourite thought. *Freedom*.”

The italics are Pushkin's, and they underline the most important of all Shakespeare's gifts to him.

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<sup>1</sup> C. H. Herford, *A Russian Shakespearean*, Manchester, 1925

<sup>2</sup> In *Pushkin Rodonachal'nik Novoy Russkoy Literatury*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941

<sup>3</sup> See Vinokur's essay in “*Boris Godunov* A. S. Pushkina,” ed. K. N. Derzhavin, Leningrad, 1936.

## PUSHKINIANA IN SLOVAKIA

It is strange to find the name of Alexandrina Goncharova and, through her, some of the greatest names in Russian literature linked with a small village in Slovakia. Yet Alexandrina, sister of Pushkin's beautiful wife Natalia, and herself passionately attached to the poet, was led by a tangled series of events to spend half her life in Slovakia.

The village, Broďany, lies on the left bank of the River Nitra, on the highroad running from Topoľčany to Prievidza. Over a now dilapidated fence bordering the road there can be seen the limes, chestnuts and poplars of the old neglected park belonging to Broďany castle which, until recently, was the seat of the Duchess of Oldenburg.

It was of Alexandrina, whose character was so much more congenial to Pushkin than that of her superficial, coquettish sister, that Pushkin spoke to his friend, the poet Zhukovsky, as he lay on his deathbed. And there in Broďany is still preserved the poet's turquoise ring.

\* \* \*

The threads of the story are first drawn together not in the Nitra valley, nor in imperial St. Petersburg, but far away to the south, in Italy.

In the twenties of the last century a young Russian girl, known as Natalia Ivanovna Ivanova, was travelling through Europe. She was accompanied by her adopted parents, Count Xavier de Maistre—the well-known French writer, statesman and brigadier in the Russian army—and his wife, Sofia Ivanovna, *née* Zagryazskaya. The year 1826 finds them in Heidelberg, and the following year in Italy, where they visited Gaeta, Pompeii, Vergil's tomb, La Salfatara, the temple of Venus in Baiae, Sibyl's grotto, Rome and Pisa. They were in Rome in 1829, and spent 1830–1836 in Naples, from where they frequently visited Rome.

The young Natalia Ivanovna was surrounded by a brilliant, young, cosmopolitan society. On the occasion of a visit to the Pope she was presented with a bouquet by a Swiss officer. She received the marked attentions of Count Lebzeltern, Prince Peter Meshchersky, Count Eszterházy, Count Etienne de Biron. She was continually visited by numerous Russian travellers who were drawn to Italy by the sunny climate, the artistic riches and the heritages



of the past. She was accompanied on her journeys by such figures of society as Mme Buryev and Elizabeth Naryshkin. Count de Maistre frequently welcomed artists in his house. Indeed, the Count himself was not only a writer<sup>1</sup> but also a remarkable portrait and miniature painter. The Italian miniaturist Boggi worked in their house; the sculptor F. Woltreck left them some of his brilliant bas-reliefs. And when the young Russian poet, V. Zhukovskij, Pushkin's friend and later tutor to the Tsar's son, visited Italy on his journey through Europe, he too did not remain indifferent to Natalia Ivanovna. He was torn between his respect towards Count Xavier de Maistre, the writer, and his tender feelings towards his young compatriot. He wrote a poem, dedicating it to her, in her album.<sup>2</sup> The *élite* of the young cosmopolitan society of Naples frequented the house of Natalia Ivanovna and her adopted parents. They even formed a special "order" of admirers of the enchanting Russian beauty, so exotic to the Neapolitans, with her as honourable head of the order.

There is uncertainty about Natalia Ivanovna's origin. She was born in Tambov and, in her marriage certificate, her family name is given as Ivanov.<sup>3</sup> Some Russian sources refer to her as Natalia Ivanovna Sokolova, while in her death certificate, issued in 1851 in St. Petersburg, her maiden name is given as Zagryazskaya.<sup>4</sup> She was undoubtedly an illegitimate child. According to one of the best biographies of Pushkin she was the illegitimate daughter of Ivan Alexandrovich Zagryazsky. (Zagryazsky was also father of the second Natalia Ivanovna, whose married name was Goncharova, mother of Pushkin's wife.) She was adopted and brought up by her stepsister, Sofia Ivanovna, the wife of Xavier de Maistre. But, to judge by the remarkable likeness between Natalia Ivanovna and Count Xavier de Maistre, we cannot exclude the possibility of her being the illegitimate daughter of the Count, who spent a great deal of his life in St. Petersburg. It was there that he served in the Russian army, became closely acquainted with Pushkin's circle and—it seems very probable—did a portrait of the young Pushkin in 1819.<sup>5</sup> If it is Pushkin's portrait, it is the earliest original one of the poet. Natalia Ivanovna always addressed Count de Maistre and his wife as "l'oncle" and "la tante"

We first hear of Natalia Ivanovna meeting her future husband in a note dated 16th April, 1830, for it was then, on the terrace of the Mills villa in Rome, that she received a small bouquet from the 23-year-old attaché to the Austrian Legation in Naples, Baron Gustav Friesenhof.<sup>6</sup> But here I must digress to say something of

this Baron Friesenhof, whose fate was linked with that of two Russian women.

Gustav Viktor Vogl, Baron von Friesenhof, was born in Vienna on 6 June, 1807. His father, Jan Vogl, from Beblenzheim, died very soon after (1812). A warm tie of friendship with his elder brother Adolf ran right through Gustav Friesenhof's life.

According to some historians his family originally came from Alsatia, Jan Vogl left to settle in Austria and, in 1789, was granted an hereditary baronetcy by the Emperor.<sup>7</sup>

In 1828 Gustav von Friesenhof took his final examinations in law and political science at Vienna University. Having completed his studies, he set out on a journey to Italy where he met his future wife, Natalia Ivanovna. His first appointment, in the same year, was to the Imperial Legation in Dresden (Saxony); but three years later he was transferred to the Austrian Legation at the court of the King of Sardinia, in Naples. They knew each other fully six years, then, before Gustav von Friesenhof finally decided to marry Natalia Ivanovna. He was obviously dissatisfied with his rank at the Legation and was considering changing to another service. In those days it was still possible for a gifted diplomat to serve first one state and then another. Friesenhof toyed with the idea of going over into the Prussian diplomatic service, and exerted all the influence he could to this end; but he finally decided to remain in the service of the Austrian Emperor.

After their marriage the young couple remained at first in Naples, then travelled round the whole of Italy, visited Switzerland, Savoy, Paris (1839), and from there set out for Vienna. In Vienna Friesenhof succeeded in obtaining an appointment to the Austrian Legation in St. Petersburg. The same year he and his wife, together with "l'oncle de Maistre," left for the Russian capital. They travelled through Újezd (Moravia), Frýburg (Silesia), Radowica (Poland). Some interesting accounts of this exhausting journey have been preserved.

Although Natalia Ivanovna had spent many years abroad, she had by no means lost contact with her native land. She had kept up regular correspondence with friends and relations in St. Petersburg, in particular with "la tante" Katarina Ivanovna Zagryazskaya, the sister of Sofia Ivanovna, Comtesse de Maistre, and of Natalia Ivanovna Goncharova, the mother of Pushkin's wife. In this way she had been kept fully informed of both family and society affairs. Gustav Friesenhof, for his part, carried on an intensive correspondence with his brother, Adolf, who lived in Vienna, keeping him

acquainted not only with his private affairs but also with events in Russia. Adolf von Friesenhof apparently knew St. Petersburg, so it is only natural that he should have been interested in the social gossip of the Russian capital. The complete correspondence between Gustav Friesenhof and his brother has been preserved.

So Gustav von Friesenhof had become familiar with St. Petersburg society and with the narrower circle immediately round Pushkin, even before he arrived in Russia.

At this point, for clarity's sake, I should go over some of the facts connected with the marriage and death of Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin.

It was at one of the sophisticated Moscow balls that Pushkin, then aged 30, met a creature of "angelic beauty," the 16-year-old Natalia Nikolayevna Goncharova. Natalia's pale face, dark hair and mysterious, dreamy eyes had bewitched Moscow's young men of fashion, and they also bewitched Pushkin. He, at 30, lost all his self-assurance and confidence in approaching her.

A long period of alternating hope and bitter disappointment and of wearisome negotiations with her family passed for Pushkin before they were finally married on 19 February, 1831.

Natalia Nikolayevna Goncharova was the youngest daughter of Nikolay Afanasievich Goncharov, a feudal landowner whose morbid temperament later led to insanity and who long tried in vain to save his father's once notorious wealth, drawn from the "Polotnyanye zavody," one of the greatest Russian concerns for the manufacture of cloth and linen. Her mother, Natalia Ivanovna (*née* Zagryazskaya), was obliged to live frugally. She was an educated woman, but of a tyrannical nature, with an unhealthy leaning towards mysticism, and she surrounded herself with pilgrims and monks. She lost no opportunity of restricting the freedom of her daughters; and the severity of their life together continually gave rise to conflict between the three girls. The eldest daughter, Ekaterina, born in 1809, who was clumsy and ungainly, did not marry until the age of 27, and even then under circumstances that were somewhat unusual. The second daughter, Alexandra Nikolajevna, born in 1811, reached the age of 40 before she was married, though she lacked neither warmth of temperament nor social graces.

It was this second daughter, Alexandra Nikolajevna—or *Alexandrine*, as she was usually called in French—who spent the second half of her life in Brodany, in Slovakia; and there she

died, leaving behind her some precious records of Pushkin and his circle.

The beauty of the youngest sister became celebrated, and brought many bitter moments to her husband ; but Alexandrina was not outstanding in features. Many Pushkin scholars speak of her as a " caricature " of her sister Natalia ;<sup>8</sup> but the injustice of this may be seen from a daguerreotype in an album of the Goncharovs found in Broďany castle.<sup>9</sup> Alexandrina had the same oval face, dark hair and noble cast of features as her sister ; and it is true that she lacked the strikingly delicate grace which Natalia never lost up to the time of her death. Both sisters had a cast in their eye ; but while this was only a slight blemish merely serving to heighten Natalia's charm, it was more noticeable in the case of the elder sister. That was why Alexandrina had most of her portraits—and, later, photographs—done in profile.

Natalia was the favourite and the idol of her family. Her mother and the whole family lavished most care upon her. Her social successes are freely recorded in the society annals of the two capitals, Moscow and St. Petersburg. Naturally enough, both Ekaterina and Alexandrina felt that they were being pushed aside, and they begrudged their younger sister her easy successes and, later, her marriage too. Alexandrina had several opportunities of getting married, but on each occasion her mother made all approach impossible. Alexander Yurievich Polivanov sought her hand, but when he arrived at the " Polotnyanye zavody," where the Goncharovs lived, not only was he given no chance of speaking to Alexandrina, but he was simply refused admittance to the house. Pushkin's close friend, P. V. Nashchokin, described the occasion in a letter to the poet. Pushkin mentions Polivanov's unsuccessful visit in his answer. " And what about Alexander Yurievich now ? Your news of him highly amused us. I can just imagine him at the ' zavody ' with the deaf old man <sup>10</sup> and Natalia Ivanovna simply bustling round her daughters behind only too firmly locked doors. But how has Alexander Yurievich reacted ? Have his feelings changed, or not ? " <sup>11</sup>

Three years later Pushkin again returns to the fate of Alexandrina Nikolayevna in a letter to his wife : " The only one of the rich suitors now remaining is Novomlensky, since you say that Sorochtin is dead. I wonder which he will choose, Alexandra Nikolayevna or Ekaterina Nikolayevna ? What do you think ? " <sup>12</sup>

But the main difference between the sisters did not lie in their appearance. Natalia had a capricious, superficial and frivolous

nature. Dancing and clothes were all she cared about. She could not be bothered with the children, the household, or even with her husband. But Alexandrina was a far more profound character. She fully sensed the greatness of Pushkin's genius, she had genuine feeling for his poetry, much of which she learnt by heart. Pushkin liked her more than any other member of the family, and he felt her congeniality even before any romantic touch entered their relationship.

In 1834, after Pushkin had returned from the capital and had moved to a new house, the unmarried sisters were forced by their unbearable family life at home to leave their mother and go to live with the Pushkins in St. Petersburg. This gave unexpected turns to the family life of the Pushkins. Alexandrina was by nature more akin to Pushkin than the flirtatious and irresponsible Natalia; and, fully conscious of this, Alexandrina was envious of her sister's physical relationship with him. She herself went to no balls, she was left with the entire burden of the household and even with the care of the children. And Pushkin's feelings naturally warmed towards this pensive, adult, intelligent woman. In 1836 Anna Nikolayevna Wulf, a close friend of the Pushkins, wrote to her sister that Pushkin "is paying most marked attentions to his sister-in-law Alexandrina, while his wife has become extremely flirtatious."

Relations between Natalia and her elder sister were also strained. Ekaterina fell hopelessly in love with a brilliant young man, just when he was pressing his attentions upon Natalia. There were frequent scenes between the sisters. The atmosphere in which the poet lived and worked during the last months of his life was one of intense jealousy—Natalia's jealousy of her husband on account of Alexandrina, the poet's jealousy of his wife on account of her successes in society and at court, and Alexandrina's restrained jealousy of her sister.

Most Pushkin scholars are now agreed that the poet's relationship with Alexandrina was more than that of brother and sister-in-law. There is, of course, no eyewitness evidence, but some significant facts have come to light in writings on Pushkin. While Natalia was expecting her fourth child—the sisters were already living with the Pushkins—Alexandrina lost the cross which, in accordance with Orthodox custom, she wore on a gold chain round her neck. The house was searched, but the cross was not to be found. In the end Pushkin's valet, cleaning out the poet's study, found the cross—in the poet's bed. (It should be added that Pushkin slept in his study when his wife was expecting a child.) This is, of course, the account

given by A. P. Arapova, Natalia's daughter by her second marriage. Arapova was naturally anxious to clear her mother's name and to place the blame for the breaking up of the family happiness upon Pushkin. Arapova even quotes her old nurse as saying "your aunt did great wrong to your mother." But there is more reliable evidence to show that Natalia's jealousy was not unfounded

Pushkin was a "restless, jealous, sensitive" character. He had inherited the hot blood of the Abyssinians. During the last years of his life he sought distraction with other women also. His interest in the beautiful Countess Dolly de Ficquelmont, wife of the Austrian Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg, would seem to have been more than purely social.<sup>13</sup>

But Natalia Nikolayevna was also engrossed in coquetry and flirtation. A brilliant, striking figure appeared in St. Petersburg society: Georges-Charles d'Anthès, French *émigré* and legitimist, recently commissioned Lieutenant in the Cavalry, protégée of the Tsarina and of the Dutch Ambassador to the Russian court, Jakob-Theodor-Derk-Borchard-Ann, Baron van Heeckeren-Beverwaert. The intimate friendship between the young Frenchman and the far older Dutch diplomat still remains somewhat mysterious. But the fact remains that Baron van Heeckeren adopted Georges d'Anthès and became his confidant in even his most intimate affairs.

Natalia Nikolayevna was regularly invited to the brilliant balls and evening gatherings given by Nikolas I himself in the Anichkov palace in Petersburg. The autocratic Tsar liked Pushkin's attractive young wife, and he saw to it that her husband was tied to the capital. . . . Natalia for her part was flattered that the Tsar should pay her special attention. When the poet learnt of his wife's behaviour, he felt bound to write to her, on 6 May, 1836: "All kinds of rumours are going round about you, my love, though they only reach me incomplete, for husbands are always the last to learn anything about their wives. But obviously you have reduced *someone* (i.e. the Tsar. author's note) to such desperation by your flirtatiousness and cruelty that he has taken some budding young actresses to found a harem."<sup>14</sup> Natalia met d'Anthès at these balls—the most beautiful woman of the town meeting the most brilliant young man for whose sake "women simply come to blows," as a certain contemporary put it in his memoirs. Natalia made no secret of her interest in the young officer. Petersburg society became full of rumours about Natalia's relations with d'Anthès,

about her relations with the Tsar and about Pushkin's relations with Alexandrina. The situation deteriorated and finally led to the duel in which the poet was mortally wounded.

Ekaterina Ivanovna Zagryazskaya, Natalia's and Alexandrina's aunt, a lady who carried some weight in the affairs of the Pushkin family, referred to this duel and to the events leading up to it in a letter to her sister Sofia de Maistre. Gustav Friesenhof gives her account in a letter to his brother Adolf, on 7 March, 1837, that is, less than five weeks after the fateful encounter between the poet and d'Anthès by the "Chernaya reka." The letter reads: ". . . Die Tante <sup>15</sup> ist auch nicht recht wohl; sie hat gestern eine Nachricht erhalten die sie sehr angegriffen hat. Hast du in Petersburg die Bekanntschaft Puschkins gemacht, der eine Nichte der Tante geheurathat hat? Die Schwester der letzteren, Flein Gontscharoff, heurathete vor 6. Wochen den Neffen und Adoptivsohn des Holländischen Gesandten, Heckeren, in St. Petersburg.<sup>16</sup> Indess hatte ein infamer Anonimus, warscheinlich aus irgend einer elenden Rache, dem Puschkin und mehreren Personen der Gesellschaft Briefe geschrieben in denen man seine Frau eines ihr . . . (illegible) Verhältnisses mit dem unverheuratheten Heckeren bezichtigt. Puschkin war von der Unschuld seiner Frau die ihn leidenschaftlich liebte, so völlig überzeugt, dass er vom ersten Augenblick bis auf dem Todtenbett nicht aufgebört hat ihr dieses Zeugnis zu versichern; er ist aber ein toller Kopf, und da die Klatschschwestern die Sache aufgenommen und auf ihre Weise kommentiert hatten, was ihm zu Ohren kam, warder ganz rasend, nötigte seinen Schwager sich mit ihm zu schlagen, verwundete ihn leicht, und ward von ihm erschossen. Obgleich die Tante diese zwei Nichten die auf dem Lande bei ihren Eltern erzogen wurden nich kennt, begreifst du leicht, wie sehr eine durch die sie begleitenden Umstände so abscheuliche Geschichte sie erschüttert hat."

This letter gives concisely all the essential details of Pushkin's duel. In judging the mental state of the poet, it is important that Ekaterina Zagryazskaya, who was so near to the poet's family, should state both that Natalia "loved her husband passionately" and that Pushkin was convinced of his wife's innocence "up to the time of his death."

In this way, through his wife, Gustav Friesenhof became a close spectator of one of the greatest tragedies that have ever befallen Russian literature.

But Friesenhof was also destined to enter even closer in the environment in which Pushkin had lived and worked, and to link

his life with the one who was so near to the poet during his last months, perhaps even last minutes.

In 1839 Friesenhof was transferred to the Austrian Embassy in St. Petersburg. He set out on his journey from Vienna in June. His wife, Natalia Ivanovna, who had been away from home for thirteen years, was greatly looking forward to returning to her country. As she was then expecting a child, the journey by coach across Moravia, Poland, and on to St. Petersburg was not exactly pleasant for her. But once she had crossed the Russian frontier, she felt all her troubles to be over. The familiar speech, surroundings and food all made a deep impression upon her. Once she set her eyes on "Borch, Prestaquasch, Quass und andere dergleichen Schweinereien" <sup>17</sup> she felt herself at home again.

They arrived in St. Petersburg in July, but in very bad weather: there was a fall of snow. They went to live in a villa on the Kamenny Ostrov, next to the Pushkins' villa. Friesenhof's first impressions were mixed. He liked the River Neva and was impressed by the imposing buildings, but he missed all natural surroundings in this work of human hands. He felt that this town, built on a swamp at the behest of Peter the Great, was a monstrosity.

Almost immediately after his arrival he met his wife's cousins, Pushkin's widow, Natalia Nikolayevna, and her unmarried sister Alexandrina. In one of his first letters from St. Petersburg he wrote: "We see Mme Pushkin and her unmarried sister every day. Mlle Zagryazskaya ("la tante" of the Pushkins) lives with them in the villa next to ours. She (Natalia Pushkin) is beautiful, but not as much so as I expected. Her facial expression is empty, and, it seems, rightly so. She seems good-natured, but nothing more" <sup>18</sup>

Between 1839 and 1841 Friesenhof mentioned Pushkin's widow and her sister every time he wrote to his brother. "We see the Pushkins regularly every day; I have grown used to them and quite like them. They certainly help to relieve the boredom of my droll aunt's salon, which is inherently the most boring in the world. But I don't think that there can be any real intimacy between us; the two ladies come under the vigilance of Mme Zagryazskaya. She is the close confidante of Mme Pushkin, in particular. That will always be an insurmountable obstacle." <sup>19</sup>

Friesenhof could bear neither "la tante" Zagryazskaya, nor her sister "la tante" Sofia de Maistre. This was apparently mutual, for in one letter he says: "We do not often see even the Pushkins now. At first they used to come to see us frequently; but it looks as if Mme Zagryazskaya has become jealous of our friendly relations



and has forbidden them to meet my wife often. Mme Pushkin owes a lot to her aunt Catherine, especially since her husband died, and looks to her for a great deal, as she is in a difficult position and is *très peu à son aise*; so she is obliged to do whatever her aunt demands and to withdraw a little. We are extremely sorry, as we liked both the ladies very much . . .”<sup>20</sup>

When the Freisenhofs' son Gregory was born, they moved to the Mikhailovskoe estate, where Pushkin had lived and worked. There they lived under one roof with Pushkin's widow and Alexandrina.

But in 1844 Friesenhof was called to Vienna on official business, and this brought his first stay in Russia to an end. He went on short journeys from Vienna and, in Slovakia, he bought Broďany castle, which had previously been jointly owned by more than twenty people. Friesenhof was obviously only too glad to find a permanent home for himself and his family. He began to run the estate at Broďany, but was caught up in the revolutionary events of 1848-1849, which he refers to in his letters as the “Hungarian storms.”

In 1850 he went again to St Petersburg, but this time misfortune awaited him. His wife Natalia Ivanovna died on 20 October, 1850, after a long and painful illness. In his letters to his brother he describes his feelings of desperation, unbearable loneliness and emptiness. His brother was therefore all the more surprised when he learnt from friends in St. Petersburg that Gustav Friesenhof intended to get married again, this time to Alexandrina Goncharova, that is, to Alexandrina who was so close to Pushkin shortly before his death. Gustav Friesenhof gives the following account of his surprising decision in a long letter to his brother:

“You know that during our first stay here (in St. Petersburg) both the Goncharov sisters became sincere friends with both Natalia and myself, and that we became very attached to Alexandrina, as we came to appreciate the worth of her character. When my Natalia moved into the town before her death it was Alexandrina who, having more free time, became her constant companion and tended to her tirelessly during her last painful days. The natural outcome of all this was that the place I most gladly visited throughout the winter was the Lanskoys’.<sup>21</sup> Alexandrina was the only one in the whole of St. Petersburg with whom I could talk freely about my Natalia—our aunt avoided this—so my meetings with her brought me comfort and help”<sup>22</sup> The whole idea of the marriage originated with their aunt, Sofie de Maistre, who was anxious both

to improve Alexandrina's future lot and to help Friesenhof in his loneliness.

Alexandrina was then 40, an age at which the main traits of a person's character are already set. She was domesticated and loved children—she had brought up and nursed Pushkin's children and the children of her sister's second marriage. She was willing to spend the rest of her life, "year in, year out," in the quiet setting of Brođany. Ten years earlier she had, of course, attended court; but by this time she had been long withdrawn from society, had no further ambitions and was quite content to devote herself to home and family life. They were married quietly in St. Petersburg and then left for Brođany. They had a flat in Vienna, and they later bought Erlaa castle near Vienna, but they spent most of their time running the estate at Brođany.

They were visited in Brođany by Natalia Nikolayevna, who had then married General Peter Lansky. So Pushkin's widow wandered beneath the limetrees of Brođany park, and her footsteps echoed along the corridors of the castle. . . . There is a photograph of her, surrounded by her children by both marriages, together with Alexandrina and Gustav Friesenhof, in Brođany park.

The Friesenhofs never lost contact with Russia. The old albums in Brođany castle are full of drawings and photographs of their visitors. They welcomed the Goncharov brothers, Alexander Pushkin, the poet's son, Maria and Natalia Pushkin, his daughters; even old Xavier de Maistre spent some time in Brođany, as well as Countess Sofia Stroganova, Prince Vyazemsky, the Orlovs, Ozerovs and the Karamzins.

On one occasion these continued contacts with Russia nearly gave rise to an awkward situation. Baron van Heeckeren, the adopted father of d'Anthès who killed Pushkin, was Dutch Ambassador in Vienna, where d'Anthès visited him several times. This coincided with Natalia Nikolayevna's visit to the Friesenhofs. It was inevitable that they should meet among the Russian society in Vienna. We do not know what occurred at the meeting, but the bitterness between the families was somehow bridged, and there is even a portrait of d'Anthès-van Heeckeren in Brođany castle.

Both Gustav Friesenhof and Alexandrina found what they were seeking in their marriage: peace and family happiness. On 8 April, 1854, they had a daughter whom they named Natalia after Friesenhof's first wife. This impressionable child of parents no longer young grew up in this country setting and devoted herself to art—painting and writing romantic poems—and when she met the dreamy,

melancholy Elimar, younger brother of the ruling Duke of Oldenburg, she married him against the wishes of his brother and of her family. From then on the social life in Broďany was determined by the eccentric whims of the Duchess. She threw the place open to artists, poets, musicians, and painters, and some guests actually lived in Broďany for 40 years.<sup>1</sup> She was very intimate with her mother, and knew a great deal of her mother's past history. She was certainly aware of her mother's former relationship with Pushkin. Before her death in 1937, she had all her mother's papers and letters destroyed, so that nothing should remain which might compromise the memory of her mother.

Of course no one knows whether Alexandrina had any letters from Pushkin nor, if she had, whether she took them with her on leaving Russia. But the headings to Zhukovsky's notes on his two-day and two-night watch over the dying poet: "disclosure about Alexandrina . . .," "the story about the bed . . .," "the fellow shoots well . . .," would seem to confirm what Mme Arapova wrote in her memoirs. I have seen the ring which belonged to Alexandrina. It is a thin gold ring, drawn with a band of iron. When she wore it, there was still a turquoise in it. Pushkin is known to have worn a ring drawn with iron taken from the chains of political prisoners and, when he was dying, to have sent Alexandrina a gold chain. It does not seem likely that Alexandrina's ring drawn with iron was a pure coincidence.

\* \* \*

Pushkin the poet still lives in the hearts of all men, and Pushkin the man is still dear to the hearts of his own compatriots. Each small stone in the mosaic of his life is precious. Alexandrina was thought to have died between 1868 and 1870, for very little was previously known about her later years and about her life in Broďany. It was there, in Broďany, that she welcomed the one whose frivolousness cost the poet his life and where, on 9 August, 1891, she herself was laid to rest.

A. V. ISAČENKO.

*Translated by* VICTORIA DE BRAY.

<sup>1</sup> He is the author of a remarkable book, *Voyage autour de ma chambre* (1794), and several books on Russian subjects: *Les prisonniers du Caucase* (1825), *La jeune Sibérienne* (1825), etc.

<sup>2</sup> V. Zhukovsky's MS was found in Broďany castle by Ján Ferencík, of the Russian Seminar, Bratislava University, who has published the details of his discovery in "Slovenské pohľady," 1947—II (Matica slovenská).

<sup>3</sup> The marriage certificate reads: "Ich Endesgefertigter Evangelischer Geistlicher bei der Königlich Preussischen Gesandtschaft in Rom, bescheinige hiemit, dass Herr Victor Gustav Freiherr von Friesenhof, Attaché bei der K. K. Oesterreichischen

Gesandtschaft in Neapel, Sohn des Herrn Johann Mihael Vogl, Freeherr von Friesenhof, und dessen Ehegattin Frau Anna Marie geborene von Rosner, die beide bereits gestorben, evangelischer Confession, und Fraulein Natalie Iwanoff, geboren zu Tamboff in Russland, Tochter des bereits verstorbenen Herrn Johann Iwanoff und Adoptivtochter der Frau Gräfin von Maistre, Griechischer Confession, am II Sonntag nach Ostern (Misericordius Domini), also am 17 April 1836, in der Königl Preussischen Gesandtschaft ", etc

<sup>4</sup> Her death certificate reads

#### Свидѣтельство.

По метрической Исакиевского Собора книгѣ значится, что Барона Густава Фризенгофа супруга Наталія Иоанновна, урожденная Загряжская, волею Божьею помре октября двѣнадцатаго дня тысяча восемьсот пятидесятаго года и погребена того же года и месяца семнадцатаго числа, въ Александровской Лаврѣ

Many Pushkin scholars in error write this name Zagrzazhskaia. The uncertainty among the biographers concerning the name of Natalia Ivanovna is to be explained by the fact that, as an illegitimate child, she probably took her official name from her godfather, as was the custom in Russia when naming illegitimate children

<sup>5</sup> In the original of this monograph (published by Matica slovenská) there is given a reproduction of a pencil portrait which would seem to be that of Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin. It is taken from an unpublished album of sketches by Xavier de Maistre, from approx 1819, found in Brodany castle

<sup>6</sup> Two albums belonging to Natalia Ivanovna (inscribed N F in gilt letters) have been preserved in Brodany. In these there are pressed flowers from all the places which she visited, together with the names of those who gave them to her

<sup>7</sup> That, at least, is the account given by Fritz Lemmermayer, apologist of the Duke of Oldenburg, in his book *Die Leiden eines deutschen Fürsten*, Berlin, 1905, p 14. Lemmermayer's purpose is obviously to throw a more favourable light upon the "misalliance" between the Duke of Oldenburg and Natalia Friesenhof, the daughter of Gustav Friesenhof and Alexandrina Goncharova

<sup>8</sup> Cf Henri Troyat, *Pouchkine*, Paris, 1946, II, p 294

<sup>9</sup> A reproduction of this daguerreotype, previously unpublished, is given in the original of this monograph

<sup>10</sup> The "deaf old man" refers to Nikolay Afanasievich Goncharov. Pushkin was so afraid of his unbalanced father-in-law that he was unwilling for the children to come in contact with him in case old Goncharov should bite off their noses

<sup>11</sup> Letter dated 19th (or 20th) June, 1831. See A S Pushkin *Polnoye sobranie sochineniy*, edited by M A Cjavlovskij, Vol VI, p 266

<sup>12</sup> Letter dated 30th April, 1834, *idem*, pp 351-52

<sup>13</sup> There is an interesting letter in connection with this from Count de Ficquelmont to Metternich, in which the St Petersburg diplomat informs the Austrian Chancellor of the poet's death. I shall be publishing the full text of the letter elsewhere

<sup>14</sup> Letter dated 6th May, 1836, *loc cit*, p 418

<sup>15</sup> Sofia Ivanovna de Maistre, Jekaterina Ivanovna Zagrzazskaya's sister

<sup>16</sup> Jekaterina Nikolajevna Goncharova, sister of Pushkin's wife, was in love with Georges d'Anthès, the adopted son of Baron van Heeckeren. This unfortunate love was the cause of frequent scenes between the sisters. When the scandal, connected with d'Anthès' much too obvious attentions to Pushkin's wife, came into the open and the threat of a duel first appeared, the crafty Frenchman asked the hand of the older, unmarried Jekaterina Goncharova, in order to cover up his intentions and to make his attentions to the Goncharov sisters appear to arise from love for the plain Jekaterina

<sup>17</sup> This, of course, refers to Russian beetroot soup, sour milk and "kvas"—a drink made from fermented bread

<sup>18</sup> Letter dated 8th July (25 June, 1839) from the Brodany archives

<sup>19</sup> Letter dated 1st August (20 July, 1839) from the Brodany archives

<sup>20</sup> Letter dated 18th (6 August, 1839) from the Brodany archives

<sup>21</sup> Natalia Nikolayevna Pushkin remained in mourning for some years, but in 1843 she was already going to balls again. The water-colour, reproduced in the original of this monograph, dates from then and shows that, at 30, Natalia was as beautiful as ever. Soon afterwards she married Major-General Peter Lansky

<sup>22</sup> Undated letter (approx March, 1852) from the Brodany archives

# FINLAND AND SWEDEN IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE

ILYA EHRENBURG and O. Savich in their book *We and They: France*, published in Berlin in 1931, seem to have been the first to employ the literary art for the purpose of elucidating the ideas of one people about another. This method is based on the idea that the subconscious opinion of various classes of the population about their neighbours, which is formed of summarised impressions from the stories of travelling observers, newspaper articles, etc., may best be elucidated by quotations from novelists, who instinctively give to their opinion a literary form which the ordinary publicist usually cannot do. I have availed myself of this method in my latest works devoted to an examination of the views of the Russian public on the Scandinavian countries—Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland—and their peoples.<sup>1</sup> Since they are published in languages less widely known (Finnish and Swedish) these works remain inaccessible to the great majority of people interested in this subject, and so I would like in this article shortly to expound the results of my enquiries in a language more widely known.

It is generally known that the Slavonic tribes from which later the Great Russians developed, at latest in the beginning of the 9th century, came into contact with Scandinavians and with Finnish tribes who were under their cultural influence (*Yam, Sum, Korela, Chud, Vod*). These contacts have hardly any reflection in early Russian literature, with the exception of the dramatic description of some warlike adventures, such as the battle of Alexander Nevsky with the Swedish leader Birger Jarl on the Neva in 1240. The relations of the Russians with their north-western neighbours were defined in ancient Christian times exclusively by religion: so the Swedes, and also the Finns who were converted by them to Catholicism, are known in the Chronicles as “unclean Germans,” “latins,” while at the same time some of the Finns of Ingermanland and Karelia, who had been converted to the Orthodox Church, were considered as “our own people.” In the life of Prince Alexander Nevsky, reference is made also to the name of the Finnish commander “of a shore guard,” Pelgusi (Finnish *Pelkoisia*), to whose vigilance the Russian army owed its victory over the Swedes in 1240. The author of the life specially extols this converted non-Russian, who “led a holy life and was even graced by a vision of the holy martyrs

Boris and Gleb.”<sup>2</sup> At the same time the chroniclers and others expatiate upon the baleful influence of Finnish (Chud) magi and soothsayers; already in 1532 Makary, Archbishop of Novgorod, warned the clergy of the Vot district against being carried away by Chud “*arpoja*” (a word borrowed from the Finnish meaning “shaman”)<sup>3</sup> which “disturb Christianity by their impiety.” Set up on a foundation of Finno-Ugrian shamanism, the idea of sorcery among Finnish tribes, known also in Scandinavia, took root later in Russian romantic literature. As late as Gumilev’s romantic poem “*Gondla*” (1920) “sorcerers from the Finnish land” were shown operating in Iceland.

The frequent armed conflicts of the Moscow State, and later of the Russian Empire, with the Swedes and Finns were reflected in the literature of the 17th and 18th centuries, chiefly in a kind of “lay” and odes for victory and the conclusion of peace. What is typical of these is that Peter the Great’s contemporary Feofan Prokopovich, in his speech on the victory at Poltava in 1709, extols the defeated Swedes, evidently wishing to emphasise by this the meaning of the victory: “Our great and terrible foe was . . . truly strong and courageous . . . He was known as the strongest warrior among the other German peoples and until now he is terrible to all others.”<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, when the Swedes in 1741 tried to take their revenge and suffered at one stroke in the beginning of the war a complete defeat at Vilmanstrand, Mikhail Lomonosov gave vent in his ode on this victory to an explosion of indignation and contempt for “the drunken fools in Stockholm.” At the time of the 1788–1790 war even more exacerbated was the pamphleteering character of the poems on topics of the day, directed chiefly against the Swedish King Gustav III. Catherine II herself gave an example in her “comic opera” “Kossometovich, the luckless hero,” in which she ridiculed the initial failure of the Swedish arms. Almost all contemporary second-rate poets followed her, and even some of the bigger ones: for instance, the translator of Ossian, Alexander Dmitriev, in his work “The glory of the Russians and the woe of the Swedes,” addresses the latter as follows: “Cruel Swedes! You violate the very laws of honour. Who leads you into this fallacy, O brave Scandinavians! No longer have you your Charleses and ancient Gustavs; those happy times are over when, fighting against a people not yet enlightened, you opposed art to their courage . . .” However, the war proved difficult and ended, as is known, in stalemate. Thus in odes on the conclusion of the Peace of Värälä (1790), there sounds a quite sincere satisfaction at the ending of the war, for

instance in Krylov, who of course attributes everything to peace-loving Catherine II.

Side by side with similar politically biased literature, in the second half of the 18th century there developed, quite independently of politics, a peculiarly dualistic attitude to Scandinavia: on the one hand, in consequence of a confusing of Scandinavians with Celts, it gave rise to an idea put together from the then popular Ossianic poetry about the misty distant "fatherland of Odin's children", on the other, the Russians encountered more frequently the real, actual Scandinavians and were surprised at the lack of correspondence between these rather unromantic people and the "Ossianic" picture of them. Among "Ossianic" romantics, we may cite, for instance, Karamzin's "The Island of Bornholm" (1789), and Batyushkov's "On the ruins of a castle in Sweden" (1841). Both poets had visited Scandinavia when returning from London to St. Petersburg. The description of Bornholm, in which Karamzin spent altogether a few hours, is quite in the "Ossianic" spirit: the ruins of the castle, the mysterious hermits in the caves, and memories of the ancient Slavs who, according to Karamzin, used to inhabit the island. He does not set anything realistic against this romantic picture. In Batyushkov, who in the above-mentioned poem which is almost entirely a rehash of Mathieson's elegy, and also in his *Fragment from letters of a Russian officer on Finland* (1809), is almost completely under the influence of Ossianism, realism shows itself in the letters from Gothenburg (1814). Batyushkov jokingly remarks there that he found a great change in the customs of the old "midnight Tsars," the Scandinavians, who now "smoke tobacco and nibble rusks, read the *Gothenburg Daily* and yawn as they sit at the windows with their spouses." Even clearer is this dualism in Batyushkov's letter to Prince Vyazemsky (1816), where he tells how he was about to translate "The Song of Harold the Bold." Reading about the heroic deeds of this Scandinavian, "I envisaged him as a hero in a splendid helmet, with a sabre in his hand and in the armour of an ancient hero." But suddenly "the poetical vapour dispersed" and "before me suddenly is a Chukhny; <sup>5</sup> his long hair falls to the shoulder and his voice is harsh, and the whole hero is the completest Chukhny."

In full accord with Ossianic romanticism, however, Finland's stern nature, her crags, thick woods and lakes had a very great interest for many Russian poets. Batyushkov spent about a year in Finland at the time of the last Russo-Swedish war of 1808-1809, which resulted in Finland's becoming an autonomous part of Russia instead of a part of the Swedish kingdom, as heretofore. His

"Fragment . . ." written at this time used to be included in all school anthologies right up to the Revolution of 1917 and was learned by heart, which explains the unusually widespread and romantic impression of Finland as "a country, near to the Pole, neighbour to the Hyperborean Sea, where nature is poor and sullen, where the sun shines perpetually—but only for two months," and at the same time as a typically Scandinavian country. Batyushkov did not suspect that Finnish antiquity could not be identified with Scandinavian and frequently put forward mythological conceptions which he had read in Ossian (for example . "Odin listens with his sensitive ears to the grass coming alive in spring") in connection with really Finnish phenomena (the swift awakening of spring there). Further, it is well known that an important part of his description of Finland was simply borrowed by Batyushkov, from descriptions of North American forests made by the French naturalist Lacépède.<sup>6</sup>

Even more "northern" themes, however, are to be found in Boratynsky, who served as a corporal in Finland from 1820 to 1825 : a young Finnish girl was even the heroine of his romantic epic "Eda" (1825), and in the poem "Finland" (1820) Boratynsky created a romantic picture of Finnish nature, which is comparable to Batyushkov's description in the above-mentioned "Fragment . . ." thus Finland presents itself to Batyushkov as "the fatherland of Odin's children," in which, however, now "the clash of arms is silent, and the voice of Skald is not heard." In Boratynsky, however, we nowhere meet that realistically disdainful attitude to the common Finns ("the Chukhny") which we have found even in such an "Ossianist" as Batyushkov. Boratynsky sincerely loved Finland and understood the feelings of its population, whose mood in the 1820's was comparatively russophile though it was in course of separation from its own cultural base, Sweden, and was finding it difficult to re-orientate itself to the East. The poet contrived to convey this in the epilogue to "Eda," giving thus the first expression of sympathy for the Finnish people on the part of representatives of the Russian educated class. "You have gone under, land of granite. You know now Russia's might, and you cannot now shake off her yoke, although you breathe hidden enmity against her. The time of eternal domination has come; but glory to the fallen people, because it fearlessly defended the liberty of its sullen crags."

This epilogue was not passed by the censor in 1825 and remained at General Staff Headquarters until 1861. It was first published in *Russkaya Starina* in 1883 (III, pp. 73-100), but its publication in



Boratynsky's "complete works" was still further delayed. It only came out in the Academy edition of 1915.

After the Decembrist rising of 1825, Bestuzhev-Marlinsky, Batenkov and several other lesser poets came as exiles to Finland, and recorded their sojourn in the country in poems which their circumstances certainly rendered tragically sad: the cold climate and poor scenery harmonised with the dejected mood of the exiles.

But Pushkin who was himself never in conquered Finland nor in the other Scandinavian countries, already in "Ruslan and Lyudmila" which he finished in 1820, turns to a romantic Finnish theme, which undoubtedly owes much to the influence of his friends Batyushkov and Boratynsky. The immortal picture which he created of a Finnish wizard, "a prophetic Finn, mighty master of spirits," and of a Finnish witch Naina (this name, in Pletnev's opinion,<sup>7</sup> was taken by Pushkin from the Finnish *nainen*, woman), was in all probability inspired by Batyushkov who was following attentively the creation of "Ruslan and Lyudmila" <sup>8</sup> while Boratynsky had been in Finland only for about three months just when the poem was being finished and hardly had time to get to know the country so as to influence Pushkin in favour of it. Later on, for instance in the third and fifth parts of "Evgeny Onegin," Pushkin recalls "the bard of the young Finnish girl" who "alone, under the Finnish horizon, among the mournful crags, lives far away from his friends and cannot help them." It is difficult to imagine under what influence Pushkin immortalised a picture "of the cold Finnish crags" (in the poem "To slanderers of Russia" 1831). It is quite clear, however, that the realistic picture which he created in the prologue to "The Bronze Horseman" (1833) "of the wretched Chukhny, sorrowful stepson of nature" is based on "A visit to the Academy of Arts" (1814) of Batyushkov, in which the latter asks what was in the place where Petersburg was built and answers: "Perhaps a pine wood, a damp dense pine wood or swampy bog, overgrown with moss and bilberries; near to the seashore—a fisherman's hovel, with nets drying round about and all the rough equipment of a poverty-stricken craft. Here perhaps some long-haired Finn makes his way with difficulty" A further text of Batyushkov's proves that Pushkin borrowed from him. "Here will be a town—said he (Peter I)—the world's wonder. Hither I will beckon all the arts, and all art . . ." The representation of Finland as a gloomy, sullen, poor and savage country seemed to Pushkin so correct that in 1825 he entered into an argument with a certain A. Mukhanov, adjutant of the Russian Governor-General of Finland, who in a newspaper article attacked

Mme de Stael for similar opinions about Finland expressed by her in *Dix années d'exil*.—Mukhanov's defence is explained by the fact that he was about to marry a Finnish woman and saw his bride's country in the rosiest light, while Pushkin was roused by attacks on a writer whom he greatly esteemed (then already dead).<sup>9</sup>

In connection with Napoleon's invasion of Russia (1812) the attention of the Russian public was turned to Charles XII, whose mistake was repeated a century later by the Corsican. This wave of patriotism and enthusiasm for the age of Peter the Great roused Pushkin to write his poem "Poltava" (1829), in which without hatred but with notable contempt the Swedish king is rated as "a smart and audacious boy" who, however, had not in his power to carry on a struggle with the autocratic giant Peter. Pushkin contrasts an as yet undefeated "haughty Swedish neighbour" (in the prologue to "The Bronze Horseman") with the already defeated and therefore safe "teachers" for whom Peter gives a toast (in "Poltava"). This condescending benevolence towards the old enemy for ever rendered harmless—Sweden—is even more clearly expressed in the works of Fadey Bulgarin, who stood very near to governemnt circles and expressed their views. Bulgarin took part in the Swedish war of 1808–1809, learned a bit of Swedish and even of Finnish and continued in the 1820's to 1840's to interest himself in Swedish and Finnish affairs, about which he wrote much in *Severnaya Pchela*, the paper which he edited.

To the reactionary measures of Nicholas I after the suppression of the Decembrist rising was due among other things the creation of extraordinary difficulties in obtaining passports to go abroad. Accustomed to foreign travel the Petersburgers of the upper class rushed therefore to Finland which offered, thanks to its purely Swedish culture, a certain illusion of being abroad. In the 1830's there was established a convenient steamship service between Petersburg and Helsinki where there arose comparatively cordial relations between the then Finnish (Swedish-speaking) intelligentsia and Russian aristocratic tourists. They most commonly spoke French to each other, but some Russians could speak Swedish also. The Russian government tried, however, to profit by a revival of the Finnish language in the 1840's to replace the influence of Swedish culture by that of the Russian language on which the incipient Finnish culture could rest, and thus to link Finland more closely to the Empire. To this end in 1841 there was set up a Chair of Russian Language and Philology in Helsinki University, which was filled by the outstanding student of literature Ya. K. Grot. He was joined

by the writers Prince Odoevsky, Count Sollogub, Ishimova, the Rector of Petersburg University, P. Pletnev and others who constantly visited Finland. All of these, the purest Westerners, were favourably inclined towards the Finnish people and also to its Swedish culture, and they produced a lot of works to make the Russian public better acquainted with Finland and Sweden. Incidentally, to them is due the honour of disseminating opinions about Finnish and Swedish absolute honesty, which held good for the Russian public for almost a century. In their works Finnish and Swedish themes are often met with, preferably as a romanticisation of Finnish superstitions and motifs from the Kalevala (for instance, *Salamander* of Odoevsky, in which, however, there is evidence of the strong influence of E. T. A. Hoffmann). Not one of these Finnophiles, however, was a really popular writer, so that Pushkin's old dualism continued to dominate the Russians' outlook: the mysterious romantic past—the grey, poverty-stricken present.

In the 1840's there arose, however, a tendency quite different from the benevolence of Grot and his friends: the jingoists, aspiring to full and rapid russification of non-Russians. One of the earliest exponents of this tendency was the above-mentioned Bulgarin, who, having visited Finland in 1838 and 1840, remarked in a tone of obvious unction how well the Finns lived under the Russian Tsar's Sceptre and how quickly and willingly they were moving away from everything Swedish and taking to everything Russian.<sup>10</sup> In literature unction of the same kind is found in Nikolay Polevoy (in his play "Soldiers' Hearts, or Camps in Savollakse," 1842, which is an adaptation of an anecdote from Bulgarin's memoirs), in Mikhail Zagoskin (in his novel *Russians at the beginning of the 18th century*, 1848, where one comes across sharp thrusts at the Swedes) and especially in Nestor Kukolnik in his numerous novels and stories from the period of the Great Northern War. Kukolnik portrays the Swedes as stupid and belated brutal soldiery, oppressing the poor Chukhny, who in their works look upon the Russian conquerors as their liberators from the Swedish yoke. Kukolnik's favourite Finnish theme is the russification of a Finnish soldier who falls into Russian hands and marries a Russian girl, e.g. in the story *Egor Ivanovich Silvanovsky, or the Conquest of Finland by Peter the Great* (1845); in the story *Ostap and Ulyana* (1852) the russification concerns a Finn Gustav transformed into Ostap, and his daughter Ulrika transformed into Ulyana. The theme of russification of non-Russians in general is the more often touched upon in literary works since the jingoists looked upon this russification as very easy. In

the above-mentioned play of Polevoy a Russian officer of German extraction expresses his conviction thus: "Our mother Russia has such a nature. it digests everything. Be he German or Tartar, under the Russian sky and in the Russian snow, all are tempered in the steel word—Russian!"

In reality, the russification of the Finns after the awakening of their national consciousness in the 1850's could not of course be accomplished so smoothly and a Russo-Finnish collision on the question of nationality was to be expected. A retarding factor, however, was the Crimean War, during which the British carried on in Finland a very strong propaganda for separatism, which was supported by wide circles in Sweden who dreamed of revenge for the defeat of 1809.<sup>11</sup> In spite of this propaganda and of their still fairly strong sympathy with Sweden, which developed in the guise of romantic Scandinavianism, the Finns during the Crimean War were, however, full of loyalty towards Russia, chiefly because the Finnish fishermen and inhabitants of the seaports, mostly rich merchants, suffered very violently from the operations of the Anglo-French fleet. This was a pleasant surprise for the Russian public, and in connection with this there arose a mass of politically biased poems and couplets on the theme of the taking into captivity of a Chukhny fisherman by a British frigate, in which the sympathies of the (mostly anonymous) authors were of course on the side of the Chukhny, who however was slightly ridiculed as "a holy simpleton." At this time "Chukhny" (derivative of the old tribal name "Chud") had already become a name in general use for the gloomy, clumsy Finn and Estonian from the Petersburg suburbs who spoke Russian badly, and even spread to the whole population of Finland, although some of the above-mentioned Finnophiles protested in the Press against the identification of "The Chukhny with the inhabitants of beautiful Finland."

When in 1856 it became easier again to go abroad, the stream of Russian tourists to Finland at once ceased and Russian writings on Finnish and Swedish themes became rare. But among Russian publicists of all trends an interest arose in the political and social structure of autonomous Finland, especially in connection with the opening in 1863 of the Finnish Diet, which had not met since 1809. The benevolent attitude of Russian ruling circles to Finland was based again upon the loyalty of the Finns at the time of the Polish Rising of 1863. To Russian liberals Finland seemed the promised land, a country where in the framework of the Russian Empire the Russian police régime was absent, where all laws were carried out,

and where the laws of citizen and man were respected. On the other hand, in extreme right-wing papers there appeared, it is true, still very discreet attacks upon "the too independent condition of the Russian province." Interest in Sweden, not to mention other Scandinavian countries, quite died out.

In 1870 after the opening of the railway between Petersburg and Helsinki, there began a second stream of Russian tourists to Finland. This time many of them began to invade the numerous villas on the Karelian Isthmus, the southern part of which was soon transformed into a fashionable health resort favoured by the Petersburg intelligentsia. Among these were of course many writers, and thus Finnish themes again began to earn a place for themselves in the poetry of the epigoni and the symbolists and in the pros of the critical realists. One of the first summer residents to express his (not very high) opinion about Finland in writing (*Little Nothings of Life*, 1886) was Saltykov-Shchedrin, who, by the way, was very sceptical of "the famous Finnish honesty" and did not spare his satire in his attitude to the Finnish pastors who were in an exceptionally good material position. By the end of the 19th century two tendencies were clearly visible in the attitude of Russian writers towards Finland. On the one hand, there was idealisation of its bourgeois liberal régime and the struggle of the Finnish people for their national freedom, which was absolutely predominant and given literary expression, for instance, by Kuprin (*A Little about Finland, Measles*, 1910), Brusyanin (*White Nights*, 1914) and Severtsev-Polilov (in numerous novels and short stories about Finnish life). The most brilliant reflection of this trend is certainly Bryusov's fine poem "To the Finnish People" (1910), which threw down a challenge to incipient russification, "Stand firm, unbending people! Stand firm! He who knew how to struggle with the rage of nature through centuries—he will survive hard times, he will emerge from all misfortunes as before, strong and safe!" On the other hand, many of the villa poets, disillusioned with the hard climate and the poor grey nature of the Karelian Isthmus, expressed in melancholy poems their despondent mood. An echo of this mood is, among others, in Blok (*In the Dunes*, 1907), although there is also a feeling of the idealisation of Finland: There opens out a new country—sandy, free, foreign . . ."

At the beginning of the first world war there was formed in the Finnish frontier place of Kuokkala a Russian cultural centre round the artist Repin who lived there at that time. Ten to fifteen miles away was the villa of Leonid Andreyev, and Korney Chukovsky

lived quite nearby ; Gorky and Mayakovsky spent their leave there. The neighbourhood was, however, so near to Petersburg and already so permeated with the culture of the Russian intelligentsia that these writers hardly noticed that they were staying in Finland.

In comparatively rare cases Russian tourists continued their journey from Finland to Sweden, and more rarely still to Norway. As Finland gradually came to lose its romantic appearance, through descriptions in numerous newspaper articles and literary works, Sweden and Norway continued to be for many of the Russian intelligentsia "the misty lands of the ancient Scandinavians," and modern Russian tourists who found themselves in Stockholm's seething contemporary life, often experienced a certain disappointment similar to that which Batyushkov experienced in his time in Gothenburg. However, there was still food for romantic dreams of the ancient Varangians (Gumilev in his poems "Stockholm" and "Sweden") and for contemplation of Charles XII's statue on the Stockholm squares. In Bryusov's poem "Charles XII," this king is no longer Lomonosov's "bragging, drunken madman" nor Pushkin's "Smart and audacious boy," but "the last Viking—the leader hero before whose tragic greatness the Russian guest from the hostile east is bowing." It was even easier of course to find romantic themes in Norway, as Balmont did who "under northern skies against his will became a skald" (his poem "Else"), or to transpose the action into the romantic Icelandic middle ages, as did Gumilev in his poem "Gondla." This tendency is brought further and further to completion by the Polar romanticism of Soviet literature of the 1920's, a brilliant example of which is Pilnyak's novel *Zavolochye* (1925), in which are presented in a quite romantic light the powerful pioneers of the Arctic, Norwegian and Swedish engineers and Russian coastal traders at Spitzbergen. There is nothing of socialist realism in this novel.

In general, both Soviet and *émigré* literature in the first years after the Revolution continued to adopt an attitude to the northern peoples based on pre-revolutionary tradition. Thus, for instance, the description of Finland and the Finns in Gorky's *The Life of Klim Samgin*, II, 1927, or of the Finns and Swedes in Leonid Sobolev's *General Overhaul* (1932), in their idealisation of the social structure and "industrious, staid people" of Finland in no way differ from the above-mentioned descriptions by Kuprin, Brusyannin and Severtsov-Polilov (1910's). In Aleksey Tolstoy (*Road to Calvary*, II, p. 154), in the humorist Zoshchenko (*Respected Citizen*, 1927, p. 158) and Averchenko (*Tales of a Cynic*, Praha, 1925,

pp. 198-206) we meet more or less ironical allusions to Finnish honesty, which the Finnophiles of the 1840's extolled not only in the Finns but also the Swedes.

In the 1930's in Soviet literature there was a great change. In connection with collectivisation and the development of socialist realism in literature Soviet writers began to interest themselves in the class struggle going on abroad, the world crisis and the development of world fascism. There were many literary and semi-literary works on Western European themes. The very well-known literary reportage of Ilya Ehrenburg, *Visa for Time* (1931), in which a very big part is devoted to Sweden, Norway and Denmark, gave such a warm description of Sweden that a Soviet critic (in *Krasnaya Nov*, 1932, p. 3) reproached the author within sufficient political education and with antiquated views on "national peculiarities." Ehrenburg responded less warmly to the bourgeois Danes, in whom, to use his own words, "the north is already diluted with the soft climate and nearness of Europe proper. In contemporary literature Scandinavian themes are dealt with in Fedin's *The Rape of Europe* (1934), of which the action is partly set in Norway, but in which there is very little said about Norway and the Norwegians, and *Black Gold* by Aleksey Tolstoy (which came out in a revised form in 1940 under the title *Émigrés*). Tolstoy describes mostly the machinations of Russian *émigrés* in Sweden (the action of the novel takes place in 1919-1920) but in passing he gives very happy characterisations of "creamy-complexioned blue-eyed Swedes, whose fat faces rest on starched collars." With special sympathy he draws a type of Swedish communist idealist, Karl Byström, who has only 80 crowns a month but spends all his free time studying the Russian Revolution. And he even goes as a volunteer to fight against General Yudenich! In general Tolstoy obviously idealises foreign communists, which cannot be said of Ehrenburg who in *Visa for Time* pokes fun at Swedish workers who are members of the Swedish Communist Party and who receive 600 crowns a month on which they can live "with high ideas and with the good things of life" since they have no need to be agitated and work for the revolution. Ehrenburg describes among others a Swedish communist miner, Axel Landström from Gellivare, who at the time of one of their "pilgrimages" to the U.S.S.R. married a simple Russian girl, Nyusha, whom he wanted to make his helper in his political work. Nyusha, however, fortunately for Axel's family life, did not learn Swedish nor Axel Russian, and they continued to enjoy a purely animal married happiness. Only without her husband's knowledge Nyusha told Ehrenburg that

as soon as she came to Sweden she understood "what real life means," with sleeping cars, electrical apparatus, plenty of manufactured goods for sale, cleanliness and all kinds of capitalist achievements. First asking Ehrenburg whether he was a party man, Nyusha took the liberty of expressing to him her complete contempt for her husband's comrades, Swedish communists.

There were masses of such novels and reportage about Finland, although all of them deal also more or less with Sweden. In its day *The Country on Lock* (1932) by Vladimir Knecht (pseudonym for V. Petrovsky) was very popular. In it he described partly these same types (for instance, a "social traitor" who has come over to the service of the capitalists—a pitiless exploiter-capitalist, an idealist weak-willed yet well understanding the political machinations of the capitalist and intellectuals, who is betrayed by his own friends) which are met in Simonov's play which was much talked of a few months ago, "The Russian Question," with this difference of course that Knecht is describing all these "sharks" on a lesser scale in Finland. A quite special genre is represented by numerous novels of Gennady Fish (*The Fall of Lake Kimas*, 1933, *We return, Finland!* 1934, *The Third Train*, 1935, and *Vows*, 1937, etc.), which have been translated into many foreign languages including English. With extraordinary knowledge of affairs, he described the civil war in Finland in 1918 and events in East Karelia and on the Murman in 1918-1920, in which the author's sympathies are of course on the side of the then defeated "Reds." I was later able to establish that Fish did not know Finnish but he came to know quite well the history of events in Finland in 1918-1920. I still supposed in 1942 that his name was a pseudonym for some Finnish "Red" who emigrated in May 1918 to the U.S.S.R.<sup>12</sup> Fish's novels have a stamp of "vulgar sociology," which Soviet critics have attacked since 1934. The heroes of them embody definite sociological types: capitalist, kulak, worker, spy, Red Army hero, brutal fascist officer, etc. Although they have been widely circulated (it is known that many of them were republished at the time of the Finnish War in 1939-1940 and were even plagiarised by some Soviet war correspondents), their portrayal of realistic socialist pictures of Finns and Swedes hardly succeeds in dislodging impressions that educated Russians have acquired from Pushkin's dualistic picture: of a powerful Finnish wizard and "sorrowful stepson of nature," the "wretched Chukhny" and a haughty Swedish neighbour, the defeated "teacher of the art of war." For Danes, Norwegians and Icelanders, Russian literature has not yet established a picture which has become



impressed on the memory ; about these peoples and their countries the Russians still apparently can have indistinct romantic impressions.

V. KIPARSKY.

<sup>1</sup> Finland och finnarna i den ryska skönlitteraturen (*Finsk Tidskrift*, 1942, p. 20), Sverige och svenskarna i den nyare ryska skönlitteraturen (*Ord och Bild*, Stockholm, 1933, p. 9), *Suomi Venäjän kirjallisuudessa* (Helsinki, 1945, pp. 263), *Norden i den ryska skönlitteraturen* (Stockholm, 1947, p. 170); "Ryska författare om Sverige och svenskarna" (*Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm, 18 April, 1946)

<sup>2</sup> See V. I. Mansikka, *Zhizn Aleksandra Nevskogo*, SPB, 1912

<sup>3</sup> See Jalo Kalma, *Die ostseefinnischen Lehnwörter im Russischen* (Helsingfors, 1915), p. 79

<sup>4</sup> Feofana Prokopovicha Slova i Rechi (V Sanktpeterburge . 1760 goda) I, p. 24

<sup>5</sup> Derogatory name of Finnish peasant

<sup>6</sup> Lacépède, *Les forêts et les habitants des régions glaciales* (Poétique de la musique) See also V. Kiparsky, *La Finlande et deux femmes de lettres* (Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, Helsingfors, 1941), pp. 118-35

<sup>7</sup> P. Pletnev, *Finlandiya v russkoi poezii* (Almanakh v pamyat dvukhsotletnyago yubileya Imperatorskago Aleksandrovskago Universiteta izdannyy Ya. Grotom., Helsinki, 1842, pp. 133-85)

<sup>8</sup> 9 May, 1818, Batyushkov wrote to Vyazemsky, that Pushkin "is writing a delightful poem and is maturing" The poem was finally ready for printing on 26 March, 1820 Boratynsky was transferred to the Neyshlotsky Regiment, then stationed at Kyminkartano in Finland, at the beginning of January, 1820

<sup>9</sup> See V. Kiparsky, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Faddey Bulgarin, *Letnyaya progulka po Finlandu i Shvetsii v 1838 godu* (SPB, 1839)

<sup>11</sup> Lolo Krusius-Ahrenberg, *Der Durchbruch des Nationalismus und Liberalismus im politischen Leben Finnlands 1856-1863* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B XXXIII, Helsinki, 1934), pp. 40-41

<sup>12</sup> In my article, "Finland och finnarna i den ryska skönlitteraturen" (*Finsk Tidskrift*, CXXXI, April, 1942)

## THE HISTORICAL APPROACH TO SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

FOR the average Anglo-Saxon student the difficulties besetting the task of acquiring a Slavonic language when compared with the problems of Romance or Germanic tongues are, it is generally agreed, considerably greater. The reasons for this are many, almost too many to be enumerated, one has only to reflect on such points as phonetics, stress, unfamiliar vocabulary, complicated morphology, numerals, verbal aspects, etc. In addition to the substantial complications inherent in language itself, we might well remember various other factors which tend to make successful study of Slavonic a matter of some difficulty. The great increase in the number of students has made more and more acute the shortage of adequately trained instructors. The existing array of text-books in Western European languages, particularly in English, still leaves a good deal to be desired. Distance and difficulties of travel to Slavonic countries place a serious check on the advancement of our knowledge of the Slavs and their languages. There is a distinct scarcity of Anglo-Saxon students possessing sufficient conversational knowledge to enable them to be helpful to other learners.

In view of the arduousness of the task it is clear that the question of methodology for Slavonics is a matter of great importance. Much is now in the course of planning, and indeed much is already being done to alleviate this situation. Teaching staffs are being increased, the time devoted to the study is being extended, more and more text-books are appearing. All such improvements are admirable and most welcome. It remains, however, for us to consider whether the numerous difficulties inherent in Slavonic languages can in any degree be reduced in extent for students in the fairly early stages of their studies. Can some worth-while practical use be made of available historical and comparative knowledge with a view to breaking down and simplifying difficulties and, most important of all, to reducing the alarming number of so-called "irregularities" presented by a Slavonic language in its purely descriptive form?

The question of comparative study, as far as Russian is con-

cerned, can hardly be disputed when we remember that the modern Great Russian literary language actually consists quite distinctly of a mixture of *two* languages—Russian proper and another Slavonic sister language—Church Slavonic. This fact is in itself one of the serious difficulties of Russian. If a proper grasp of Russian is to be achieved these two elements *must* be clearly distinguished, studied separately, and scientifically compared—or rather, compared as scientifically as is possible at an early stage. The ground for comparative and therefore historical study of certain important aspects of Russian is there, whether we like it or not. Such being the case, it would seem that an approach on comparative lines is called for; and it therefore would appear that an earlier application of logical and historical explanation, where such explanation can be turned to practical account for the removal of “irregularities,” may indeed be of some value to students even in fairly elementary stages of their study. It is obvious that a fuller study of historical language development could not be successfully undertaken early on; but it is also true that the great majority of students do not, for various reasons, indulge in any detailed study of the historical background of language even at later stages. It would therefore seem advisable to administer judicious doses of this rather dreaded, but undoubtedly valuable, material as a salutary medicine to fortify the patient for the ordeal before him. Such an approach to Slavonic must needs be described as pre-scientific because it precludes a detailed examination of the historical background of language, limiting itself to such historical and comparative features as have direct bearing, from the point of view of the Anglo-Saxon student, on the task of acquiring the modern Slavonic language in question. The examples which follow are selected at random in the hope that they may serve to illustrate roughly in what way it is thought that such method could be of practical value to serious students of Russian.

The extensive use of the genitive-accusative as a morphological device to cover the animated masculine sub-gender primarily, and subsequently personal and animated plural accusative, is of such importance in Russian and other Slavonic languages, and indeed has a parallel in some non-Slavonic languages, that a logical approach to and solution of this problem seems desirable. The explanation for this apparently strange linguistic phenomenon is to be sought in the tendency to maintain a differentiation between accusative and nominative of animated masculine words (primarily in the singular). The need to establish a morphological differentia-

tion between nominative and accusative of inanimate masculine words is not strongly felt ; this should be understandable for the following reason : nouns in synthetic languages, in which word order does not play a strong syntactical rôle, must generally be inflected so as to preclude the possibility of confusion. We must accept this principle regardless of how theoretical or hypothetical ambiguities may appear when viewed in a practical light ; we may now approach this problem by means of examples. Accordingly we can say : брат (nom.) видит дом (acc.)—the brother sees the house. The language is satisfied that there is no possibility of ambiguity. “ The house sees the brother ” is an impossible contingency. Such is by no means the case as soon as the accusative is animated, therefore able to act in the same way as the nominative ; оред бьет брат—is impossible because it is easy to suggest the ambiguity. Accordingly the language, lacking a distinct, independent accusative, resorts to the use of an inflected form, which must be different from the nominative. This form is the genitive in Slavonic. The process undoubtedly began with personal masculine nouns and was then rapidly and naturally extended from personal nouns to *all* animated masculine nouns, thus including all animals. It is no matter how improbable or absurd the ambiguity that can intentionally be thought into any given phrase may appear. Thus лев сожрал баран is grammatically wrong, theoretically it could be ambiguous—there is no morphologically denoted *casus objecti*. The existence of the widespread “ y ” accusative for the predominant feminine noun category removes feminine singular nouns from consideration in connection with this phenomenon. The accusative is clearly shown, whether animate or inanimate. For this reason personal masculine nouns in а, я, common enough in Slavonic, particularly Polish, cf. Lat. agricola, nauta, use the normal morphological accusative in y, ю. The position in the plural is interesting. Here again historical development has led to an identity of accusative and nominative. The ultimate result is in Russian an extension of the genitive use to all animates of masculine, feminine and neuter genders ; Polish and Ukrainian halt the process after inclusion of personal masculine animates. This can be logically justified—personal animates might well be the agents ; action by animals is as a general rule much less likely. Russian—брат поймал кроликов, ягнят, рыб. Polish—brat złapał króliki, jagnięta, ryby. An interesting analogy to this process of arriving at a satisfactory accusative function in Slavonic is found in the Neo-Latin languages in the use of the prepositional device—the natural parallel

in analytic language to the case method in synthetic language. In Spanish—the use of *á*, “dative” here for the Slavonic “genitive,” and the Roumanian use of *pe* (*per.*), e.g. *el padre mata al hermano*. Naturally Spanish, unlike Slavonic, uses *á* for feminine animated nouns as they too have no morphological accusative. Pairs such as *ledre, ladron*; *suer, serour*; *mes, nevout* result from a similar process in Old French. The extensions of this use in Spanish in no way weaken the comparison; indeed the use of “*á*” before names of countries should be considered in connection with the numerous Slavonic names for countries which are plurals of the inhabitants used to denote the place inhabited. Pol. *Węgry, Włochy, Prusy, Niemcy*, Old Pol. *do Francuz* = to France. Czech—*Čechy, Uhry*. It is significant that the only surviving examples of the old Slavonic accusative in its own right are conserved in prepositional phrases such as—*она вышла замуж* (*acc.*), *pójść za mąż, wsiąść na koń, przebóg*, etc.

The fairly numerous instances of transmitting a vague notion of animation to nouns not normally classed as animates are generally understandable. The genitive-accusative in such instances is the result of a kind of subconscious individualisation, therefore nearly enough an “animation.” This process is fairly common in Polish and Ukrainian, not nearly so general in Russian though it can occur—*мужик нашел груздѣ, мальчик сдѣлѣя змея*, Pol. *wypalił papierosa*—one “individual,” as it were, of the mushrooms, of the cigarettes. Names of coins, dances, trees, etc., lend themselves to such treatment.

The dual was used naturally for symmetrical parts of the body and for other objects conventionally referred to by pairs. Rus. *плечи*, etc., Old Russ. *крылѣ*, Pol *plecy*, etc. This number is now dead in most Slavonic languages, but it has left so many traces that unless a little more information about the dual is given it is hard to see how many “irregularities”—survivals of the dual—can be digested. Russian usage after *два, три, четыре* is rightly described as the genitive singular; but it is also right, and indeed more right, to say that it is actually a use of the dual which happens, for certain morphological reasons, to have coincided with the similarly sounding genitive singular. Compare *до послѣднего часа* and *два часа*. Without adequate explanation of this dual use it seems rather offensive to rational thinking to accept the theory that *два*, etc., govern the genitive singular in the nominative and accusative but the plural of the same noun in the remaining cases. Dual and plural can be associated without unduly shocking

the logical mind—but singular and plural cannot. Moreover, without some resuscitation of the old dual disturbing morphological anomalies must remain without solution. Двести is good Russian phonetically and morphologically from двѣтъ, Cz. dvě stě, Pol. dwie-ście, мадрей глові дощ двіє словіє; unstressed ѣ becomes и as тѣ—ѣтъ > ѣти. Колени from колѣнѣ is not the plural nor even the “irregular” plural of колено. The declension of два is dual genitive дву, to which the sound “х” characteristic of plural genitive is attached—дву-х. Дву survives in compounds such as двуглавый = of two heads, two-headed. Дву thus becomes a base for all the oblique cases. dative дву-м, inst. дву-ми but now with the mixed dual-plural ending мя, from ма and ми—двумя. The morphology of три, тре-х, тре-м, тре-мя, тре-х, четыре, etc., is easily understandable by the analogy of два, as is also the identical syntactical use of these low numerals.

Many flexional irregularities will yield to fairly simple explanation. Облака, gen. облаков, is easily understandable if the word is approached from the plural rather than the singular. Облаков is a normal masculine genitive plural; the word is originally masculine—облак is found in Lermontov and other older classical writers, cf. Cz. oblak; облака can understandably be felt as a neuter plural and this has given rise to the neuter singular form облако; a masculine яблок is by no means unknown to dialectal speech, thus яблоков, яблоки are acceptable. The singular колесо has arisen in the same way from the plural колеса of the es-stem коло. Consideration of the old consonantal stems has the merit that it can justify such forms as небеса, словесность, телесный, the zero genitive десят in пятьдесят; the ят genitive plural is the same as in ягня-ягненок, genitive plural zero ягнят. Суда, судов are acceptable developments of old Slav. masculine Sадъ. The masculine word путь, Lat. pons, pontis, Old Pol. pąć, can teach us a lot if we declare the simple fact that in Slavonic there were once masculine i-stems. The i-declension has in the course of time become absolutely associated with the feminine gender and therefore it follows that the masculine words once belonging to this declension have either changed their gender to feminine or have retained their masculine gender and taken on the readily acceptable flexions of the soft masculine declension (jo-stems). Retention of gender is the strongest tendency in Russian—гусь, лебедь, червь, зверь, огонь are treated as masculine jo-stems in the literary language, but the original morphology and accordingly the feminine gender is common in dialects, whereas гѣсъ, gen. гѣси, remains in the

i-declension in Polish and is therefore feminine. There are examples of both processes operating in the same word. Pol. *łabędź*, *łabędzia* is masculine, *łabędź*, *łabędzi* is feminine. The word is generally masculine in modern Polish usage, *labut'* on the other hand has *labuti* and is feminine in Czech. Similarly both processes can operate with *zołądź*. Such puzzles as *боль* and *моль*, feminine in modern literary Russian, and *ból* and *mól*, masculine in Polish, can be simply disposed of. 18th-century Russian used *боль* and *моль* as masculines—как не ощущать боля когда бьют, 1776—от пыли и моля, 1772. It is understandable that the isolated literary masculine *путь* is widely subjected to both jo-stem treatment and change of gender to feminine in popular dialectal usage, cf. Czech *pout*, *pouti*, feminine dialectal, *pout*, *poutu*, masculine. *Людьми*, *гостьми*, *гвоздьми*, (Pol. *dziećmi*, *ludźmi*, *gośćmi*), are regular survivals of the declension. *Люди* is used as an accusative plural, having normally supplanted the old nominative plural *людье*, cf. Polish N.P. *ludzie*; Czech *lidé*, *lidí*, *lidem*, *lidi*, *lidech*, *lidmi*, shows the old declension fully maintained, but popular speech uses the accusative *lidi* for the nominative. Thus such phrases as *итти в гости*, *выйти в люди* (accusative) are quite regular, it being remembered that the genitive plural acting for the accusative plural is a relatively recent development; cf. Old Pol. *za grzeszniki*, *posłał katy*. The word *господь* should be considered in this connection with its vocative *господи*; cf. Pol. *o nędzna śmierci!*; the remaining cases of the word have been affected by admissible hardening process: *господа*, *господу*, etc. *Дети* is not the plural of the neuter consonantal stem *дитя*, *-яти*; it is the plural of the feminine Church Slavonic word *дѣть*. *Бежать* is hardly an irregular verb if we will admit the old form *бечь* into consideration; *бегу*—*бегут* are regular from *бечь* = *бег-ти*. *Бежишь*, *бежит*, etc., are regular from the *бежать* infinitive. Moreover, Pushkin and other classic writers have used the old word. *Побегли с трепетом законные цари. Нап. на Эльбе*. The compound *избечь* even still occurs with modern writers, yet our text-books avoid mentioning this helpful little word. The two infinitives *чтить* and *честь* will explain the "irregular" form *чту*, and even *хочу*, *-ешь*, *-ет*, *хотим*, etc., and the popular forms *хочем*, *хочете*, *хочут* can be justified if we are prepared to work from a hypothetical form "*хотать*" beside the usual 2nd conjugation infinitive *хотеть*.

A thorough study of phonetics is an absolute necessity if substantial accuracy in pronunciation is to be achieved. Here again the careful student can find justification for many an "irregu-

larity." Ж sounds as Ш in final position ; the imperative of есть (root "ед") is ежъ CHS яждъ and is pronounced еш; in this case phonetics have prevailed over etymology—the imperative is written with the corresponding unvoiced consonant ешь, еште. Similarly вишь is not an abbreviation of видишь ; it too is an analogous case of imperative from вижъ, CHS. виждъ, as in Pushkin's Prophet —виждъ и внимли. The imperative сышь from съплю, съплещь is an example of the strong tendency to reduce considerably or even to drop entirely the sound of final liquids after certain consonants, particularly plosive labials, e.g. рубль, корабль, Перп, добр. Thus сыплъ becomes сышь, сыште. This principle underlies the extensive field of masculine active past participles in л, пек, вез, нес, тер, умер. Ukrainian пік, ніс, віз, тер; Polish wiózt = wiós, móst = niós, mógt = mók. The vowel alternatives и-е-ь depending on stress, may usefully be invoked to explain such groups as свинья, gen. pl. свиней ; пить, пью, пьешь, imp. пей ; брить, брею ; -имать, -емлю (внимать, etc.), соловей, gen. соловья, nom. pl. соловьи, gen. pl. соловьев ; Russian шья in face of Polish szyja. Russian море—морей копье—копий. The alternation of the hard ы—о in analogous stress conditions gives us мыть—мюю, выть—вюю, Russ. слепой, Ukrainian сліпий

The tendency to harden final consonants in certain circumstances provides the answer to such zero genitives as вишен, басен, etc., and helps towards an understanding of vacillations that occur such as -в одной из башень—Pushkin, Poltava. Cf. Polish łązien, sukien, studzien. A nominative тетерев from gen. plural тетеревей is explained by this tendency. The short forms излишен, искренен with hard н belong here as does Яков from Яковъ, cf. Яковлевич.

The hard т in the 3rd singular and plural peculiar to North Great Russian is another example of this phenomenon. This hardening is relatively recent as can be seen from the frequent appearance of ть as late as the 16th century. Есть, суть, весть are examples of the soft т still in use. According to Shakhmatov the ть sound is widespread in dialect to the present day. The Russian infinitive should be approached from such forms as нести, вести, that is, as originally ending in ти, not ть. Dropping of ы, и is found in many places in the language, e.g. ли-ль, бы-б. The ть has retained its softness because of the original presence of the infinitive vowel и, in the same way as softness is still maintained in such words as кровь by the strong influence of the soft oblique cases. Simple sound laws can be used to develop the good habit



of breaking down words to their component parts; where a language offers unfamiliar vocabulary every possible effort must be made to minimise the load of new words, e.g. перст—perščatka—šč after a consonant is simplified to č—перчатка; вьезде—везде; везті—везу—весло; если—есть-ли; домой, долой are datives of дом, дол, in which the в of the old dative ови has dropped out, the resulting ои is accordingly converted into the Russian diphthongal form ой.

Students must be on their guard against one of the enemies of natural phonetic development—visual affectation. There is a popular belief that Russian is “phonetic.” This theory sometimes appears to gain added conviction in the case of native speakers working with English-speaking students to whom the “unphonetic” nature of English is contrasted with the allegedly phonetic nature of Russian. This belief in the phonetic excellence of Russian has given rise to certain unfortunate visual affectations. In fact natural Russian pronunciation quite often does not by any means correspond with the generally accepted letter values of the written word. The orthography has certainly been brought nearer to the orthoepy by the reformed spelling, but the advance in this direction still leaves many discrepancies between the written and the spoken word, e.g. бороздка, шестнадцать, платишь (here the reason is to be sought in the pronunciation of numerous verbs of similar stress pattern where “о” is contained in the stem—ходишь, водишь, etc.).

Lermontov rhymes хѡлят with кѡлѡт, similarly unstressed 3rd plural ат with ут, держат with пишут. This is an example of the progressing process of standardisation; the ут, ют ending is felt to be the strongest characteristic 3rd plural ending and accordingly the ят, ат ending when unstressed is approximated in sound to the predominant type.

Assimilation of vowels is not given much consideration when the consonant assimilations are studied. Vowel assimilation occurs in a manner comparable to that of consonants. Where different vowels occur in syllables one of these vowels sometimes becomes identified with the other and, as in the case of consonants, it is generally the second vowel which exerts its influence on the preceding (unstressed) vowel. The pronunciation of целовать, поцелуй is traceable to this process, целовать = цоловать = цѣлѣвать, Ukrainian багатий, багато, гаразд compared with Russian богатый, горазд. Russian ребенок < робенок—роб, cf. Pol. robota. Сидишь, сидѣт, etc., have influenced the development of the modern сидеть

in face of older сѣдѣти, cf. Pol. siedzieć. Теперь—erst, now, Czech teprve, from топерво—топерь.

How soon and to what degree must the question of Church Slavonic be considered with reference to the study of Russian? The lexical, phonetical and morphological Church Slavonic elements in both literary and popular Great Russian have amassed during the course of a number of centuries and indeed until relatively recent times, and they are of such extent as to suggest that an early segregation and study of these influences would repay the effort made. Russian has doublets comparable to French *acheter*//*accepter*, *chevalier*//*cavalier*, *frêle*//*fragile* or German *dichten*//*diktieren* (Lat. *dictare*), such as глава—голова страна—сторона оградить—огородить. Certain it is that such forms should not be learnt in a parrot-like fashion, indeed it is doubtful whether such learning is even practicable in view of the very extensive field which would have to be covered. It is not without value and interest to note that the semantic characteristics of such doublets are similar in Russian to the Neo-Latin old words and the later borrowings. Here, as in French, the old native word is generally the more concrete, the Church Slav corresponding generally to Neo-Latin later borrowed learned words tending to carry an abstract, less popular meaning.

The historical metathesis of the Russian полногласие is easy to explain, but the numerous pairs such as глад—голод, глас—голос, etc., are generally only dealt with by the native grammarians. Furthermore, if any help is to be offered for such forms as gen. plur яйц (dialectal яѣц) достоин (cf. покойный, покоен) "irregular" Russian, but good CHS. phonetics, an early consideration of the important relevant features of Church Slavonic is called for. The CHS. щ and жд should be clearly distinguished from genuine Russian uses of these sounds. Russian is искать—исчу > ищчу > ищу; ждать > ždati, cf. год, погодить; надежный, popular надежа. Such forms as между (Dual Locative of CHS. межда \*medja) побегу посету, надежда are Church Slavonic, not irregular Russian, and can clearly be shown as such. Church Slavonic must give phonetic and semantic clarification of such doublets as могущий—могучий, горящий—горячий. In such a group as позолотить—позолочу, позлатить—позлащу it is clear that we are dealing with the phonetics of two distinct languages. Pronunciation of such pairs as падеж—падеж, лев—Лёв is based on two separate systems. Natural Russian pronunciation of чн is пн. It would, however, be inaccurate to say that щн becomes пн, in words such as

помощник, всенощная, in which the Church Slavonic щ corresponds to Russian ч, cf. мочь and мощи. Normal Russian development in such words would be помочник, всеночная, and as far as pronunciation is concerned it is here again a case of ч before н, therefore шн.

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## SLAVONIC STUDIES IN ITALY

THE extent to which the Italians have "ab antiquo" been interested in the Slavonic peoples and languages, has been fully shown in my book "*Per la storia della slavistica in Italia: Appunti storico-bibliografici*" (Historical and Bibliographical Notes on the History of Slavonic Studies in Italy) Zara, Schoenfeld, 1933, pointing out with many comments that "It is not true that Italy in past centuries has been ignorant of the Slavonic world, its peoples, its languages, its history and its civilisation. It is not true that Slavonic culture has been in Italy a mysterious Sphinx, shrouded in impenetrable veils. False and unfounded is the 'legend,' the new legend that the Slavonic contribution to Italian culture, up to the great political and spiritual upheavals of the last war, consisted of a few rags of indirect translation from Russian and Polish, and of a few tatters of Russian literary history and criticism. The truth is quite otherwise. Italy was interested in Slavonic affairs earlier and to a greater extent than many western and eastern countries, displaying from the beginning that traditional versatility and universality of talent which to the 'homo sapiens' of Germanic culture joined the 'homo humanus' of Italian civilisation."

Indeed, the historiography of humanism and the Renaissance, directed as it was not only to the evocation or elaboration of the classical past but also to the discovery of new civilisations, gave us the famous *Historia Bohemae* of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who afterwards became Pope Pius II, the no less famous *Sarmatiae Europae descriptio* of Alessandro Guagnini, and other similar works of great importance in Slavonic historiography. The counter-Reformation gave rise to the idea of Slavonic brotherhood and of the romantic "vzajemnost," it gave rise to the first Serbo-Croat grammar (Cassio-Kašić), to the first Serbo-Croat dictionaries (Veranzio-Vrančić and Micaglia) and to the first Slovenian dictionaries (fra Gregorio Alasia). It gave rise also to the first history of the Slavs (Orbini). A product more of Italian pre-Romanticism than of Arcadia, of the æsthetics of Vico and Cesarotti (who does not remember the translation of Cesarotti by T. Gray and by Macpherson?) is the Paduan naturalist Alberto Fortis, who with his *Viaggio in Dalmazia* of 1774 (translated in due course into various languages, including English *Travels into Dalmatia*, London, 1778), revealed to a powdered, refined and corrupt Europe the virgin beauties of Slavonic popular poetry and presented in the original text with the translation on the opposite page the pathetic ballad *Hasanaginica*, which was later translated by Goethe and by Scott, *The Lamentation of the Faithful Wife of Asan-Aga*, 1798 or 1799, which, however, remained unpublished. To roughly the same epoch belongs the Piedmontese Appendini, whose valuable *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura dei Ragusei*, Ragusa, 1802, are

an essential text for the history of Serbo-Croat literature and one which even to-day no Slavonic scholar or student of Serbo-Croat literary history can overlook<sup>1</sup> Successive generations appreciably increased the store of Slavonic publications, passing as they did from general history to specialised history, to literary history, critical essays, linguistic manuals, translations from various languages, publicity in the periodical press, to attempts at University teaching and to the emergence of eminent personalities All this was gradually taking place in the last century up to the outbreak of the first World War; and it shows, and in a favourable light, the position of Italian culture with regard to the Slavonic world, but it does not yet represent true Slavonic studies It is a kind of fragmentary pre-history which leads to the real thing.

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True Slavonic studies began at the end of the first World War when the Italians felt a particular need to deepen and enlarge their knowledge of the outside world (hence "novecentismo" and "esotismo" in literature), and when the Slavonic world with its changes, its reorganisation and its development was demonstrating the importance which it was assuming in the historical and spiritual future of Europe. One can almost fix the date of birth or at least the essential beginnings of these studies. They are, in effect, the foundation of the review *Russia* by Lo Gatto in 1920, the creation of a Chair of Slavonic Philology at the University of Padua in the same year, and the establishing of the "Istituto per l'Europa Orientale" in Rome in 1921. From these last two centres, by direct and indirect ways, came the inspiration which has animated all Slavonic studies—new reviews, new teaching, new scholars, the increase of informative, scientific and scholastic publications, and increasingly direct, intense and cordial relationships with the Slavonic world.

To-day these studies are already a quarter of a century old, and, although they still give an impression of something youthful, hurried and disconnected, they have achieved a result which the Slavs themselves highly esteem There are notable personalities, already surrounded by promising pupils. Among the former are Professor Ettore Lo Gatto (born in 1890), Russian Literature, Professor Giovanni Maver (born in 1891), Polish Literature, Professor Enrico Damiani (born in 1892), Bulgarian Literature, Professor Arturo Cronia (born in 1896) and Professor Umberto Urbani (born in 1888), Serbo-Croatian Literature. Among the latter are Professor Evel Gasparini, who teaches at the Istituto Universitario di Economia e Commercio at Venice (the beautiful Ca' Foscari); Professor Leone Pacini, who teaches Russian literature at the Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli; Professor Wolf Giusti, who is already famous for his many publications on Russian social, intellectual and literary problems; Dr. Renate Poggioli, who has for some time been living in the United States of America; and Dr. Luigi

Salvini who has turned his attention from the Slavonic to the Hungaro-Finnish world. There also exists here and there isolated university teaching of the Slavonic languages and literatures, including Slavonic philology. There are editions, though unpretentious and controversial, of grammars and dictionaries of all the Slavonic languages. If there are few histories of Slavonic literature (except Russian for which we have Lo Gatto's ample and excellent works), monographs and critical essays on the other hand abound as in no other non-Slavonic European country. There is no lack of specialised reviews, even if they are not strictly scholarly, still less is there a lack of reviews of a heterogeneous nature which welcome Slavonic contributions. Furthermore, there are institutes, University departments and publishing firms which satisfy to the best of their ability the needs of "producers" and "consumers." The position is, as I have said, encouraging and even justifies enthusiasm. It has already had various repercussions in Italy and abroad.<sup>2</sup>

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The second World War, much more merciless and paradoxical than the first, has had its inevitable influence on Slavonic studies as on every branch of human knowledge. Little by little their finest activities were paralysed.

The first to be given up, for lack of paper and because of the obstructionism of the political authorities, was the publication of Slavonic works and, to an even greater extent, of reviews. Thus in 1943 after an heroic resistance, the old-established and many-sided *Europa Orientale* (started in 1921) and then the new but specific *Bulgaria*, the former founded by E. Lo Gatto, the latter by Damiani, ceased to exist. Similarly the short-lived monthly review *Europa sud-orientale*, of an essentially economic character, which had been published at Milan under great difficulties from 1940 to 1943, came to an end. The most successful resistance to the hostility of both people and circumstances was that of the teachers who throughout the war did not abandon their posts but imparted their Slavonic learning to the few students who ventured into the cold and deserted University halls. In certain universities, moreover, the number of lecturers in individual Slavonic languages actually increased.

We are now in the period of moral and material reconstruction—slow, difficult and in keeping with the unhappy political, social and economic situation in which Italy finds herself in the immediate post-war years. Material obstacles, resulting from the war, still greatly hinder our studies: lack of paper, publishing uncertainties and restrictions, the difficulty, when it is not a downright impossibility, of obtaining books from the Slavonic world and of re-establishing normal relationships with it; the necessity for general economy. Moreover, a great and understandable, though possibly ephemeral, interest in politics, social conditions and economics is integrally connected with the present stage of development of Slavonic studies; and for this reason the reduc-

tion of activity is to the great disadvantage of literary and, even more, of philological publications. So much interest is now being taken in Russia that less attention is being paid to other Slavonic nations, particularly the smaller ones.

In this period of resumed activity University teaching is equal to its mission, and little by little but boldly and effectively it is claiming a larger place. What once seemed an exception and a rarity is to-day assuming the aspect and the rôle of something positive and constructive. Not all the teachers are specialists nor are they all Italian, for some of them have been trained in glottology, or have other backgrounds of study, and others are of foreign nationality, but the total number is always on the increase and the contribution of the younger ones is outstanding.

The students who once were *rari nantes in gurgite vasto* are to-day fully recognised. They are no longer attracted by the inducement of a career or the possibility of a good position, for from this point of view Slavonic Studies are not yet sufficiently profitable. Russian is not taught in secondary schools as it is in France and other countries, and there is no longer the possibility of reinstating the teaching of Serbo-Croat or Slovenian in centres where they were suppressed by the Fascist Government, as the cities of Zara, Fiume, Pola, Pisino, Parenzo and Trieste have been taken from Italy, and in the new frontier cities the need for the teaching of these languages has not yet been felt.

A survey of Slavonic teaching in the academic year 1946-47 reveals the following situation :

(1) The Faculty of Letters in the University of Rome has an Institute of Slavonic Philology, including the following posts :

- (a) a Readership in Slavonic Philology (Giovanni Maver)
- (b) a Chair of Russian Language and Literature (Ettore Lo Gatto or in his absence Leonida Goncikov)
- (c) a Chair of Polish Language and Literature (Giovanni Maver)
- (d) a Readership in Bulgarian Language and Literature (Enrico Damiani)
- (e) a Lectureship in Russian Language (Leonida Goncikov)
- (f) a Lectureship in Polish Language (Teodoro Domardzki)
- (g) a Lectureship in Czech Language (Jaroslav Rosendorfský)
- (h) a Lectureship in Serbo-Croat Language (Krstó Spalatin)
- (i) a Lectureship in Slovene Language (Janko Jez)

(Lectureships in Bulgarian, Ukrainian and Slovak are at present vacant.)

(2) The Faculty of Letters in the University of Padua has an Institute of Slavonic Philology (founded in 1921) which includes ·

- (a) a Readership in Slavonic Philology (Arturo Cronia)

(b) a Chair of Serbo-Croat Literature and Language (Arturo Cronia)

(c) a Lectureship in Russian Language (Nina Mingailo)

There is also a Seminar of Balkan Philology, directed by Carlo Tagliavini, and an historical and philological post-graduate school for the *Tre Venezie*, where Professor Cronia sometimes holds courses in Slavonic Paleography and where post-graduate courses in Slavonic Philology and Serbo-Croat Language and Literature are also included. Mrs. Guarnieri-Ortolani, whose brilliant essay *The Influence of Dostoevsky on Italian Literature* is now being published by the University of Padua, was a student at one of these courses. Finally, Miss Jolanda Marchiori, assistant in the Institute of Slavonic Philology at the University of Padua, is holding an optional course in Serbo-Croat at a Commercial College in Padua.

(3) The Faculty of Letters in the University of Florence includes the following :

(a) a Readership in Slavonic Philology (Mrs. Giulia Porru)

(b) a Readership in Russian Literature (Nicola Ottokar)

(c) a Readership in Polish Literature (Mrs. Brzozowska)

(d) a Lectureship in Russian Language (Mrs. Rosa Heinzelmann)

(e) a Lectureship in Polish Language (Mrs. Verdiani)

(f) a Lectureship in Serbo-Croat Language (Franjo Trogranić).

(4) The Faculty of Letters in the University of Turin includes :

(a) a Readership in Slavonic Philology (Bartolomeo Calvi)

(b) a Readership in Russian Language and Literature (Aurelio Zanco)

(c) a Readership in Polish Language and Literature (Mrs. Maria Bersano Begey)

(d) a Lectureship in Polish Language (Mrs. Maria Bersano Begey).

(5) The Faculty of Letters in the University of Bologna includes a Lectureship in Russian Language (Isacco Curgin).

(6) The Faculty of Letters in the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart at Milan includes <sup>3</sup>

a Lectureship in Russian Language (Vera Zdrojewska).

(7) The Oriental University Institute at Naples has an Institute of Slavonic Philology and includes

(a) a Readership of Slavonic Philology (Leone Pacini)

(b) a Readership of Russian Literature (Leone Pacini)

(c) a Readership of Polish Language and Literature (Enrico Damiani)

(d) a Readership of Bulgarian Language and Literature (Enrico Damiani)

(e) a Lectureship in Czech and Slovak Language and Literature (Jar. Rosendorfský)



- (f) a Lectureship in Serbo-Croatian Language and Literature (Attilio Missoni)
- (g) a Lectureship in Slovene Language and Literature (Attilio Missoni)
- (h) a Lectureship in Russian Language (Sofia Bogdanoff-Vitagliano)
- (i) a Lectureship in Polish Language (Padre Kotodziejczyk)
- (j) a Lectureship in Bulgarian Language (Tullio Marullo)

The Lectureship in Ukrainian is vacant owing to the absence of Professor Onatskyj.

(8) The "Istituto Universitario di Economia e Commercio" at Venice includes in its flourishing department of foreign languages and literature :

- (a) a Chair of Russian Literature (Evel Gasparini)
- (b) a Lectureship in Russian Language (Nicola Ivanov)
- (c) a Lectureship in Serbo-Croat Language (Arturo Cronia).

(9) The Faculty of Economics and Commerce of the School of Languages and Literature in the University of Bari includes :

- a Lectureship in Russian Language (Paolo Sokolov).

In the free state of Trieste the Italian University follows the syllabus previously laid down by the Italian Government. Thus the Faculty of Economics and Commerce continues the teaching of Russian (Romeo Colognati), of Czech (*idem*), and of Serbo-Croat (Umberto Urbani). The Faculty of Letters has its Institute of Slavonic Philology, with

- a Readership in Slavonic Philology (Romeo Colognati)
- a Readership in Serbo-Croat Language and Literature (Umberto Urbani)
- a Readership in Slovene Language and Literature (Umberto Urbani).

\* \* \*

The University centres are themselves surrounded and imitated by other private centres which, more or less unpretentiously, co-operate in diffusing knowledge of and interest in the Slavonic world. Only a few months ago the Institute for Eastern Europe, which has rendered great service to Slavonic studies in Europe and which from 1943 did not and could not show any signs of life, recommenced its activities in Rome with the help of the best Slavonic scholars in Italy. A retrospective number of the review *Europa Orientale* for the years 1943-1947 will be published shortly ; and its former centre, amid a wealth of libraries, is in regular working order.

The Italo-Bulgarian Association in Rome, which has done so much for cultural relations between these two countries, is having a struggle to re-establish itself, and at the moment its excellent review *Bulgaria*, founded in 1939 and then suspended in 1943, is not being published.

The Attilio Begey Institute of Polish Culture in Turin is still not very active, and relies on the university, occupying itself chiefly with the teaching of the language. On the other hand, on the initiative of certain Polish scholars and of Italians interested in Polish studies, a new Polish review *Irdion* has been founded in Rome. It ran for the year 1945-1946, and put out nine numbers, with interesting essays on Polish culture, both past and present, in its relation to the spiritual life of Europe, and in particular of Italy. As a first volume of "collected studies" or as a supplement to the review, the same committee published, in view of the centenary of the birth of Sienkiewicz, a small but valuable edition of miscellaneous works by that talented novelist.<sup>4</sup>

The ever-growing interest in Russia and its culture has resulted in the founding of an *Associazione Italiana per i rapporti culturali con l'Unione Sovietica* in Rome, which has branches in various cities, owns a library with many Soviet periodicals and from time to time organises concerts, exhibitions, language courses and exhibitions of bibliographical and scientific materials. In 1945 this association founded its own review *La Cultura Sovietica*, which, however, came to an end after its fourth number in 1946. It was varied, interesting, up to date and carefully compiled, but of a predominantly propaganda character.

In view of the lack of a specific organ for Slavonic studies the publication of a new and scholarly *Rivista di Letteratura Moderne* has been specially welcomed. This periodical, the Slavonic section of which is under the editorship of Professor Cronia, has given space to Slavonic contributions in almost every number since March, 1946; and in one of the forthcoming numbers it will include a valuable article by Giuseppe L. Messina, *Bilancio degli studi slavistici in Italia nel 1943-46*.<sup>5</sup>

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Publishing activity is chiefly concentrated on Russia. There has been, moreover, a complete wave of reaction against the Fascist policy and "culture" which muzzled the press on the subject of the U.S.S.R.; and in the period immediately after the war there has been a spate of publications, first from Naples and then from Rome, which swept the country during the gradual stages of liberation. We face also the mighty impression made everywhere by the final victory of Russia in the war, its political and social organisation, and its prestige and rôle in world affairs. Publications on Russian subjects have been constantly on the increase.

Naturally works of an informative nature have abounded and predominated over those of scholarship. The reason has been the temptation for publishers who were short of means to make money and they have eagerly adapted themselves to the wider public. There was also the influence of Communist propaganda, which has known quite well how to encourage this state of things. In critical and trying times it has been most unusual for a publisher to risk incurring enormous outlays

for works of limited appeal, even though the authors do not demand any remuneration. The generous benefactor of former times no longer exists. The number of works on Russia in these past few years has been vast, and to record them would be very difficult. Those writing them have dealt a little with everything—politics, economics, commerce, history, geography, the army, diaries, biography, Peter the Great and Catherine, Lenin and Stalin. They range from an erudite tone to information, from original work to translation, from impartiality to partiality, from depth to superficiality, from *de luxe* edition to economical pamphlets and so forth. Betimes they have been well informed, but often inexperienced and ignorant. Some of these books were practically ignored, while others received great attention. Among the latter I recall that of General Umberto Nobile, *Quelle che ho visto nella Russia Sovietica* (Atlantica, Rome, 1945), which had an even wider circulation than André Gide's *Ritorno dall' U.R.S.S.*, which appeared in Italian, edited by A. Ridola, in Turin (Egea, 1946).

In the historical and literary field the finest and most interesting work has been that of Ettore Lo Gatto, a name which in the history of Slavonic Studies in Italy should be inscribed in letters of gold. His activity has been phenomenal. Within a short space of time and simultaneously he has produced with great success both works of considerable scope and shorter essays, he has collaborated in various reviews, he has translated; he has taught and organised institutes. One recalls his *Storia della Russia* (Sansoni, Firenze, 1946–1947) in two large volumes, rich in bibliography and illustrations, and including the Soviet period—a work which surpasses the modest volumes of G. Stepanov, N. Ottokar and J. Petrone, published in the years 1943, 1944, 1945. One recalls above all his monumental *Storia della Letteratura Russa*, edited by the Institute for Eastern Europe, which in 1944 reached its seventh volume dealing with Turgenev and Ostrovsky. Though it proceeds slowly and no one knows how or when it will be finished, though, while the new volumes are being published, the first have been sold out; and though it already shows faults of proportion in both plan and contents, yet it promises to be the greatest history of Russian Literature which has ever been written. Simultaneously, starting in 1942, another *Storia della Letteratura Russa* (Sansoni, Firenze) has been appearing, and in 1944 it reached its third edition. It is abridged to one large volume, is a scholarly work with an ample bibliography, and from the point of view of conception and critical reasoning it is preferable to the other.<sup>6</sup>

Monographs and essays by individual authors are scarce. Dostoevsky always remains the favourite but he is considered—after many Italian experiences!—chiefly through the medium of the translations by André Gide, Anna Grigorevna Dostoevsky, Nikolay Berdjajev and Stefan Zweig, published successively from 1944 to 1947 and outside the field of Russian studies. It is encouraging that historical and literary criticism, which has to its credit some of the best contributions to Slavonic literature,

can count on the research of two intelligent scholars, Leone Pacini and even more Evel Gasparini, who are specialising one in Gogol and the other in Tolstoy and who have recently written excellent essays; especially Gasparini, who unites an epigrammatic style with unusual acumen and intuition.

The necessity of knowing Russia better and more extensively has given a particular incentive to the study of Russian and therefore to the publication of grammars and dictionaries. This publication has been comparatively great during the years 1945-1947 but with a practical bias and quite apart from any glottological purposes or methods.<sup>7</sup> The linguistic side of Slavonic studies in Italy is on the whole neglected, and this fact is connected with foreign publications.

The publication of translations from Russian is on as large a scale as previously. Narrative prose predominates. The 19th-century classics already translated and re-translated, both well known and less well known, still appear to-day, alongside works which have not before been translated. Soviet authors are gaining ground in the world of the theatre too. The ample anthology *Narratori sovietici* (de Carlo, Roma, 1944), with its ten representative novels and short stories, still does not give an adequate impression, neither does the large volume *Rubalta sovietica* (O.E.T., Roma, 1944) with its eight varied works. From 1945 on volumes by Mihail Sholohov, Aleksej N Tolstoj, Konstantin Fedin, Leonid Leonov, Ilja Erenburg, Mihail Zoshchenko, Vsevolod Ivanov, Vladimir Majakovsky, A. Starchakov, etc., have followed in quick succession.

Taken as a whole all this output of Russian publications is certainly significant in the political, social and intellectual field, but in the strict field of Slavonic studies it has not yet assumed particular importance and has not inspired any outstanding works. All that has been done here in the last few years is a logical development of what had been done previously.

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After Russia comes Poland which, though in a minor position and with limited means and achievements, takes its place among Slavonic studies in Italy. There are various reasons for this, both particular and general, extrinsic and intrinsic. Most important of all is the traditional and centuries-old *Polonofilia*—the deep and sincere friendship which binds one nation to the other. Then there is the importance of the Polish language and its literature as representative of the greatest of the Slavonic nations. There is too the double—the age-long and the recent tragedy of this chivalrous and most western of the Slavonic nations, which has impressed all the world with its sad and troubled destiny. There is too the presence of a Polish army in Italy during the recent war, its participation in the liberating of Italy, its spontaneous and cordial fraternisation with the Italian people. Finally, there is an active Polish Embassy in Rome with an ambassador, Professor Stanisław

Kot, who is intelligent and sensitive to problems of culture, and who does not lose the smallest opportunity of intensifying cultural relationship between Italy and Poland.

Books of a political and military nature, under the editorship of Italians and Poles, deal with such subjects as *Il Calvario di Varsavia*, *Il Ghetto di Varsavia*, *Perché i Polacchi non ritornano in Patria?*, *La Costituzione Polacca*, *Montecassino*, *Armata silenziosa*, etc.<sup>8</sup> As well as these works there are single publications devoted to art and, particularly, to music, and translations of modern novels from Sieroszewski and Zeromski to Strug and Goetel. To meet the pressing needs of the language itself, Fortunato Giannini's *Polish Dictionary* was reprinted in 1946 and, in the same year, a small manual of conversation. These works are few and they do not in fact enter into the field of Slavonic studies, which are truly represented by the commemorative volume on Sienkiewicz and by the review *Iridion* to which I have already alluded.

Little has been done for the other Slavonic peoples, owing to various reasons connected with circumstances, as well as to the literary prestige of the individual nations. The Bulgarian scholars have a certain superiority, above all for the indefatigable and praiseworthy activity displayed by Professor Damiani, whose name should be remembered with particular renown in the history of Bulgarian studies in Italy. Here indeed one can recall works worthy of mention, e.g. the bibliographical work of Petar Jordanov who has listed all Italian publications on Bulgaria from 1870 to 1942 :<sup>9</sup> *Un corso di lingua bulgara teorico-pratico* which is comprehensive and far surpasses all manuals of this kind published in the West, and which enters the realm of linguistic studies ; and the translation by Olga Miletic Balabanova of the most popular and patriotic Bulgarian novel *Pod igoto* (*Under the Yoke*, in Italian : *Il Giogo*) by Ivan Vazov (De Carlo, Roma, 1946).

On the Slavonic peoples in general even less has been written. There is the small volume by Wolf Giusti on the *Storia del Panславismo* (Colombo, Roma, 1946) which crowns his studies on Russian politics and social conditions. There is the ample and interesting anthology *Novellieri Slavi* (De Carlo, Roma, 1946) by Lo Gatto and Damiani, which contains 119 stories by 100 writers representing all the Slavonic literatures, gives a synthesised historical picture of every literature included, and supplies the necessary informative notes, thus affording a vast panoramic impression, even if the choice does not always seem happy.

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The progress of Slavonic studies in Italy in these years of stormy and difficult post-war reconstruction confirms to a great extent the impression that the years before it have left with us—proof that they are a logical development of what has gone before, proof too that they are in the process of taking definite shape.

The aims of University teaching, the tastes and the training of indi-

vidual scholars and the character of the various publications show clearly that Slavonic scholars in Italy realise full well the truth of what Mazon has called "Le patrimoine commun des études slaves."<sup>10</sup> On the other hand they feel and indeed know from experience that this integrated programme is unrealisable to-day for the student who does not wish to descend to propaganda and voluntarily and automatically to allow the disintegration of Slavonic scholarship to proceed unchecked. Slavonic scholars tend to specialise according to the university chairs, and although, either because of the laws of inertia or respect for tradition, some isolated Readerships in Slavonic Philology (descendants of the old *Slavjanovedenije*) have been maintained, the Chairs are all dedicated to single languages and literatures, as is shown by the four existing Chairs of Russian and Polish at Rome, of Serbo-Croat at Padua and of Russian again at Venice. Similarly Slavonic Philology has come to be interpreted according to Körting's<sup>11</sup> suggestion for classical philology, i.e. a knowledge of the spiritual life of the people with special attention to the expression of it in the language and literature; in other words according to the humanistic tradition of literary and linguistic *hermeneutika*.

While the Germans have occupied themselves with linguistics, the Italians have tended to literary *explanatio*. It is a question of temperament and also of the taste of the people as a whole, for, even if they wished, authors would not be able to publish their linguistic studies, seeing that publishers demand works which satisfy the public taste, and this at the moment prefers criticism and literary history. Of Slavonic scholars in Italy only Cronia and, to a greater extent, Maver, are occupied with linguistic problems—the former concentrating on a study of unpublished glagolitic texts, the latter, from an original angle, on questions of Serbo-Croat dialectology, and the discovering, with an acute critical procedure, of difficult etymologies of Latin and romance origins.

Fortunately Italian linguists do not neglect the field of Slavonic languages and, as previously Matteo Bartoli and Pier Gabriele Goidanich were experts in them, so to-day Pisani, Battisti, Devoto and others devote themselves to these languages. Prominent among these is Professor Carlo Tagliavini, an authority on phonetics and a polyglot of the same calibre as Mezzofante and Trombetti. He has a thorough knowledge of all Slavonic languages and promises to be one day for the Italians what Meillet has been for the French. Not by chance do I mention that he is now publishing for the *Accademia dei Lincei* a large volume on the languages of the world.<sup>12</sup> In all that concerns Slavonic languages, the Balkan ones in particular, he has already given the highest proofs of his linguistic learning and acumen.<sup>13</sup>

The devotion of Slavonic scholars in Italy to literary studies both critical and historical, brings out the most varied results—brief contacts with ancient literatures (i.e. Slavonic literatures), preferences for modern periods, a few integrated surveys and many critical essays, a few literary histories and many monographs. There is scant interest in related

studies, but a great and logical interest in the influence of Italian scholarship on the Slavonic world. Some works are almost biographies or histories of thought; others tend to be social histories or pure art. They pass from historical positivism to æsthetic idealism, from analysis to synthesis, from the historical-psychological method to the literary-æsthetic. Possibly the authors' personalities are not yet properly formed, sometimes one finds eclecticism, sometimes impressionism, but everywhere there is an æsthetic atmosphere, conscious or unconscious, which is in full accord with the great revolution brought about by a man who once again has made Italy famous: Benedetto Croce.

Last, not least the periodical press, daily, weekly and monthly is co-operating more and more with the various manifestations of Slavonic scholarship, and it too shows how at long last Slavonic studies, together with the interest in the Slavonic world, have become an indispensable element in our national culture.

ARTURO CRONIA.

*University of Padua.*

<sup>1</sup> A recent example of this is J. Torbarina, *Italian influence on the poets of the Ragusan Republic*, London, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> E. Lo Gatto wrote *Slavonic Studies in Italy* for this Review in June, 1927.

Of other developments I mention the following: E. Lo Gatto, *Gli studi slavi in Italia* in *Rivista di letteratura slave*, II (1927); E. Damiani, *Gli studi slavi in Italia* in *Leonardo*, III (1927), 9, corrected and revised in *Archivum Neophilologicum*, Cracow, 1929-1930, f. I, and in *Italo-bulgarisko spisame-Rivista italo-bulgara*, Sofia, 1931, I; G. Maver, *La slavistica italiana nel decennio passato e i suoi compiti futuri*, in *Rivista di letteratura slave*, VI (1931), f. I; E. Lo Gatto, *Il contributo italiano agli studi nel campo della filologia slava negli ultimi cento anni*, in "Un secolo di progresso scientifico italiano, 1839-1939," Roma Società italiana per il progresso delle scienze, 1939. The most recent contribution has been that of E. Damiani in his review, *Bulgaria*, IV, No. I (1942), V, No. I (1943).

<sup>3</sup> From the University of Milan I have not yet had a reply.

<sup>4</sup> *Nel Centenario di Enrico Sienkiewicz* (1846-1946), Libreria dell'800 Editrice, Roma, 1946, p. 188.

<sup>5</sup> This same review also publishes articles in English. In the first number (1946) we find *Are words late-comers in Poetry?* by Bernard Berenson: and mention might be made of an article by Arturo Cronia, *Linguaggio poetico e poesia riflessa negli studi slavi*, which is important for understanding the æsthetic-philological method of Italian Slavonic scholars.

<sup>6</sup> There is also a small manual of an informative nature, *La letteratura Russa*, Cremonese, Roma, by E. Lo Gatto, which reached its third edition in 1944.

<sup>7</sup> E. Damiani has written on these publications in *Guida Bibliografica allo studio della lingua russa in l'Italia che scrive*—Roma XXIX, Nr. 12 (Dicembre '46).

<sup>8</sup> This last is a work by Julian Krycki and was published in Rome, ed. Faro, 1945, with a preface by the well-known and much-admired writer Corrado Alvaro.

<sup>9</sup> P. Jordanov, *La Bulgaria in Italia*, Italo-Bulgarian Association, Roma, 1943, taken from the review *L'Europa Orientale*, fasc. 7-12 of 1942 and 1-2 of 1943.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Revue des études Slaves*, IX, 1924, p. 113.

<sup>11</sup> G. Korting, *Enzyklopedie und Methodologie der Roemischen Philologie*, Heilbronn, 1884, p. 82.

<sup>12</sup> We have a multigraphed edition—Patron, Bologna, 1941.

<sup>13</sup> Mention should be made of: *Penetrazione e adattamento delle voci italiane e croate nel dialetto albanese di Borgo Erizzo (Zara)*, Roma, 1936, taken from *Studi Albanesi*, 1934, I rapporti di Venezia con l'Oriente balcanico, Roma, 1938, taken from *Atti* of the XXVI Riunione della S.I.P.S. (Venezia, 12-18 Settembre 1937); *Sugli elementi italiani del Croato in Italia e Croazia*, Roma, 1942.

# PENCHO SLAVEIKOV'S CRYPTO-AUTOBIOGRAPHY

By ALBERT M. IVANOFF

"Eevo Dolya has not as yet been born for the consciousness of his countrymen, for the higher reality of his life."

MORE than thirty-five years have passed since Slaveikov died at Lake Como in Switzerland, 28 May, 1912.\* Another generation has come to life and maturity in his native land, yet no attempt has been made to write the biography of the greatest Bulgarian poet, the only stable bridge that links that country with the rest of Europe on the highest level of literature, philosophy and general culture.

The future biographer of Slaveikov will have no serious difficulty in tracing the simple outline of the outward events in his life.<sup>1</sup> When he undertakes the evaluation of the poet's life and work, however, he will need all the invaluable help he can find in what I have chosen to call the Crypto-Autobiography of Slaveikov.

It would have been considered highly presumptuous for Slaveikov to write openly about his life or to appraise his poetic and other literary work. For this reason he resorted to a vague disguise. In *Epicheski Pesni* and *Na Ostrova Na Blajennite* he has left us not one but two only slightly veiled biographical sketches of himself. They are presented here for the first time in English.<sup>2</sup>

## OLAF VAN GELDERN IN *EPICHESKI PESNI* <sup>3</sup>

He himself does not know when he was born, but when asked he says he is now thirty-five years old. His home town, Grasdorf,<sup>4</sup> is snuggled up in one of the dewy folds of the Harz,<sup>5</sup> that magnificent mountain which has cast a lovely shadow upon his soul, and about which he so fondly sings in his poems. I have known him for years as I have known myself, and even though a black cat has often crept between us we are to this day good, intimate friends. He would certainly subscribe to what I know about him and shall now relate.

\* ED NOTE — *Pencho Slaveikov* (1866–1912) was the champion of individualism in modern Bulgarian literature, rejecting the school of Ivan Vazov. Well-read and a lover of folklore, he attempted a national epic "Song of Blood," and wrote many poems in hero-worship of figures like Shelley, Michael Angelo and Beethoven. The full life-story of Slaveikov has been written by Mara Belcheva.



Olaf is an offshoot of a well-known family and is glad of it without capitalising on it. Ordinarily he does not like to talk about the family whose name he bears, nor about himself. Only seldom does he mention his father, saying among other things that the latter took him to task for writing poor verses, hoping perhaps to induce him to study his lessons instead. His ears are somewhat long, not as a special favour on the part of Mother Nature, but as a witness of the particular attention they received from his teachers. They pulled his ears in the hope of extricating his persistent laziness. These long ears are his only gain from school.

The only thing he was able to learn well while still a child was the geography of the country. And for a simple reason. His father, who was a teacher, journalist and tribune of the people, was very often compelled to wander from city to city, followed by his wife and children, because of his own obstinacy and the extraordinary conditions of the times. In this fashion the future poet came in direct contact with the hills on which those cities are located. He waded through many rivers and spent whole days swimming in them and playing in the sand. The forest bushes, the rocks and caves have whispered in his ear the same tales which the children's maid used in luring his imagination every evening. His intimate friendship with the sun dates also from those days, and even though now he is on better terms with the night, the kisses of his first close friend are still to be seen on his face, a face like that of one of Pharaoh's descendants. I believe that the elder van Geldern must have enjoyed looking at the kind of mischievous youngster Olaf was, remembering his own childhood.

The old oak that had withstood many a storm must have felt that the young sprout of his own seed would not put him to shame when it attained its full growth. Thus, when turbulent days came for the country of our poet, and his father was snatched away one night by police wolves, supposedly the preservers of public order, and sent into exile, Olaf learned these treasured words of his father : " When you grow up, be like your father : fear not the wolves ! " But the sprout was meant to be like the tree, anyway. And when its time came, it showed how obstinate it could be. Otherwise it would not have gotten in the way of so many people. Like his father, he often chooses to think unlike the rest ; and not only to think, but to speak what is on his mind and in his heart. He does not care about the unpleasant consequences, perhaps because he prefers the pleasure of cutting with the knife sharpened on the whetstone of his father, who taught him not to suppress his nature but to give it

a free sweep. Being ambitious, he does not worry because the people in whose way he gets consider him selfish. Maybe they are right, since he is a creative artist and, like all his good colleagues, cherishes in his soul a contempt for the holy feelings of the Philistines and for the code of commandments of Uncle Snob.

He also inherited from his father the love of everything worthy of it : in the case of another legacy, holy hate, our poet has tried to add something more of his own. The confession common to the heroes of old is also his own · " My hate is the measure (index) of my love." His pride is not a joke, yet he uses jokes to hide his pride before the " poor in spirit,"—those incapable of seeing behind them the tragedy of this pride. And his laughter, along with the laughter at himself, is even a better commentary than the loneliness and the stark melancholy of his eyes

It is with such inherited qualities and capriciously developed instincts that Olaf van Geldern follows his destiny, and he could hardly say he is not satisfied with it. Apparently, in the midst of an unfriendly existence, full of restless longings and nightmares, he is also visited at times by beautiful dreams. And are not dreams also a source of happiness ? His most beautiful dream is that of his life after death. The events of his life thus far somehow encourage in him the belief that it will not be just a dream. This faith may be naive, very naive, something like the faith of Ibsen's Helmer who deceives himself with the dream that he has been called to perform something great in this world. And another hero in Ibsen's same play, *The Wild Duck*, utters with such right the true but bitter words : " Leave to man the illusion of the world. This illusion is necessary and desirable to keep him alive, since life is but his stepbrother."

This life has not always been kind to him, as may be seen from the following list . once, in his teens, while jumping over a fence (not chasing after a girl) he broke his right foot ; a fever held him in its grip for three years , three times he has been thrown off and dragged by horses and once he fell off and under a wagon ; he was bitten by dogs a dozen times ; once he almost drowned ; and once he almost got married ; once he had to be pulled out from under a derailed train ; once he was chased and fired on by bloodthirsty Prussians (1877). He survived a burning, a hanging and a live burial. It sounds like a legend, does it not ? Nevertheless, it is a true legend, like the one concerning his father, the elder van Geldern, whom God liked and therefore turned into a legend.<sup>6</sup>

The development of his talent has been influenced by travels

at home and abroad as well as by the God-sent legend. As far as I can judge, the stations of his artistic growth have been the same as those of his wanderings: Vienna, Paris, Leipzig. Particularly important is the last-named, where he stayed for long years in the care of fine landlords, restaurant keepers and booksellers to whom he has not yet paid all his debts.<sup>7</sup> Several times he has shaken hands with the Jungfrau, that glorious beauty who whispered in his ear world mysteries, as she did to the great Russian novelist.<sup>8</sup> He has even been in white-stone Moskva (Moscow) in order to appear at police headquarters; an incredible reason for taking a trip, but the more incredible the truer. He keeps to this day fond memories of his hosts in Germany, especially of three: a Greek (Hellene), a Jew and a Swabian.<sup>9</sup> He had known the second of these indirectly even earlier, which accounts for their later intimacy; and it is to him, to the pale Heinrich, whom the Germans hate so much but without whose songs their poetry would have been so boring, that he owes his liking for the Germans. He is indebted to these willing-to-help masters, particularly to the Swabian, for his intellectual development, and for the clarification of his task as a writer. But his poetic feelings and interest were nourished first by the Russian artists of the pen who are now triumphantly marching across Europe.

That which van Geldern instinctively accepted at first from them, seeking man in the beast, is consciously laid down by the mature poet as the basis for his creations. This is the root of his idealism which is a child of the heart, not of the mind. This is also the unspoken reason for his disregard for contemporary European heroes of the pen who seek and value only the beast in man.<sup>10</sup> But these favourite Russian magicians of the word would not have affected him so strongly if his soul had not been favourable soil for them, and if his father, himself their admirer, had not bequeathed him a disposition for the acceptance of sentiments of humanity toward man. His first efforts of the pen were translations from the Russian poets. Some of them are still extant, but I have no doubt they will suffer the fate of the full translation of Turgenev's *Notes of a Huntsman*, for every year a considerable number of both old and new works are sacrificed on the altar of his critical judgments and moods. He does not cry over them, as Achilles over the body of his burning friend, but keeps his jaw firm, while many foolish ideas dance before his mind, bound to disappear quickly, however, like the ashes of the sacrifices.

Olaf van Geldern has long since abandoned his wanderings

abroad. Now he is warming his rheumatic feet at the hearth and trying to live in peace and love with his faithful wife, and Lady Bad Luck, a good friend of his muse. The two women often visit with each other and he listens to their intimate chatter ; and not only listens to it but makes it the foundation of his creations, upon which his imagination weaves designs with a silk thread. " From all of his creations thus far emanates the spirit of a joyless conception of life, the result of his own unhappy fate," says one of his critics. Maybe he is right. Maybe, in spite of the fact that the poet is of a different opinion. Here is what he says in one of his travel sketches, something in the nature of a confession. " A writer who values himself and his work should never cross the threshold of any school or any mosque where, rosaries in hand, will be found those who are worthy of pity. Be Hellenes and Byzantines of the modern world, have no catechism in regard to art and its purposes ! Let your personal inspiration be your impulse toward creative activity, and reality the only object for observation and re-creation ! Thus and only thus are created works in which realism goes hand in hand with the higher aspirations of the spirit, as it does in life. The Russians are an example for us, too. For we have, like them, one great advantage over the rest of the European nations : our present is not bound by our past ; so that we too, like them, need not commit our spirit in the future to the pathological products of various decadents of culture. . . . Learn from the sun to shine everywhere. Let your life-giving rays penetrate everywhere. Find solace in hopelessness itself when nothing better is to be had. Divine Teacher, thou creator of *Living Remains*,<sup>11</sup> whose noble features are those of my saviour ! Has not that living corpse which you pictured with such boundless sweetness been a revelation to me ? What deep sympathy toward man radiates from your story of that unfortunate woman who during long, long years never rose from her bed-grave ! But in spite of her condition she was capable of experiencing quiet thrills at the least manifestations of life : at the fragrance of the field flowers, the song of the swallows. You disclosed to my soul the poetry of solitude, sprinkled me with the living water of faith so that the one upon whom both friends and strangers looked, as upon a dead man, has awakened to life again. The light which you have shed upon the misfortune of strangers has illuminated my own and scattered the darkness of egoism that clouded my gaze." Is there any foundation for accusing one who makes such a confession of harbouring " joyless concepts of life " ? This accusation is refuted also by his works in which the fate of the heroes, though

often unhappy, has been so reproduced that there is no trace or shadow of terror or depression in the impression it makes on us.<sup>12</sup> The inner crisis in van Geldern, clarified under the influence of *Living Remains*, comes to a sharp focus and is overcome with the aid of Korolenko's *Blind Musician*, that unfortunate creature whom other people's misfortunes aroused to a career of awakening noble feelings in human hearts. It is not my intention to relate this at length but simply to point to the false conception concerning the poet's views on life (*Lebensauffassung*). It is true that he tells about the sad events in the lives of various unfortunates, but his eyes are not resting on the outward circumstances; they are directed, instead, toward that inner world of feelings, moods, and soul-currents that are free from the dark breath of pessimism. This, together with his painful analysis of "what is going on in the soul" of his heroes, shows most clearly the tremendous influence of the Russian writers on our poet.

Such is the man who for twenty years or so has been an apprentice to Gyurgya Samovila<sup>13</sup> ("foremost maiden"), like the peasant boy who, the story tells us, was hired as a servant by the priest to serve him three years for three pennies. In his country as in ours the labour of the creative artist is worth that much and no more, and many heroes of the pen, after failing to make a decent living along this line, have had to enter the union of "market-place porters" in order to survive. Liberty and economic independence, the patrons of genius, are not among the acquaintances of our poet; and this is one of his great sorrows, a poison that kills, that has already killed many of his works at their very inception. In order not to have to beg for a piece of bread, he has had to work as a clerk, i.e. to waste his time doing work which any idiot could perform a hundred times better. And the temperature of his creativity has in recent times fallen below zero. His works, since he has had to become like all the rest in the matter of work, are not exactly worthy of any mention; they have been casual, incidental works, writing for the papers, translations and biographical sketches with which Olaf tries to soothe himself and make fun of his naive readers.

Yet there was a time when he himself as well as the critics saw something in his works, in that string of short songs, ballads, monologues and poems that sparkle like a beautiful necklace incidentally lost in a dung heap like the Bulgarian literature. With these works the poet is both satisfied and dissatisfied. So far as I can guess, the dissatisfaction is not due so much to them, as to the thought that they are not all he could give and that the other works which

are bursting his soul cannot be created for lack of leisure. Even if this were not exactly the case, it is at least a half-truth.

Christmas, 1902.

P.S. As I was looking over the first proof of this note concerning Olaf van Geldern I received the news of his sudden death. It was too late to change what I had written, even though his death gives freedom to my pen and I could say a great many more things or clarify others I have only hinted at. Now he passes into the other phase of his life of which he had such beautiful dreams.

He has put the following words in the mouth of one of his comrades, a man living in spite of death, words that undoubtedly echo his own intimate feelings: "Happy is the man whose spirit, like Noah's Ark, carries over from the past into the future world that which remains changeless amidst change. After death he leaves behind the purest, most beautiful part of himself, a thread from the domain of lifeless shadows, that will bind him to this world."

#### EEVO DOLYA IN *NA OSTROVA NA BLAJENNITE*

Eevo Dolya has not as yet been born for the consciousness of his countrymen, for the higher reality of his life. In ordinary life he was born 27 April, 1866, in the quiet and picturesque mountain town of Anvart,<sup>14</sup> famous in the days of old for its orchards and at present for its coal mines containing little else besides plenty of stones. His father, a poet and a fighter, loved life and paid little heed to death, for he felt emancipated from it. His songs bear witness of his nimble and sensitive nature. I am speaking of the father because the son is a true image of him.

Everything that interested the father interested the son. He deals with everything his father dealt with. There is only this difference between the two: the son renounces everything he has done in his youth, something the father never did, because there was no need for it; his path had been foreordained. The way of the son is contradictory since he is seeking, banning his own path. In that way he proves the well-known aphorism of Oscar Wilde: the educated contradict others, the wise contradict themselves. Yes, he is shifty and contradictory like a storm; he attacks and tries to overturn from all sides, from above and from below, from left and from right. This is in the nature of the storm, and his thought obeys the commands of nature, not knowing whether it will always bring pleasure or not. A great many consider this as lack

of character. They think that the storm should share their own monotonous steadiness which is nothing but the absence of character. It never occurs to them that not direction, but will, constitutes character. And with this will of his he has often tripped others and blown their hats away, thus exposing their bald heads! A true mischief-maker! And one who sincerely detests everyone who is squatting at the gates of culture and contentedly chewing the gum of one principle or another which does not provide for an individual reason and will. This is what he was like, especially in his youth, at times even later, when walking already on the far side of the hill of his days, where the storm has subsided and Dolya is living in the tranquillity and dreams of the past, the rich source of true creativity and of his own.

His poetry is not burdened with abstract views but with the experiences of life, sometimes moulded into syntheses unifying the experiences; these, however, are immediately deduced, not vaguely abstracted. Everything in Dolya is image. For him God is always "Grandpa Lord," as He is in the Bible and in real life, and not in the head or in books of one scribe-sage or another. He is "Dyado Gospod,"<sup>15</sup> the One whom the poet as a child used to look at on the ceiling of his home town church, with the frowning eyebrows and long beard, like that of his own grandfather, inspiring respect, but mostly fear. Because of an unusual and insignificant mistake,<sup>16</sup> He mercilessly punished the poet early in his youth, and the latter carries this penalty through life, sorrowfully but without protest. The punishment was cruel, but there was also grace in it for it opened his eyes to see God and Life. And in him were fulfilled the words of the evangelist: "Thou shalt know great sorrow and be happy in it."<sup>17</sup> But I am not the one who should talk about it. This would be like playing with something as delicate as Cleopatra's nose. After all, I was punished severely by my grandfather too: perhaps on account of some forbidden mischief, or else because I did not take the stern expression in his eyes seriously. However that might have been, the most remarkable thing about the poet's punishment is that it has been pure imagination! From 1883 to 1906, for twenty-three long years he has simply imagined that he is under a penalty, and suffering. At least this is what the doctors tried to make him believe, in spite of God and His will, and only one circumstance ruined their effort: they all died before convincing the poet of the truth of their diagnosis. He did not trust these wise men. But his friends did and took the opportunity to celebrate the occasion, having somehow found out that it coincided with the

silver anniversary of his wedding to the muse. The remarkable fact about this celebration is that the poet's muse was not present, and furthermore that the hundred or so acquaintances and holiday seekers present, knowing neither the poet nor his muse nor their darling children, knew not what they were saying. It was all a curious misunderstanding, similar to the one I went through myself, which made me swear once and for all never again to celebrate occasions and misunderstandings.

Eevo Dolya has written a great deal, at any rate more than is necessary for a candidate for immortality, since we know that immortality is a long journey through time and it is not convenient to carry much luggage on a long trip. Otherwise one has to throw it away by the roadside. But a large portion of what he has written will give direction to those that come after him. I am convinced that on his way to immortality he can be satisfied with his poem *On the Bridge of Time*, an epic poem in nine songs in which he sings about the past of his homeland, but only about its past. He considers the past a field in which men sow the seeds of the future. This is a poem very similar to my *Kurvava Pesen*, in which past and present, legends, dreams, the lies and truths of life, its reality and its potentialities, are magnificently re-created in a form never yet seen on the "Isle." Along with the short episode which the poet relates, he has been able to evoke the big tableau of the life of his country and to catch the devil of its existence by the horns, even to put its God on trial. Yes, I am proud that my own poem resembles very much that of Eevo Dolya: there is strange satisfaction in the thought that, like him, I am not as yet immortal; for if my dear countrymen ever suspected I might be immortal they would have consumed me along with the few rags of time hanging on me here and there. To be sure, such a feast would relieve their constipated brains, but it is not to my liking to clean out foolish brains.

The language of Eevo Dolya is heavy, as are the honeycombs just taken out of the beehives. A language full of the honey of thought,<sup>18</sup> and perhaps for that reason hated by the philologists who gather like horse-flies to investigate only that which is to be found under the tail of thought. Their hate of the poet and his language is their share in a mutual bargain. Eevo Dolya's hands are not folded upon his chest. He also hates them to the limit, and sometimes beyond any limit. In a pamphlet concerning language he writes: "The philologists are language-eaters (*philofagoi*). Their ideal is the grammar and the dictionary. They do not yet know that everyone whose head is not empty has a grammar in it already.



The dictionary is the casket for the mortal remains of language and grammar—the burial rites at its funeral! I know more than one grave-digger of language. What do their names and deeds mean to the cultured man and his reason? Do they have one-millionth of the significance that Homer, Dante and Shakespeare have for us? A true philologist is one who renounces philology and, like Nietzsche—whose genius was resurrected when the philologist in him died—despises what he once liked. It is the task of the philologist to turn over the pages of many books to weed them.<sup>19</sup> He has so much to read that he has no time to think. That is why he thinks only a little but has a lot to say. His head is like a cracked bushel that loses the grains of wheat little by little until it is completely empty.” Actually, however, the roots of his hate for the philologists are to be found elsewhere. He cannot tolerate the attempts of the philologist, the observer and investigator of the life of a language, to stick his nose in spheres where only creators are rulers. And Dolya is right in this respect as well as when he defends the right of the creators to be dictators and assaulters of language, a right which often produces illegitimate but lovely children, since they are the children of force and love.<sup>20</sup>

Evo Dolya is full of contradictions, and one of his beautiful ones is that he is a follower of Nietzsche. But the truth is that he is simply fond of quoting Nietzsche, regarding his thoughts as roses and trying to arrange them in the bouquet of his own thoughts in the best possible manner. This way he not only proves that he can quote well, but proves his argument as well. In one respect he is, perhaps, a true follower of Nietzsche: in his contempt for pettiness. Yet even here we cannot avoid a contradiction. For often, along the slippery road of time, he has descended below to quarrel with the “flies in the market-place.” On one occasion particularly, in 1910, he displayed his contradiction along this line. Countless flies and other insects had gathered at the famous congress of “dahomeitsi” to sing the song of their insignificant lives. The poet could not bear it; he deserted his retreat and became, in the words of Nietzsche, a fly-sweeper. After that the flies attacked him and stung him since he did not choose to defend himself. Then Eevo Dolya went back to his solitude. perhaps to create, to maintain his candidacy for immortality perhaps to wait for an occasion to display his contradiction as a follower of Nietzsche and to become a sweeper, this time of bugs.

The critics, who have very little else to do, have had a good chance to draw an interesting parallel between his poetical activities and

mine, and to come to some theosophic conclusions, particularly since for one moment our paths of interest and activities cross each other in front of the theatre. Exactly like me, Eevo Dolya awoke one morning in 1908 to find himself Director of the National Theatre in the capital, his pockets full of good intentions for the good of that cultural institution. But intentions are one thing and reality another, especially on the "Isle of the Blessed." So on another morning he awoke again, this time no longer Director of the National Theatre in the capital, and with pockets full of rage against himself and those who captivated with promises and then released him, having frustrated him and made fun of his will and intentions. He left the theatre as he found it; a foolishness not destined to give birth to anything sensible. This theatre has as little in common with culture and its tasks of conquest as Vazov's *Trapeza u Chorbadi Marko* with Plato's *Symposium*. He wanted to give the theatre a national policy, not because this was a cherished idea of his but because it is the first step in the elevation of the theatre. Far beyond that stage he catches glimpses of a temple-theatre where the soul, having deserted the churches that offer nothing but empty words, may offer its prayers before the altar of life and the beauty in it.

Disillusionment has more than once stretched its bony fingers towards the poet's heart, and from year to year has gripped it more firmly until it is now its full owner, with a deed to the property. It estranged him from the world and made the end of his life bitter, a life so proud and promising once. Previous to that, however, Eevo Dolya and his wife <sup>21</sup> translated his most favourite book in recent years, *Also Sprach Zarathustra* by Nietzsche, and thus proved that the language of the "Isle of the Blessed," considered unworthy to be a cultural tool, is a language that can express everything and say it as beautifully as the most highly cultured languages. This translation will have great influence upon our poetic speech. That is just what the translators had in mind, what tempted them to translate this great book. The significance of this translation for the development of the poetic language of the "Isle" can be compared to that of the classical translations of the Bible in other lands. The translation is accompanied by a preface concerning the ideas and poetic contents of "the book for everybody and nobody," a preface he had previously delivered in the form of a public address. This lecture must have stirred many a priest's head, since there have been sermons preached upon it in some of the churches in the capital and its author has been anathematised. In his declining

years Dolya has lost that which made him great in his youth—his self-assurance and his will of steel.

Age, assisted by diseases, has bent his stalwart body, wrinkled his one-time proud and handsome face. There is no lock of hair upon his rugged skull any longer. His white beard is growing wild, his dark eyes have sunk back, and in their glance appears the restless flutter of something lost, reflections of interrupted recollections. Now he hardly recognises anyone or anything in particular, and he has often been seen wandering in the streets, not knowing where he was going, poetic in his lack of memory and in his helplessness. Talking to himself, he has often stopped passers-by to recite to them a fragment of his poem, having even forgotten who its author was.<sup>22</sup> He carried it in his pocket to his last days, "the first printed copy" of that poem; and even though unable to see, he would hold it in his hands, stroking it as a blind mother caressing her child. About a year before his death in 1934, a noble foreigner and admirer of his poetry, having accidentally learned of the fate of the helpless poet and his loneliness, took him under his wing and cared for him to his last days. They say Dolya regained sight at death, as if by a miracle, and having taken in hand his poem, the old "first printed copy," he began to read clearly:

He who would like sometime to open the holy Bible  
of days gone by, in which are found the evil fortunes  
of my native land——

and the book fell from his hands as a ripe fruit in autumn leaving a weakened branch. They gave him the book back only to discover that he himself, his head bent down, had quietly and imperceptibly left the branch of life. It seems as if death must have given him a momentary use of consciousness and sight which had been dimmed by life, before taking all of these away for ever. There were no surviving children or wife to accompany the dead poet to his grave. Only a few men of letters, rather incidentally, paid him such homage. Incidentally, because no one knew about his death and they learned about it only when the casket-wagon passed them on the street, carrying the object that held nobody's interest any more. And these few men, who owed a great deal to Dolya, raised a cry about him in the papers the following morning. That particular morning the papers were full of events and quarrels much more interesting for those who throughout life subsist on journalistic trash. "And the sun set quietly," as one critic puts it, "in order to rise when its

day has come and show its glory of which this day was unworthy." It seems as though this sun is already appearing on the horizon. On the anniversary of the poet's death a big crowd of people held a memorial service at his unevened grave, and the instigator of the event had the courage to speak words unheard until then and uncomprehended until now: "And of him the words of the prophet are true: when you have lost me, only then will you find me!" Just as many great things have happened accidentally, so the appearance of Eevo Dolya in life on the "Isle of the Blessed" is an accident.

It is true that if circumstances had not been favourable such an accident would not have arisen. . . . And those circumstances are the strenuous life and catastrophic development of our renaissance which many consider a thing of the past, but which is actually just now in its beginning. Only an epoch of rebirth provides the soil for accidents, in the sense of unexpected and misunderstood events, and only such an epoch can account for them. Greatness creates uncomprehended and dies forgotten. It is a lonely pilgrim in the night, and those who go to bed early, tired by the cares of the day, will not hear his lonely song, neither will they divine the direction of his footsteps. They do not need to hear or understand, for that matter: for his voice was meant for others. Once upon a time men drank directly from a spring. Now one needs canals, filters, fountains, jugs, bottles and glasses before water is brought to our mouth. We must wait until the means are devised that will bring to our emotions and our reason the crystal streams of the poetry of Dolya. We are waiting and our hope will not fail. He was the carrier of our consciousness and, for the present, its highest expression. The magnificent epic of his life ended with a quiet elegy veiled by physical weakness and darkening of the soul. The failure to realise his unhappiness was the happiness of this man marked by fate. Eevo Dolya remembered nothing of his life and work during the last days of his life. When I, one of his rare visitors, went to his small, quiet room one evening in the autumn, where he lived with the means provided by a noble foreigner (for one's own people seldom care) I found him absorbed in his poems, the perpetual "first printed copy." It had been a long time since he could recognise me, but seeing that I attended to him, he was rather friendly and quite talkative. He was reading his poem, but no longer remembered that he was its author. And did he understand its meaning? I took the book from his hands and began to read to him:

Even as the traveller, who, having climbed and reached a lofty peak, looks down at the panorama unfolded at his feet, and sees the crooked paths which panting he has followed—I, too, having reached the peak of life, look around with belated sorrow. . . .

and stopped because the poet caught my hand and there was a ray of understanding in his eyes. "My God! But this is beautiful! This is strangely beautiful! Even as the traveller. . . . You are saying that, you young fellow? You are a great poet."

"The great poet lies in the grave before us and this grave has not been evened off! He lost his memory and the same thing will happen to everyone who uses its plough in the barren fields of our times, where the soil is hard and seldom brings forth stalks for harvest. He belonged to us, yet others will possess him. For such is the world in which Eevo Dolya lived and died and is waiting for the day to be resurrected for a different life!"

This was the funeral oration at the grave of Eevo Dolya.

\* \* \*

Such is the account of his life which Pencho Slaveikov has left us. It is hard to believe that anyone else, writing his biography, could match his sincerity, his fiery zeal, his forceful, terse expression or his pathos

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<sup>1</sup> Definite but meagre biographical details about Pencho Slaveikov may be found in Teodorov-Balan, *Pencho Slaveikov*, Letopis Na Bulgarskata Akademiya Na Naukite, Sofia, 1915

<sup>2</sup> The first version of these translated sketches constituted part of a chapter in my dissertation, *German Influences in the Work of Pencho Slaveikov*, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Boston University Graduate School, 1940

<sup>3</sup> This sketch constitutes the preface to Slaveikov's *Epicheski Pesni*. It has also appeared in *Misul*, godina XIII, kniga 1

<sup>4</sup> A play on words. the name of Trevna is derived from the Bulgarian word "treva", meaning grass

<sup>5</sup> This is undoubtedly a reference to the Balkan Mountain in Bulgaria, the name "Balkan" being the Turkish word for mountain, sometimes used to designate any particular mountain

<sup>6</sup> Slaveikov's future biographer will need, of course, to verify these individual events in outside sources before including them in the "true legend"

<sup>7</sup> A reference to his professors in Leipzig and the German poets he came to know under their guidance

<sup>8</sup> Turgenev, Slaveikov's favourite Russian author, lived in Paris for years and shared the esteem of Tolstoy and Dostoyevski throughout Europe.

<sup>9</sup> In another connection Slaveikov is more explicit in talking about his teachers and supplies their actual names in parentheses as : Hellene-Goethe, Jew-Heine, Swabian-Volkelt Slaveikov ; *Bulgariska Literatura*, p 205

<sup>10</sup> A reference to the prevalent French and German Naturalism

<sup>11</sup> Bulgarian title of Turgenev's most touching short story.

<sup>12</sup> Here Slaveikov is in complete agreement with Lessing's theory of art, expressed in *Laokoon* and other writing, which makes only the beautiful the proper object of art and demands that in all cases the impression produced by the object should be positive

<sup>13</sup> A folk-song fairy, corresponding to the muse of poetry

<sup>14</sup> A backward rendition of Trevna whose middle vowel is a variable *e* or *a*.

<sup>15</sup> Dyado or dedo, meaning grandpa, is also a term of endearment.

<sup>16</sup> Slaveikov fell asleep on the ice while skating at night, which resulted in lifelong paralysis of his legs.

<sup>17</sup> A spurious quotation not found in any one of the four Gospels.

<sup>18</sup> This is an admission that thoughts and ideas rather than emotions are at times the dominant element in Slaveikov's poetry

<sup>19</sup> Literally to delouse them

<sup>20</sup> An outstanding modern critic of literature writes : " Every work of enduring literature is not so much a triumph of language as a victory over language ; a sudden injection of life-giving perceptions into a vocabulary that is, but for the energy of the creative artist, perpetually on the verge of exhaustion " J M Murry, *The Problem of Style*, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1922, p 98

<sup>21</sup> Because of the low opinion they both had of the Orthodox Church, and because there was no civil marriage in Bulgaria then, Slaveikov and Mara Belcheva were never married Almost invariably, however, he refers to her in his writings as his wife

<sup>22</sup> Strangely reminiscent of the moving description of Nietzsche's transition from sanity to insanity given by Stefan Zweig in *Der Kampf mit dem Dämon*.

# “ A TRANSYLVANIAN PILGRIM ” IN ENGLAND

LETTERS OF I. CODRU DRĂGUŞANU  
(1818-1884)

(Translated by E. D. TAPPE)

CODRU DRĂGUŞANU, writer of the letters here translated, is of no significance in the development of Roumanian literature or in Roumanian history. *The Transylvanian Pilgrim* never attracted attention even when first published,<sup>1</sup> and what is known of its author's life in his native land is of little interest. But he had a gift for descriptive letters, and like Kinglake in *Eothen*, he charms with his “joie-de-vivre.” This selection of letters dealing with England is typical of the whole book.

The salient facts gathered by Mr. Şerban Cioculescu in the biographical note prefixed to his edition <sup>2</sup> of *The Transylvanian Pilgrim* are as follows. Codru was born of peasant parents in the village of Drăguş in 1818. He left Transylvania in 1835 to avoid military service and lived abroad until 1848. His travels took him to Wallachia, Hungary, Austria, Italy, Germany, France, England, Switzerland and Russia. From 1848 until his death in 1884 he lived in Transylvania at Făgăraş and later at Sibiu, leading a life of local political and literary activity.

*The Transylvanian Pilgrim* was published anonymously at Sibiu in 1864. The first edition is extremely rare and has not been reprinted in its original form, the 19th-century orthography combining with the now outmoded neologisms of the author's extravagantly Latinist vocabulary to make it difficult for modern readers. In 1910, therefore, Professor N. Iorga wrote a preface for a new edition published at Vălenii-de-Munte and charged the printer, Mr. C. Onciu, with the task of turning the text into the literary style of 1910.

<sup>1</sup> There is one curious exception to this, a pamphlet in Spanish published in Madrid in 1868, dealing with “Peregrinulu Transelvanu.” It is a paper read to the Royal Spanish Academy on 5 March, 1868, by Pedro Felipe Monlau, and is entitled “Breves consideraciones acerca del idioma valaco o romance oriental comparado con el castellano y demas romances occidentales.” For this information I am indebted to Dr. G. Nandriş, whose help on many other occasions since he first taught me Roumanian I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging with gratitude.

<sup>2</sup> *Peregrinul Transilvan*. I. Codru Drăguşanu. Edited by Şerban Cioculescu. Published by “Cugetarea”: Georgescu Delafras, at Bucharest, 1942. It is on this text that I have based my translation.

Mr Cioculescu has chosen for his edition a way of compromise, replacing only those neologisms which have not passed into the current Roumanian vocabulary, and even then giving the original text in a footnote.

*PEREGRINUL TRANSILVAN*

by I. CODRU DRĂGUȘANU

LONDON, *September, 1840.*

In Europe there are only two great nations in the full meaning of the phrase; the French and the English. Writers compare the former to the ancient Greeks and the latter to the Romans, but more with regard to their chief national characteristic, for the inverse would still be true.

The French resemble the Greeks only in their fickle frivolity, in their convulsive tendency to revolution, in their tasteful luxury and in their attractively witty writings, while their glorious deeds and their influence on the general culture of the nations make them the true Romans of modern times. The English on the other hand possess in the highest degree steadfastness, the supreme virtue of Rome, but their speculative spirit and their self-interest and egotism are purely Greek qualities. In their mutual alliance these two peoples are destined to lead the world and to decide for ever the fate of nations. Such is my theory about the land and its inhabitants. Let us begin to show what we know from practical experience, so as to prove it as far as possible.

We had been told that England, being an island surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean, is much troubled by thick fogs, and that London, situated near the sea at the mouth of the Thames, suffers very much from this fog throughout the year, except in September, when even here the climate is tolerable. We profited by this propitious season to see this city, the hugest in Europe, in all its splendour.

On the 10th of September we left Paris in the royal diligence, and travelling all night, arrived next day at the French port “Havre de Grace,” situated at the mouth of the Seine. Here we soon caught a foretaste of England, for the French coast towns have quite taken to themselves the customs of their neighbours, who frequently visit them. Next day we went to the harbour, where for the first time I observed that marine phenomenon of which we have little idea, the ebb and flow of the tide. The Atlantic Ocean, in six hours, withdraws a remarkable distance from the coast, leaving dry land, and then for the next six hours returns on its tracks, filling the harbour up with its waves. In this way it normally rises and falls twenty feet, and even more at the equinoxes. In accordance with this movement navigators control their entry to and exit from the port; otherwise ships lie in the roads at a distance where it has no effect.



That day with the evening tide we embarked on the steamship *Great Britain*, which, raising its anchor, sailed into the Channel, the watery route to London. A good half-hour had passed when we were seized with the so-called "sea-sickness," a violent dizziness followed by nausea and fearful vomiting, and then by apathy and weariness, which lasted all night. This sickness spares no novice to the sea, and is caused by the strong smell of the salt water and the rocking of the ship working on those unaccustomed to these things. We had been told that in stormy weather it continues unceasingly with delicate persons.

I rose next morning rather harassed and went out on deck to get my bearings. There was nothing to be seen but the sky, clear as could be, and the quiet green water reflecting it. The helmsman spoke French. I approached him and asked him one or two questions. With much more affability than I expected from an Englishman he explained the virtue of the compass and the use of the card of the thirty-two winds, well-known only to expert sailors; then later he showed me afar off the English coast, white and chalky, which gave the country its old name of "Albion," to which the French have added the epithet "perfidious." The English, quite the opposite to the French, are serious and silent. They only enjoy talking when they are given the chance of praising the institutions of their native land. Thus this man told me that England is the mother of political freedom, and that, to preserve it, she owns more warships than France owns merchant ships. Then he went on to other—in my humble opinion—exaggerations.

Towards evening, as we were approaching the mouth of the Thames, we became more and more conscious of the nearness of London, where so many ships of every sort come and go that you can hardly make your way among them. On the Thames proper, we proceeded with great caution through a forest of masts and smoking funnels. At last we reached the customs. All the passengers' belongings were tossed like balls from the steamer into dinghies, and thence were carried into the halls of the custom-house, so that I thought that we should never see them again, but these men are so methodical and practical that not a needle which you entrust to them can be lost or mislaid.

We undid our trunks, they were inspected in a flash, and all of a sudden we saw them loaded on a "cab" (a sort of carriage with one horse). Then after rapidly covering quite a long distance, we got down in St. Martin's Lane at the "Fricour" Hotel, to which we were brought by an Italian guide, who had been lying in wait on the bank of the Thames to catch guests, and now took a tip of 2 crowns from us.

I was surprised that no one asked us for our passports. Our man told us that such an institution was unknown in England and was only a Continental luxury. The fact is, there is no more hateful obstacle to travelling than this document of protection, invented for profit, on which you waste unlimited time, because although every one is called upon to help you in case of need, you not only fail to obtain help, but

have to support numbers of hungry consuls and agents with the price of your visa.

Above all in London one is surprised by the large numbers of people and the quietness, and the eye is caught by the exemplary cleanness of the streets, the simplicity of the buildings, and the uniform dress of the men, which is usually grey or greyish-brown. The streets are all wide, straight, and, especially the chief ones, paved with blocks of wood, or just macadamised. The houses have not architectural distinction, as in Paris, nor are they so solid, for this city is a whole world, containing over two million inhabitants. Spreading from year to year, London has absorbed private estates over an area as great as Țara-Oltului in our country. Many parts bear the name of such and such a garden. Such pieces of land are let on leases of 25 or 30 years or other terms. The builders then calculate their expenditure with a view to this period only and build very lightly.

Leaving out of account the superficial glitter of France, there exists in London a luxurious comfort elsewhere unknown, in particular, all the staircases are carpeted right down to the street; as for apartments, that goes without saying. Naturally the great dampness renders this luxury indispensable. Then, in front of most houses, adjoining the street, are little flower gardens. The kitchens (also to overcome the dampness or to cope with the dankness) are in the basement of the houses, like the cellars.

No city possesses so many public places as London. They are almost all quadrangular; hence their name of “square.” They are all provided with monuments, though not all are imposing; in general, they have flower-gardens, grass and trees in the middle. These gardens, usually circular, are enclosed with iron railings and serve to give enjoyment to the surrounding residents. There are also in London gardens, nay I may say public fields, they are so large, where there is nothing but green meadow, tall thick-leaved trees and running waters, or lakes as clear as crystal. Such public places for the enjoyment of the people are Regent’s-, Green-, Hyde- and St. James’ Park, for these places bear the name of park. On Sundays and holidays the urban public walks there; otherwise only foreigners and the aristocracy.

Divine service at church occupies the holiday until 11 A.M. During this time no one is permitted to open the doors or windows of shops or even of private houses, and the whole city appears to be plunged in thoughts of devotion. If any one goes into a church, then until the end of the service he cannot leave, for the verger stands guard at the door and prevents him. This contrasts very much with our customs, and especially those of the Catholics. The latter have succeeded in turning church into a theatre, and the ungodly go in and out as they please, often followed by dogs.

Protestants in general and the English in particular are much more rigid in the externals of religion than the Orthodox. They believe less,

but they do more for the dignity of the ceremonial, although they have rejected all sorts of "hocus-pocus." In London people do not work on Sundays, as I saw them do in Paris even at State enterprises.

The day before yesterday I went to St. Martin's Church in our neighbourhood to see the ceremonies of the Anglican rite. They are extremely simple, rather like those of our Lutherans. However, I noticed one curious thing; that the pastor very often repeated a short litany from the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Long absolutions were read as among us Easterns. Then, besides hymns accompanied by the organ, there followed a sermon, very badly delivered and soporific—let alone the fact that I understood nothing, except from time to time the words "Lord God."

I think also that the English language lacks pleasant sounds such as we are used to in the Continental languages—or its novelty made it appear so to me. Meanwhile—God forgive me—I spent two hours and a half in counting bald heads, and found on the seats downstairs alone—for I was in the gallery—four hundred and fifty-five. Naturally the older men sit below and the younger ones in the gallery, but there too were plenty of bald heads.

The English are tall and handsome, but the man who can keep his hair is exceptional, owing to the fogs of their climate. I am surprised that the ladies have splendid heads of hair.

So much for to-day, but I shall continue soon

## LETTER XVIII

LONDON, *September, 1840.*

"Sie sassen und assen beim Theetisch  
Und sprachen von Liebe viel,  
Die Herren, die waren asthetisch,  
Die Damen von zartem Gefühl."

—A German Satirist.

Now that I have had eight days' more experience, my dear brother, of this universal metropolis of commerce, it is right that I should send off another consignment of tourist's wares, although my time is short and I should like to use it profitably. But here is something "pêle-mêle" as the French say, for how could anyone keep the thread in the fearful chaos of a city as big as a country?

For something to see, I took our cicerone, Giuseppe Sogno, to guide me to a place of rare curiosities. I went to the British Museum, where there is a treasure-house of mutilated statues from Egypt, Greece, Italy and both the Indies, including many rarities, all beautifully arranged according to countries and periods. In so far as they were not removed by force,—so I was told,—they were bought for their weight in gold by wealthy lords and dedicated to their national museum.

I thought the petrified skeletons of antediluvian animals extraordinary ; there are mastodons, mammoths and ichthyosauri, and in the courtyard the skeleton of a whale in its natural state, as long as a huge boat, its bones resembling old fir-beams. I also saw St Paul's Cathedral, a monument of architecture in the shape of St. Peter's church in the Vatican, only much smaller and with little decoration inside apart from the non-religious monuments.

We hurried away to the “ Zoological Gardens,” which has a menagerie of beasts from all over the world, the richest in all Europe. There are four elephants and six very fine giraffes. But I was amused to be shown a buffalo as a curious beast, and my guide was still more amused when I told him that my father had a yard full of such beasts and that I had been reared on buffalo's milk.

On our way back we entered the “ Royal Polytechnic Institution,” a place where experiments in physical chemistry and mechanics are made in the presence of the public, thunder and lightning actually being produced. A young man, elegantly dressed, entered an apparatus of proofed canvas, equipped with a long breathing tube, jumped into a tank ten feet deep, full of water, and there for ten minutes picked up coins thrown by the spectators ; then he came out with them in a pot, and amid applause his canvas suit was undone, and his toilette appeared unharmed.

Next day we visited another place, called “ Box Hall,” where an English variety of gladiators were fighting with fists, face to face, and doing their best to hit one another on the nose and in the wind. I saw one bleeding from the nose and mouth like a beast, and two more unconscious on the ground, then I was nauseated with such a spectacle and left the place. The English like such barbarous contests and fight with their fists, in fact they lay wagers on the fighters they favour.

From here Sogno took me to the “ Centrifugal Railway,” a new mechanical wonder. A railway arranged on a gentle slope from one side of the hall makes a circular loop in the centre, and equally gently rises on the far side to the level. The passenger is put in a carriage which is open in the middle, and finds himself whirled round head down without falling, for the speed removes all danger.

Finally I visited the tunnel under the Thames, one of the wonders of the world, surpassing those most renowned in antiquity. After the city of London had spread far towards the mouth of the Thames, there was no stable communication between the two banks of the river. It being impossible to build a bridge without hindering the entry of ships into the port of London (the so-called “ London Docks ”), a company decided to build a road under the water, which was done by a Frenchman, Brunel. There is an entrance with two arches.

One English custom I thought queer, though later I found it was natural. On our excursions when we grew hot, Signor Sogno invited me into a café to cool down. He gave an order, and immediately we were served with hot tea, though I was expecting after our own custom cold

lemonade, orangeade or sherbet. The English are practical homœopathists, they use one nail to drive out another. We are still beginners.

Last night I went to the "Covent Garden" theatre, a most splendid hall, and listened to the opera in English; but I did not like the singing at all, because my ears were irritated by such strings of monosyllables. It is said that the shortness of English words is suited to naval commands and indeed the English wonder how other nations can carry out manœuvres without the conciseness which only their own language enjoys. I suppose so, but they will never make it suitable for singing; harmony demands vowels that are sonorous and clear, not swallowed and sneezed as in their language.

Certainly Great Britain is the most civilised state in the world. I particularly noticed that in London you must look for soldiers with a torch in broad daylight; they are not to be seen at all. Either there is a very small army, or the common soldier is allowed to dress in civilian clothes when he is off duty. But there are on the streets a fair number of so-called "constables," a kind of policemen armed only with short sticks, which are loaded with lead and decorated with the arms of the kingdom at the tip. Everyone, whoever he may be, has to obey them, as otherwise he gets the opportunity of testing in his own person the specific weight of lead.

The centre of London, called the "City," consists principally of little shops, as small as nutshells, whose proprietors are nevertheless millionaires. They keep here only samples of their wares, and each possesses extensive factories, so that all the week, according to your wish, they can load you ten or twenty ships in any port you desire. These merchants with their money hold the English government by the bridle, and send the political barometer throughout the world up and down as suits their own interest.

In English town society you cannot without scandal appear in anything but a black suit with a white tie. At Court and the houses of the leading nobility tight breeches, silk stockings and shoes are necessary. Otherwise footwear is not very choice, for the English, far from excelling in this respect, actually wear iron heel-tips, like peasants in our country.

There are many other things to see in this huge city, but I have already described many, it remains (to justify my "motto") to tell you something about English cooking. It is simple, like everything English, but abundant. Their dishes, that is to say their cooking, consist almost entirely of roasts, or I might say unroasted meat, which has been given a mere glimpse of a coal fire. Their meat is marvellous, extremely tender (they do not use horned beasts for work, and their game is kept in parks, where it grows fat), but, as I say, their roasts drip with warm blood. Let him that likes, eat it; if not, he is called a Continental weakling. Besides a roast, they generally serve "ploom-pudding," a kind of mămăligă of flour, fine-ground, solid, mixed with plums (from which it gets its name) or, for delicate palates, with sweet raisins; then boiled

potatoes served " in their jackets," i.e. whole and unpeeled ; then bread, fresh butter, and nothing more. Soups, sauces, salads and a thousand other delicacies are despised, and the Englishman avoids sour cabbage and other rancid food like the devil

The national drink is beer, of two kinds, " porter " and " ale ", both are excellent, but porter is incomparable, only too strong, and usually one drinks ale. Wines are imported from abroad ; only the best types, for imported wine is subject to customs duty at a flat rate, so that poor ones are imported at a loss (and the Englishman does not doctor wines). In general, the wines drunk are Spanish and Portuguese, such as port, madeira, sherry, Malaga.

Although cooking is simple, meals in England consist of many courses, perhaps more so than anywhere else in Europe. The English are the heartiest eaters in the world. In the morning when they rise they drink tea or coffee ; at 10 a.m. they eat a " beefsteak " and drink beer ; they lunch properly at 2, they take tea again at 5 p.m., and do not fail to sup in style at 9 in the evening, after which there often follows punch.

This sort of diet has spread also to places on the continent where the English gather in crowds as guests, for they travel a great deal, finding their interests everywhere. The English live better abroad at half the cost than in their own country where everything is worth its weight in gold.

One thing more. The Frenchman is nicknamed " Monsieur," which is why the Saxons in our country still call soldiers " muoser," after the Walloons who spoke French. The Englishman is nicknamed " John Bull," as the German is " Deutscher Michel " and the Russian " Nash Brat."

Vale !

The following is an extract from letter XIX, dated from Paris, January, 1841.

Let me take up the thread where I left off, in England, so that I can write you further reminiscences of conditions in England, so different from those in our country that they are deeply imprinted on my memory.

As we had gone by water, we returned from London to Dover by land, so as to see something of England outside the city. We took post horses, a really aristocratic team ; four horses of sixteen hands, bays, with " Englished " tails and trappings plated with silver, and two postillions in jackets of lobster red with deerskin breeches, shining turn-down boots and white hats. On the 28th of September, very early, we left London, and set out for Dover on a road smooth as leather and provided with tall cast-iron standards carrying gas-lamps for a distance of five hundred fathoms from the city.

On both sides there extend for a long way from the city beautiful villas, gardens with flowers, parks and stately castles of the nobility, not

to mention that the modest fields of the "Farmers" are everywhere enclosed if not with hawthorn hedges (at that time gracefully decorated with red berries), at any rate with stakes. But nowhere save in England is there to be seen such a carpet of green grass, short and soft as velvet.

To Dover which lies at the end of a promontory, beneath some cliffs crowned with a fortress, the Cerberus of the English homeland, is a distance of ten geographic miles. We passed through four towns, each of ten thousand inhabitants, where we changed horses, and though we went at what I should call a gentle pace, we arrived early enough to cross the water on the same day. Dover is at the narrowest point of the Channel and gives this stretch its name—in English "Straits of Dover"; though the French call it after their coast town, "Pas de Calais." On a light steamer we crossed the Channel in three hours and landed at Boulogne-sûr-Mer.

The following extract concludes Letter XXXII, dated from Thun in Switzerland, August 1843.

[The author is describing the return from an excursion to Brienz. He sits down under a great elm with a Miss Lucia Colbert, an Englishwoman, to watch the sunset.] Gradually the sun was hidden, the spectacle slowly disappeared. The music of the cow-bells could just be heard in the distance, and Miss Lucia began to sing her favourite romance in the sweetest voice in the world.

I could not remain seated, I sank on my knees at her skirts, and the English language, uttered by so melodious and delicate an organ, seemed to me as sweet as it had previously seemed harsh. I let her sing, and then in the last verse:

Ah! look forth, look forth, my fairest,  
My bosom pants for thee,  
Look forth, look forth, my dearest,  
Thy looks are life to me!

I joined my voice with Miss Lucia's in an access of fire and enthusiasm; then I stood up and, arm in arm, we entered the town.

To-morrow we return to Paris, then we go for sea-bathing, and in November we shall be in London to see the installation of the Lord Mayor.

Thus I took my leave of Switzerland, and I console myself with the thought that I shall meet Miss Lucia in her own country, and in thinking of her I shall certainly not forget the romance which fully reconciled me to the English language.

Vale!

LETTER XXXIII

LONDON, *November 1843.*

Dreifach ist der Schritt der Zeit ;  
Zögernd kommt die Zukunft hergezogen,  
Pfeilschnell ist das Jetzt entflohen,  
Ewig still steht die Vergangenheit.

—SCHILLER.

I last communicated with you, my friend, from Switzerland, and I ought to take you by easy stages to London, for it would be too much of a leap to get there in one go ; nevertheless, I shall take rather long strides so as to arrive quickly.

The method of the English—for, being in their country, I ought to keep my attention on them—is quite the contrary ; I mean, of English tourists. They take you in the diligence with them, introduce you to every passenger, describing his person in detail and listing his clothes ; they do not omit to note any of the driver's oaths to describe how many greys, bays, sorrels or whites are harnessed at each successive stage, no pot-hole or puddle, no up or down in the road escapes being entered in their journal—and, naturally, in the book of travels with which they endow their land and people. Railways and highroads, the banks of navigable waters with steam-vessels are described in minute detail ; and the post-houses, hotels, the character of each eating-house keeper, the food, the drinks, right down to the very bugs which inconvenience them in this place and that, find their appropriate place in the above-mentioned works, for these are the guides and reference-books of their ever-travelling fellow-countrymen.

Permit me, my friend, to dispense with this wearisome procedure ; first, because, in some cases, I have already described the places to you when I passed that way before, and secondly, because our Roumanian travellers are not so exacting as the English ; in so-called cultured or civilised countries they overlook many discomforts because they are not accustomed at home to English comfort. The English need such detailed works because they travel much more than any other nation. They normally traverse the world to eat well, to drink well, to live in ease and comfort, or to escape the “ spleen,” whereas others only travel on unavoidable business or to increase their knowledge—like me, for example.

There are, however, exceptions to the general rule, and in particular, among the nobility of Roumania. [Here follows an anecdote about a Roumanian nobleman nicknamed “ the Madman.”]

In England there are madmen too, but I do not think that any ever surpassed the Hungarian Prince Esterhazy, who was once Austrian Ambassador in London. At a Court Ball, the story goes, he was dancing with the Queen of England ; he had boots ornamented with diamonds of great price, which were only glued on. In the course of the waltz they came unstuck and made a mess on the floor of the ball-room without



causing the gentleman any worry. In this way the Prince wished to show that he was crawling with wealth. We know that later his property was confiscated and he only rehabilitated himself by means of a State lottery. . . .

On the 11th of October we embarked on the steamer *Ariadne* and set out for London. We landed at the port of Southampton and after 48 hours left by train. We arrived here and put up at Mivart's Hotel, Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, one of the most aristocratic hotels in the city.

We had had with us since Paris Prince B's sister, Mme Davidova, who possessed a very fine album, but a blockhead of a maid packed it so badly, next to her mistress's pomades, that it was fearfully damaged. This misfortune so upset Mme Davidova that she appeared inconsolable. I have never been a calligraphist. For all that, at the request of the Prince, who wished to give his sister pleasure, I decided to write out the book afresh, and, in the two months which we spent sea-bathing, I had set to work and learned to make the Cyrillic cursives and "bastards" with rare perfection, imitating not only the orthography but also the different hands in the original; a giant undertaking for me, I must say, by the time I had finished it.

In London my first care was to look for a binder, who bound the book exactly like the original. Next day was Mme Davidova's name-day; I gave her a surprise with the duplicate of the album and caused her immense gratification. However, she gave me a surprise too, consisting of thirty pounds sterling in a very elegant purse sewn with her own hand. Apart from the purse it was not an extravagance for the owner of 70,000 serfs, but I won great esteem and good will from all the Russians in London. They are numerous and of some standing, for a crowd of them came here with the Grand Duke Mihail Pavlovich, brother of the Tsar who actually put up at the hotel where I was staying. At the same time the Crown Prince of the Netherlands, Alexander Wilhelm, also settled here, so I could not have wanted better society.

On this occasion all the great people of England called and wrote their names with their own hand in the registers opened for this purpose, on one side for the Grand Duke Mihail, on the other for the Dutch royalty. I had never seen such a gala procession. For three days on end I was able to review horses, carriages, brilliant coats of arms and liveries; for the square was always full of lords, dignitaries and notables of the court.

On the whole, here as on the Continent, September is the most beautiful month and the weather the pleasantest. This year, exceptionally, not only the whole of October, but also part of November was tolerable. To tell the truth, there was mist morning and evening, but towards afternoon the atmosphere was as bright as you could wish.

On the 9th of November a singularly fine ceremony took place in the so-called "City," the centre of London, the seat of its world-wide

commerce. By ancient custom this, St. Michael's Day, is the day for the installation of the Lord Mayor, who is chosen by the representatives of the City, consisting of 268 municipal councillors, and installed with regal pomp. Those eligible for the office of Lord Mayor are the merchants and craftsmen who have warehouses in the “ City ” (the old town), but each of these candidates must be at least a millionaire, for not even a king would be expected to dispense as much hospitality as this ruler of London.

The metropolis gives him as residence for his year of office the magnificently decorated palace called “ Mansion House,” and puts at his disposal gold plate to the value of 60,000 pounds sterling, for which the Lord Mayor signs publicly and with great ceremony a receipt for a mere £4,000. They give him an annual salary of £8,000, but to keep up appearances he needs to add at least as much again from his own pocket, especially if he is given the chance to entertain the Queen during his term of office. Such an honour brings in its train the title of Lord for life ; otherwise on the 9th of November in the following year he again becomes “ Mr. N.” as he was before his election

The inaugural procession starts from the Town Hall, called “ Guild-hall,” and passes through many streets, decked with banners, flags and flowers, which cover almost all the houses, amid thousands of people hurrying about in an un-English manner. The Lord Mayor wears royal purple and a wig, as in the Middle Ages , in front of him are borne the sword and sceptre as though he were a king, and he is surrounded by sheriffs, aldermen and all the notables, and by guilds. A part of the procession takes place in yachts on the Thames, where all the flags in the world flutter from sailing-ships, gondolas and steamers. To describe all this pomp is impossible ; for you cannot even see this ceremony without rhapsodising, in this monster metropolis of two million souls, all packed together and gaping at such goings on.

The weather allowed us to see this too in favourable conditions ; then the next day the state of the atmosphere underwent a complete change. A thick fog enwrapped the whole city and there was continuous night for a week on end. In the streets you could not see your finger at midday, and even the gas would not burn owing to the heavy moisture. We sat continually at table with the lights on and with a fire in the hearth, telling stories and entertaining ourselves with music. When such a fog settles, it is dangerous to walk in the streets, for not only may you be run down by carriages, but also you may be stripped by the local “ practitioners ” without any one being able to help you.

All the charm of London disappeared with this fog, and so we made a trip to the country, where even in a mist there is light, the darkness in the city being due to the thick smoke of the fossil coal which they burn for heating. On the 19th of November we set out by the Great Western Railway for Abbey,<sup>1</sup> a town near which is situated the castle of the Earl

<sup>1</sup> I suppose the town to be Sherborne, the estate to be Sherborne Park and the Earl to be Edward, 2nd Earl Digby (1773-1856)

of Sherburn, whom we visited. Prince B. has a family connection with this nobleman, as his father's first wife was the Earl's sister. We were therefore given an unusually distinguished reception.

The Earl's castle is one of the most stately in England and contains thirty-two state apartments, each of four rooms, all differently furnished, painted and papered in as many shades of colour and very sumptuously. And the English have their own taste. Everything of theirs is simple and solid, and yet you cannot sufficiently admire its opulence and symmetry.

On the ground floor of the palace are the ordinary dining-rooms, kitchens and store-rooms of all descriptions. On the first floor are the state apartments and the rooms of the members of the family and their guests, and above on the second floor, the rooms of the servants and "domestics." All these are comfortably furnished, there being carpets everywhere on the floors, only the servants' rooms are less luxurious; for example, all their curtains are of linen, while their masters' are of heavy satin with gold tassels.

I was astounded when I learnt the number and gradations of the servants of this aristocratic family, which consists of only seven members. There are three grades of domestics, very scrupulously distinguished in rank and classification as follows. The first class comprises the majordomo or steward of the estate, the bookkeepers, a chief housekeeper, secretaries, tutors, instructors, the chaplain, the doctor, and lady companions. The second class includes the valets and chambermaids, the chef, the head coachmen, the veterinary surgeon, the huntsmen, the waiters and the under-housekeeper. The third class includes the cook's assistants, the washerwomen, the "skivvies," the lackeys, the under-coachmen, the stable servants and estate labourers. In all over 200. Then there are also gardeners, day-labourers and farm hands, who do not receive direct board and lodging at the hall, but live on fixed wages.

In the stables the Earl keeps about 100 horses, with roughly one servant to look after every two horses. I was told that at this house every year the consumption of coal alone amounts in value to £7,000 sterling. It is clear therefore that only a crowned head of the first rank could maintain such a court continuously; but in England there are many noblemen as wealthy as that.

Adjoining the castle is a wonderful park, in three portions, covering several English square miles. Nearest to the palace is the part which is picturesquely dotted with bushy trees, a lawn green as velvet, beds of flowers and running water, forming islands, peninsulas, bays, narrows and other features, which give an extremely fine effect. Everywhere there are little paths strewn with golden-yellow sand. Similarly the place shaded with trees all round is weeded and sprinkled with yellow sand.

In the second portion there are thick shrubberies and alleys with singing birds and hares and, further on, herds of stags and deer, very

tame, which in winter are fed on hay and sheltered in picturesque byres in the shape of grottoes with wild mosses.

In honour of our Prince, the Earl's sons, all “ honourables,” arranged a splendid fox-hunt to which they invited many neighbours of rank. We were about 80 persons, mounted (our party, naturally, on horses of the Earl's) and clad in hunting costume ; red coats, green caps and white breeches with top boots (our party was again supplied locally) And so we set off after the fox It is worth noting that in England there have for a long time been no wild foxes, the species having been exterminated by frequent hunting , so, for amusement, foxes are brought from France, and only occasionally is one let go for hunting (or, as the English call it, “ the noble amusement ”).

The fox was pursued by 200 hounds and 80 riders for several hours, until the crafty beast was completely worn down and stretched out at length for ever In England the fox is preserved as much (though not from the same motive) as the pigeon in Russia and the swallow in our country. Anyone who dared to shoot a fox would be considered a barbarian, since it is destined to satisfy the aristocratic passion for sport, and each one costs the lives of several men as well as the legs of several horses worth £100 each.

After six days of entertainment we returned from Sherburn House to London, alighting from the train at the town of Eton Above it on a height stands the residence of the Kings of England, called “ Windsor Castle,” and so we climbed up to visit this memorable place Luck would have it that precisely at the entrance-gate we should meet Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort Albert and their exalted guest, the Duc de Nemours, a French prince of the blood, coming out for a ride. The Princes were on horseback and the Queen with the Duchess in an open carriage. Let alone that the sight of great personages has its own value, their going out suited us well, inasmuch as we were taken with great courtesy to view all the apartments, which we would not have been able to do if they had been at home at that moment.

The state apartments are much simpler than we had expected. There is a salon of extraordinary length, rather like the gallery at Versailles which I described to you, but much less stately At the end is the throne on a platform beneath a canopy, with only two rows of chairs along each side, each with the English arms painted on the back , the chairs are not gilded, only stained like natural oak. I noticed a remarkable picture which represented the Congress of 1815 , also the portraits of all the sovereigns of that time The Chapel is remarkable too, but nothing surpasses the great park adjoining the castle ; it is the largest in the world and covers 3,800 acres. In this park flows Virginia Water ; it is full of herds of deer, of hares and of beavers, extremely tame.

From Windsor to London there is an electric telegraph, recently invented Lines of copper wire pass through poles with holes insulated by glass, placed alongside the railway. The electric telegraph and steam

locomotion are the wonders of our century, and the English, though they did not invent them, have been the first to apply them. The English have also attempted (but so far without lasting success) pneumatic locomotion, that is, propulsion through the atmosphere in cylinders exhausted of air. It is the English who are destined to popularise every physical wonder, because they have the resources to make sustained attempts.

So you see, my dear brother, I am leaving England, perhaps for ever, and I have had no opportunity of seeing its Parliament because at this season it is not assembled. Here, quite the opposite to other countries, the leaders of society spend summer in the capital and winter at their country estates, for the climate makes this imperative; that is why the noblemen's castles are well cared for.

But now for something about Parliament. In England there are not so many political parties as in France, although there exist all the shades of opinion that are usual in any political assembly. Here two parties are in power alternately, namely "Tories" and "Whigs," very ancient denominations. The former is aristocratic, and means "hard crust"; the latter is democratic, and signifies "gravy" or "juice." They are, as you see, names given to one another in mockery, but with a real and palpable meaning, for in every mixture there is a tendency now for the solid ingredients and now for the liquid to preponderate according to circumstances; so it is in Parliament. Now could the aristocracy be more aptly likened to anything than a hard crust or bark? And the word "soup" or "juice" corresponds wonderfully well with those who live on it.

I would plunge deeper into politics (for there is no censorship here at all, anyone may caricature the Queen herself, who, nevertheless, is far more respected than other rulers who are jealous of their divine grace) but even now I have been for once rather long. Expect some news of me from Paris next. Good-bye!

## LETTERS OF PONIATOWSKI ON THE PRUTH CAMPAIGN, 1711

GENERAL Stanisław Poniatowski, father of the last Polish king, was one of the most important figures in the Swedish camp during Charles XII's stay in Turkey (1709-1714). He had accompanied the Swedish king during his second Russian campaign, and after the defeat of Poltava took refuge with Charles in Bender, on Turkish territory. He was sent to Constantinople, where he acted as the diplomatic emissary of Charles XII and King Stanisław Leszczyński. Poniatowski was in constant touch with the Swedish Chancellory in Bender, and most of his letters are preserved in the Swedish Public Record Office in Stockholm (Riksarkivet): Tutcica, General majoren Stanislaus Poniatowski's bref till Kongl. Maj:t och Hofskansleren v. Müllern 1710-1714. They are written in French, except those to Charles XII which are in German. Out of these one hundred and thirty-five letters only one, so far as I know, has been published in its original form—that dated 10/20 July 1711, by A. Quennerstedt, Vid. Prut. In Karolinska Forbun. Arsbok (1916).

Professor A. Stille has used this collection of Poniatowski's letters in his studies of Charles XII's sojourn in Turkey (Samuel E. Bring, *Charles XII*, Stockholm, 1918). The other collection, of sixteen Poniatowski letters in Stockholm's Archives, are the letters to Thomas Funck, the Swedish envoy in Constantinople: Riksarkivet, Turcia, Fran General Poniatowski till e.o. Envoyéen Th. Funk; they are also in French and written between 4 May, 1711, and 29 October, 1711.

The letters of the General are important as a source of material for the time of Charles XII's sojourn in Turkey. In them we can find many interesting accounts of the aims and plans of Charles during his stay in Turkey concerning Eastern European problems. The Swedish king desired to build up a coalition of Sweden-Poland-Turkey-Crimea-Ukraine against Russia, and Poniatowski was one of the agents who acted in all possible ways to bring the Turks into the "Swedish camp." Many years after his reconciliation with Augustus II and his return to Poland, he wrote his "Memoirs," which are unfinished and include only the beginning of his stay in Turkey. They are preserved in Cracow, Bibl. Czartoryskich, Poniatowski N 937, and were published by S. Goriainow, under the title "Le journal d'un frère d'armes de Charles XII" (*Revue*

*contemporaine*, St. Psbg. 1910, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5). A Swedish translation was published by E. Carlson : Stanislaus Poniatowski's berättelse (*Historisk Tidskrift*, 1890). The letters of Poniatowski give us supplementary material to these "Memoirs." They are also useful as material for the criticism of all historical works, diplomatic correspondence of the time of Charles XII's sojourn in Turkey, e.g. the works of Voltaire and Nordberg, the despatches of ambassadors and envoys from Constantinople, and also the "Remarques" (on the famous book on Charles XII by Voltaire), the author of which is Poniatowski himself, though it was written many years after his return from Turkey. But the letters of Poniatowski are very important for the history of the Pruth campaign in the summer of 1711—the famous campaign in which the Turks surrounded Peter the Great and his whole army, and the Tsar escaped captivity or death only through the foolishness of the Turkish Grand Vizier and his councillors. The General had accompanied the Turkish army during this period and was present in the Turkish camp when the Tsar and his army were surrounded and the Russians asked for peace, and when the agreement was made between the Turks and the Russians. Therefore his letters concerning these affairs and later events are of particular interest. The writer hopes in the near future to publish all the letters of General Poniatowski ; here there are included only seven of those which cover the period from the surrounding of the Russian forces on the Pruth to the beginning of October, when Charles XII's position was very critical. For the better understanding of these documents it will be well to outline the life of Poniatowski and the circumstances in which they were written

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Born in 1676, he took service with the great Lithuanian family, the Sapiehas, adversaries of Augustus II, and through these circumstances became a supporter of the Swedish king, Charles XII. Poniatowski was sent by Sapieha with other Polish nobles to Charles in the autumn of 1701, when the Swedes took possession of Courland, and from this time on he was connected with the Swedish king, serving him loyally until that monarch's death. After the battle of Poltava he was promoted General. From the first days of Charles's taking refuge on Turkish territory, Poniatowski acted as a diplomat in his service and that of the Polish king, Stanisław Leszczyński. Charles XII sent him to Constantinople as his diplomatic emissary ; but as a subject of Leszczyński he could not represent Sweden, so the official envoy was Martin Neugebauer.

Poniatowski made his first visit to Constantinople at the end of September, 1709. This visit was only, as he himself expressed it, "to gratify my curiosity in seeing such a place as Constantinople." The real aim was to secure a Turkish "escort" of 40,000 men, who would accompany Charles to Poland and protect him against Russian attack. At this time the Swedish king did not know of the capitulation of the Swedish cavalry—14,000 men—at Perevolotchna; and hoped that Lewenhaupt would bring these forces through the Crimea into Turkish territory, so that with these Swedish forces, escorted by 40,000 Turks, he could begin his march into Poland and resume the war against the Tsar. In spite of Poniatowski's short stay of only three weeks in the Turkish capital and of his unofficial capacity he was able to see the Grand Vizier and many other high officials.

Poniatowski was a clever and skilful man. During his youth he had taken part in wars against the Turks—in Transylvania—and he had some knowledge of how to deal with the Turks. He was not only clever but also sly, and understood perfectly the manner in which he could best please the Turks. His fine appearance and skilfulness contributed much to his success; he was the sort of man who knew "the art of making friends." In spite of being a *glaour* (Christian), not speaking Turkish, during his three weeks' stay in Constantinople he made many important acquaintances, who afterwards rendered good service to Swedish and Polish affairs. Poniatowski told Turkish statesmen of the aims of the Swedish king and of Stanisław Leszczyński as well as about Polish affairs, and he touched slightly on the approaching Russian danger to the Turkish Empire. The Sublime Porte, in conformity with traditional Turkish hospitality and protection given to refugees, and with some idea of bringing political pressure to bear on Russia, declared itself ready to give protection and an escort to Charles. The General was able to report the great sympathy of the Turkish court for the Swedish king, and it is claimed that the Turkish Sultan solemnly promised to give a safe escort to Charles to take him to his estates.

A few weeks after the Swedish king had taken refuge in Bender, the political situation in Eastern Europe changed. Poland fell into the hands of the Russians and the partisans of Augustus II. Charles received the tidings of the loss of his army at Perevolotchna, and it was clear that the way across Poland was impassable for him. In these circumstances he took another decision—to bring the Turks into a war against Russia and to destroy the Tsar's might by Turkish



arms. At that time there was no power in Europe able to defeat the Russians except the Turkish Empire, and in this way he hoped to prevent the destruction of Swedish supremacy in the north and check the Russian advance westwards. There was no person more appropriate than Poniatowski to act as a diplomat on his behalf, and accordingly he was sent to Constantinople in February 1710. As envoy, he had to accomplish the following tasks :—(i) to work for the deposition of the Grand Vizier Tchorlulu Ali Pasha, who was considered friendly to the Russians ; (ii) to prepare the basis of a Turkish-Swedish alliance (directed against Russia) ; (iii) to bring Turkey into a war against Russia , (iv) to prevent the recognition of Augustus II as king of Poland by the Sublime Porte ; (v) to secure the “ escort ” for the Swedish king in conformity with the former promises of Sultan Ahemet III ; (vi) to arrange a money loan from the Sublime Porte.

Poniatowski was successful in all these matters, except that of an alliance between Sweden and Turkey. Russian activity on Turkish frontiers, trespasses committed by the Russians against the recently concluded peace treaty, and the interference of the Tsar in Polish affairs, contributed to making the Sublime Porte more and more hostile to Russia, and in Constantinople the “ War Party ” gained the upper hand over Tchorlulu Ali Pasha’s pacifist policy. Thanks to the skilful intrigues of Poniatowski, supported by the Swedish king’s steadfastness, the Grand Vizier Tchorlulu Ali Pasha was deposed and the new Grand Vizier Kōprülüzade Numan Pasha declared himself desirous of supporting Charles. He was, however, too busily engaged in settling the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire, and did not declare war on Russia at once. Numan Pasha, through his correctness and honesty in state affairs, was not the most suitable man to be a Prime Minister, and after sixty-three days the government was dismissed. It is not likely that Poniatowski had contributed anything to this dismissal ; on the contrary, the Pole and Numan Pasha were on very friendly terms, and the latter showed much interest in the Swedish and Polish affairs. When the new Grand Vizier, Baltadjy Mehmed Pasha, took the reins of government, the Sublime Porte declared war on Russia. Charles XII attained what he desired and undoubtedly Poniatowski’s activities contributed to obtain such a result.

The General took part in the campaign in the Turkish camp, as the representative of Charles. He was on very good relations with Baltadjy Mehmed Pasha and other Turkish high officials. He reported to the Swedish king and the Swedish Chancellor, von

Mullern, as well as the Swedish envoy in Constantinople, Thomas Funck, on the events in the Turkish camp and the movements of the Turkish army. He was very optimistic of the results of the campaign, and the Turkish help for Charles XII and Stanisław Leszczyński. But the Swedish King's refusal to visit the Turkish camp brought cordial relations between the Turks and the Swedes to an end, although officially nothing changed. Poniatowski attempted in vain to make clear to the Grand Vizier the plan of Charles, which consisted of the invasion of the Ukraine and the capture of Kiev by the Turkish army. Baltadjy Mehmed Pasha preferred to march towards the Russian army which was following the river Pruth in the direction of the Danube. Tsar Peter with the complete Russian army, except for General Rönne's cavalry, 12,000 men, was surprised by the Turks, surrounded, and pressed into a very narrow space on the river, 20 July, 1711. Although the Russians repelled the disorderly attacks of the Janissaries, the situation of the Tsar's army was desperate. The Turkish predominance in troops, cannon, equipment, food and forage allowed no escape for the Tsar and his army. Death or captivity awaited the "Maker of the new Russia" and his force of 36,000 men. When on the morning of 21 July, the Turkish cannon began to bombard their camp, the Russians begged for peace, and after some hesitation Baltadjy Mehmed Pasha—in spite of the Khan of the Crimea and Poniatowski—agreed to begin negotiations.

Then, in haste, the General wrote a letter to Charles reporting to him on the new and fully unexpected situation. Poniatowski was in such a hurry, and so worried, that he wrote on small sheets of paper and dated it 1710 instead of 1711 (see letter 1). This message was brought to Bender by Captain Busquet. Charles made haste to go to the Turkish camp, and in vain attempted to incite Baltadjy Mehmed Pasha to resume the campaign against the Russians; but the Turks had concluded peace with the Tsar and his army. When Poniatowski saw that he was impotent to prevent the reconciliation, he considered that the only way to save Swedish and Polish interests was to appeal to the Sultan himself, and to bring to his knowledge what had happened on the river Pruth. He could not write directly to the Turkish Sultan; but the Swedish Minister in Constantinople could, through his secret agents, give a true picture of events and the unfair machinations of the Grand Vizier and other high Turkish officials. So he wrote a long letter to Funck on 27 July, 1711. This letter is very important for the events on the river.

Poniatowski used all his ability to prevent the conclusion of peace, but he could do nothing. In this matter Shafiroff, Peter's plenipotentiary at the peace negotiations and a Jew by origin, gained the upper hand over the General, who, after quarrelling with the Turks, was considered a "war-monger" and therefore compelled to leave the Turkish camp and return to Bender. Before leaving he wrote on 23 July (2 August) to von Müllern, the Swedish Chancellor in Bender, giving a full account of the events after the conclusion of the peace treaty.

Charles did not lose heart even after the misfortunes on the Pruth, as he was convinced that Sultan Ahmed III did not know the true situation but had been deceived by his ministers. He directed Poniatowski to write to Funck, the Swedish envoy in Constantinople, a full report of the situation and his own future aims. Funck was ordered to complain to the Sublime Porte about the Grand Vizier. This letter is dated 29 August, 1711.

Meanwhile Baltadjy Mehmed Pasha used strong pressure on the Swedish king to urge him to leave Bender and return through Poland to Sweden. It was evident that the Russians, or the Poles who were enemies of the Swedes, would be able to capture Charles without difficulty, and the latter therefore emphatically refused to leave Bender. The Turkish Grand Vizier began to threaten force, and sent him three very impolite letters. When the situation became dangerous, Charles bade Poniatowski write another letter to Funck, telling him to bring everything to the knowledge of the Sultan himself. Poniatowski's letter, dated 4 October, 1711, is a very interesting report on the situation and on the relations between Charles and Baltadjy Mehmed Pasha. This last letter contributed much to the fall of Baltadjy. Sultan Ahmed III and the principal officials in the Seraglio, with Silahdar Ali Pasha at their head, began to see the true position and unravel the Russian dealings on the river Pruth. The delay in handing over the fortresses, which the Russians were obliged to give to the Turks; the reports of Devletgery Khan of the Crimea to the Sublime Porte on the unfair actions of the Grand Vizier and his officials during the conclusion of the peace treaty; and last but not least, the letters of Poniatowski, written by the order of Charles XII, contributed to bring about the fall of the Grand Vizier Baltadjy Mehmed Pasha. Published in their original form, they give us in detail an interesting account of these events of which Poniatowski was himself a witness.

ARDES NIMET KURAT.

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No. 1.

FROM PONIATOWSKI TO CHARLES XII, 11 JULY, 1711.

"Sire,

Je me jete aux pieds de Vostre Majesté avec mes plus profonds submissions en lui ennonçant que nous avons entouré le Czar avec toute son armé, hormis le General Rhin, qu'il est commendé avec dix milles Cavalerie, mais je ne scais pas ou. Le Czar a envoyé chez le wizer pour demander la paix, la desirares aussi avec Vostre Majesté, on a doné reponse que le Szeremetef vienne pour attandre, quelle satisfaction on veut doner, en attendent on fait tous les preparatifs pour le combat, le Wizer m'a promis qu'il ne concluera rien sans Vostre Majesté de sorte que sa presence ou ses instructions et plenipotentiers seroient necessaire de plus tot, je demande pardon à V : e Majesté de ce que je me serve de morcau de pays [*sic* papier !] n'ayant pas pu trouver d'avantage pour me mettre aux pieds de Vostre Majesté de la quelle je suis, avec le plus grand zeile et le plus profond respect Sire

de Vostre Majesté le plus humble et le plus summis  
serviteur Poniatowski."

11 July 1710 [*sic*]

No. 2.

PONIATOWSKI TO TH FUNCK, THE SWEDISH ENVOY IN CONSTANTINOPLE,  
24 JULY, 1711.

" . . . Quo (1) que le Grand Vizir eust aprit par tous les prisonniers que l'on avoit fait sur les Moscovites, que leur armee n'estoit que d'environ 50 a 60 . Milles hommes, que tous les soldats étoient ou malades ou moribonds n'ayant pas mangé du pain depuis trois semaines, et qu'ils d'avoient dans leur camp que 44 pieces de(s) Canons. Non obstant tous ces avis, dis-je, le Czar se seroit retiré avec son armée, malgré les continuelles escarmouches des Tartares et de quelques volontaires Turcs, si enfin par de pressantes instances, fondees sur le bien de la cause commune, il n'avoit pris la resolution de se porter à la vue de l'ennemi. Le 19 (Juillet) au soir nous arrivâmes en leur presence. L'ardeur des Janissaires ne leur permit pas d'attendre au lendemain, ils attaquèrent les Moscovites, mais ce etois sans order et qu'ils ne furent pas soutenus, les Moscovites se maintinrent deriere leurs chevaux de frise. Leur perte fut dependant très grande et ils eurent quantité d'officiers Generaux de tuez La nuit empecha qu'on ne donnast le ordres necessaires pour profiter de ces heureux commencement. Le lendemain 20 le Czar se voyant entouré de tous costez par une armée innombrable, après avoir essayé quelques coups de canon, il ecrivit une lettre au Grand Visir, qui luy fut portée par un officier, par la quelle il demandoit la paix, et le prioit de luy permettre d'envoyer un homme avec pouvoir de traiter.

Pendant cet intervalle le Czar envoya encore quatre Officier pour dire qu'on discontinuast de tirer sur son camp et qu'il alloit envoyer dans le moment ses Plenipotentiaires, on cesse de tirer de part et d'autre et un quart d'heure après Shafirof Ministre du Czar arriva au Camp pour faire des propositions. On avoit fait comprendre au Kiaya du Grand Visir qu'il devoit le recevoir fierement, mais bien loing de suivre ce conseil salutaire pour la commune cause, on a reçu Shafirof, avec toutes les demonstrations d'amitié possibles, qui étoient pour luy tout autant d'heureux presages pour le succes de sa negotiation. Il avoit apporté une carte blanche et on n'avoit qu'à demander pour obtenir, mais la foiblesse du Grand Visir jointe à sa mauvaise volonté contre le Roy de Suede, l'empêcherent de demander tout ce qu'il étoit endroit de pretendre. Deux heures auparavant on avoit représenté au Ministre de se souvenir que le Roy de Suede n'avoit point voulu faire sa paix, à moins que le Porte icy fust comprise, quoy qu'on la luy offrit avec des conditions avantageuses, qu'on esperoit aussi qu'il en useroit de même à l'égard de ce Prince ainsi que la Porte le luy avoit promis et qu'on demandoit trois jours pour avertir le Roy de Suede de tout ce qui se passoit, que pendant ce tems la les Moscovites souffriroient, et seroient obligés d'accorder tout de qu'on leur(s) demandoit, ou de se rendre prisonniers de guerre. Le Visir repondit à ces remonstrances qu'on n'avoit entrepris cette grande affaire que pour faire plaisir au Roy de Suede, et qu'on ne devoit pas s'imaginer qu'on pût l'oublier. La suite pourtant à fait savoir (voir ?) que les intentions du Grand Visir n'étoient pas conformes à ses promesses et au lieu de faire traiter cette paix par des gens d'esprit il a voulu le faire luy même. Voici ses propositions : Qu'Azac seroit rendu, Taiganrog, Kamienka et Samara rasez ; que les Cosaques resteroient dans leur(s) premier estat sans expilquer comment ; que les Moscovites ne s'ingereroient point dans les affaires de la Pologne, qu'ils luy remettroient le Hospodar de Moldavie et qu'ils luy payeroient le revenu d'une année de cette Principauté puis qu'ils l'avoient mise hors d'état de payer son tribut ordinaire. Qu'on leur remettoit aussi un certain Sawa sujet du Grand Seigneur ; qu'ils ne s'opposeroient point au passage du Roy de Suede dans ses Estats ; et qu'ils remettroient tous les canons et toutes les mounitions de guerre qui étoient dans leur camp. Ces propositions parurent si surprenantes au Ministre du Roy de Suede qu'il ne peut pas s'empêcher de dire que ce n'étoit pas de la maniere qu'ils devoient estre compris dans ce traité, pour pouvoir faire ensuite leurs propositions, que cet empressement pour en venir à une conclusion n'étoit nullement necessaire, qu'au contraire il étoit tres prejudicable aux interets de L'empire Ottoman et qu'il devoit faire des propositions plus avantageuses, mais bien loing d'estre écouté le Grand Visir persista toujours dans ses premiers sentiments, Shafirof ayant montré son plein pouvoir, repondit aux propositions du Grand Visir de la maniere suivante : Que le Czar rendoit Azac dans le même état qu'il étoit quand ce Prince prit cette Place. Cette condescendance rejouit

extremement le Grand Vizir qui ne s'apercevoit pas que l'empressement que le Czar faisoit paroître ne provenoit que de la crainte et du danger ou il se trouvoit, et ne peut pas s'empêcher de louer Shafirof et de dire que c'étoit un bon homme. Cet plenipotentiaire convint que Taiganrog, Kamienka et Samara seroient rasé, parce que son Empereur ayant beaucoup de villes il ne se soucioit pas de celles las ; que le Cosaques jouiroient de leur ancienne liberté, et que les Moscovites ne se meleroient point des affaires de la Pologne alleguant qu'ils ne l'auroient jamais fait si le Roy de Suede ne s'on étoit meslé, a quoy le Grand Visir ne repondit rien. Shafirof ajouta que le Hospodar de Moldavie n'estoit point entre leurs mains, et que il s'estoit sauvé depuis quatre jour, qu'on ne connoissoit point Sava et que puisqu'ils n'avoient rien tiré de la Moldavie ils ne pouvoient rien rendre, il fit quelques legeres excuses sur le Canon et les Munitions qu'on demandoit et dit enfin que le Roy de Suede pourroit passer en toute liberté. Le Grand Visir parue satisfait de tout cela, ne voulant point connoître que Shafirof se pressoit de signer les articles pour pouvoir tirer sa Majesté de l'endroit ou il étoit. On prit encore la liberté de représenter au Grand Visir le tort qu'il faisoit au Roy de Suede et que ses ennemis n'avoient jamais pû luy faire plus de mal que ce traité luy en faisoit, et que cet evenement étoit tout a fait contraire aux promesses qu'on luy avoit fait, et qu'il étoit difficile de concevoir pourquoi il ne voiloit point ouvrier (ouvrir) la bouche pour demander la paix pour les Suedois comme ils la demandoient pour eux puisqu'il ne luy en auroit coûté qu'une parole. Que le Czar étoit dans une situation a ne pouvoir rien refuser et qu'il ne demandoit pas mieux que de la faire aussi avec le Roy de Suede, puisqu'il les premiers officiers Moscovites avoient dit hautement que le Czar les envoyoit pour demander la paix à la Porte et au Roy de Suede. Toutes ces remonstrances n'ebraierent point le Grand Visir. On persista de le prier de demander au Czar la paix pour le Roy de Suede, comme pour leur ami et pour leur(s) allié, mais en vain, on luy demander ensuite qu'elle assurance il avoit pour ce nouveau traité, il repondit que le Czar leur donnoit pour otage le Plenipotentiaire Shafirof et le fils de Sheremet et que l'Angleterre et la Hollande en seroient garents. On luy representa que cette precaution n'estoit pas suffisante pour une si grande affaire et pour le convaincre on luy dit que dans le commencement de cette guerre le Czar à envoyé un Ambassadeur au Roy de Suede pour l'assurer de son amitié, ils avoit fait passer en mêmes tems 80/m hommes par un autre chemin, pour occuper ses provinces et qu'il se pourroit faire que le Czar ne donnoit ses otages que pour se tirer du peril evident ou il étoit. Que les Anglois et les Hollandois ne pouvoient pas obliger le Czar d'exécuter ce traité : qu'il pouvoit prendre le Czar luy même pour otage et qu'alors il seroit en état de la faire exécuter. On proposa au Ministre [*sic*] de prendre le Roy de Suede et le Roy Stanislas pour garents de ce traité, comme interessez dans cette affaire, et qu'au cas que le Czar en retardant l'exécution ils pourroient alors tout ensemble l'y contraindre les armes a

la main. Que le Czar en acceptant ces deux Princes pour garents il seroit obligé de faire sa paix avec eux et de donner satisfaction a leurs justes pretentions. Mais tous ces discours et tous ceux due Kan des Tartares furent rejettés sans scavoir pourquoy. Le Grand Visir ne les acceptoit pas. Le bruit s'estant repandu que le Roy de Suede venoit, on pria le Grand Visir de ne pas passer autre et de vouloir attendre deux heure, mais il ne le fit pas. Le Roy de Suede estant arrivé au Camp, il alla a la tente du Grand Visir pour lui représenter le tort qu'il faisoit a l'empereur son Maitre et a luy en demanda qu'on obligea les Moscovites de rester encore un jour dans leur camp, à-fin qu'on pust faire des propositions de paix. Toutes ces raisons non plus que le autres ne purent point porter le Grand Visir à accorder ce qu'on luy demandoit, sans qu'on en puisse penetrer la cause, en fin Vous verrez par tout ce que je viens de dire tort, que le Grand Visir a fait a l'honneur et à Gloire de l'Empire Ottoman. Il pouvoit se rendre maitre du Czar, et en faisant connoître a tout l'univers combien ils pren(d)ent a coeur les interests de leurs allies, rendre par la la gloire de l'Empereur son Maitre immortelle et recommandable généralement a tous les Princes. Les marques d'amitié de generosité et de Magnanimité que Sa Majesté Imperiale a donné dans toutes les occasions ne laissent aucun doute, qu'il ait la moindre part dans le procedé de son Ministre "

(Le 24 Juillet 1711)

No. 3.

PONIATOWSKI TO VON MÜLLERN, SWEDISH CHANCELLOR IN BENDER,  
25 JULY, 1711.

" Monsieur et tres cher Frerre,

Il est vrai que je etois quelque jours sans vous ecrire, et ce n'estoit je vous jourre, ni par paroisse ni par auquun autre motif, si non que voulant faire le bon valet, j'ay taché dans les conjunctures, qu'ils s'estoient<sup>e</sup>presenté d'obliger les Turqus à faire la diligence pour ne lesser pas un moment du temps aux Ennemis qu'ils auroient infalliblement echapé sans mon conseil, du quel je suis bien fâché à present, mais quil est, quil peut scavoir l'avenir, car je m'aurois plus attendue à la mort cent mille fois, qu'a un telle procede du Wezyr de sorte en veillant à cette affaire, je n'ay pas eu le temps de vous ecrire. Mr. Grothus ne put pas dire non plus qu'il a eu des mes letters, car les deux que j'avois ecris consecutivement estoient a Sa Majesté en droiture. Je vous souphe donc mon très cher Frerre, que l'opinion, que vous avez conceu de moy, ne me fasse auquunne prejudice dans vosttre amitié, car c'est seroit à tort que je souffrirai, et l'unjustice seroit de vosttre costez et cella me donneroit un chagrin mortelle, puisque pendant tout le temps mon empressement pour cultiver vosttre cherre amitié n'estoit que pour la pouvoir meriter pour le reste des mes jours. J'ay me suis donné

l'honneur des vous ecrire hier et vous mander que nous marchons aujourd'hui, mais cella est encor remis aux demain. La cause du retardement est, que on charge quelque provision, pour l'avoir en marche icy et Bender. Les troupes ont permission de se retirer, de sorte, qu'assurement en ces deux jours il y a plus de 50/m departies, on doit attendre la resolution pour toutes choses de l'empereur au retour du Kihiaia quel est partie hier pour Constantinople. Je n'attends pas plustot non plus l'argent pour nous qu'alheurs, si l'escorte promisse depandoit du seul Wezyr astant comme on le veut dire, il ne faut pas s'attendre à grandes choses. Pour qu'ils rompent de nouveaux les traitées, il n'y a pas apparence, à moins que les Moscovites ne soient la cause, car les peu des jours qu'ils ont estoient en campagne, les ont tellement fatigué, qu'ils se voudroient volontier voir à Constantinople. Il y en a beaucoup des mecontents dans les troupes, mais il n'y a pas un, qui est resolu d'entreprendre quelque chose. Le Wezyr et ses conseiliers voient bien la faute, qu'ils ont fait, et ce n'est pas avec toute la tranquillité qu'ils attendent les reponses du Grand Seigneur, mais que ce nous fait (rien ?), puisque les choses sont faites et le mal est sans remede. J'ay ecri à Mr. Funck circonstancié de tout ce qui se passé, et de la grande malice du Wezyr qu'il a fait voir envers le Roy, sans aucune . . . ni raison, malgré mes vives remontrances, et continuelles sollicitations, qu'ils estoient tous autant pour leurs utilité, que pour la nostre, mais c'estoit jeter les perles devant un cochon. A present ils veulent envoyer des Universaux en Pologne pour leur notifier qu'ils les ont delivré des Moscovites, et pour les animer qu'ils tiennent tous le partie du Roy de Suede et du Roy Stanislas. J'ay leurs ay dis qu'ils donne cette commission au Karamehmet Pacha pour la faire conjointement avec les Universaux du Roy. Aussitot que j'aurois en main les traitées qu'ils viennent d'estre faites, je vous les enverrais. Les Valaches qu'ils estoient jointte aux Moscovites ne cessent point de faire la guerre aux Turqus, de sorte qu'ils son obligé d'appeler les Tartarres pour faire des courses sur eux. Ils voient la sottise qu'ils ont fait, mais ils ne veulent pas ecouter seulement qu'on leurs parle de cella. J'espere avoir l'honneur de vous voir bien tot, et vous dire tous les circonstances qu'ils vous surprendront de la fourberie, malice et betise, de nostre chef icy, je suis dans les dernieres chagrins de tout cecy, si encor, je trouve Vostre amitié envers moy diminué, je suis inconsolable, tirez moy donc mon cher Frere de cette doute et sojez persuadé, que je suis cent fois plus à vous qu'à moy mesme

Poniatowski.

P.S. Ditez à Sa Majesté que les deux Pachas qu'ils suivent les Moscovites pour les Escorter ont fait des rapports icy, que la misere parmi l'Ennemi n'est pas exprimer, et depuis qu'ils ont quité le camp, il y'en a plus de 3/m hommes mortes en chemin. Si bon Dieu nous envoie une 12 le milles hommes à present des nos troupes, avant qu'il



pourroient joindrre Kiow nous pourrions avoir une mesme occasion que les Turqus ont lessé echapé.

Je vous prie d'embrasser les pieds de Sa Majesté de ma part, et de lui dirre, que on a disposé neuff marches d'icy à Bender, de sorte, que dans 10 jours nous y seront."

Le 25 juillet 1711.

No. 4

PONIATOWSKI TO VON MULLERN, SWEDISH CHANCELLOR IN BENDER,  
2 AUGUST, 1711.

" Monsieur et très cher Frerre,

Les lesttrres cy jointtes je les ay doné a un czuhadar du Pacha, quil devoit s'en aller incontinent, mais le vojant encor aux soir icy, je les ay repris et je vous les envoyé joignant ce que le Wezyr m'a fait dirre. Il m'a envoyé Maurcordato, que la resolution estoit conclue pour r'envoyer sa Majesté aux plus tot avant que l'hiverre et les mauvais temps vienne, et comme ils sont assuré de la religieuse parole du Czar, ils donnent a choisir aux Roy le chimin quil veut prendrre, si veut aller par la Moscovie, 500 chevaux de Poste luy seront fournie par tout ou ill passera, et quil put aller en toute sureté, si veut aller par mere Il n'a qu'a venir à Constantinople, on le renverra de la dans son pays S'il veut aller par la Transilvanie et l'hongrie, il aura aussi le chimin libre, s'il veut aller par la Pologne, on luy donera l'Escort des Turqus environs dix milles hommes, et quelques Tartarres, ce n'est pas pour la sureté du Roy, car nous ne sommes que trop persuadé du Czar, quil ne tentera rien, et quil n'entreprendra rien pour empecher le passage du Roy, mais seulement pour son cortage, de sorte que comme je suis plenipotentier du Roy icy, je leurs dois dirre a l'instant la resolution sour leurs demanddes. J'ay repondue que les premierres propositions sont des faribolles, sour les quelles il n'y a rien à repondrre, car sont des conttes pour les petits enfants, a l'egard du passage de la mere si Sa Majesté avoit voulue l'ané passé accepter des pareilles propositions des Princes etrangers et mesme de l'Empereur mesme, il auroit fait, mais comme cella ne l'accomdoit pas alheurs, cella ne luy conviendra non plus à present, pour le passage par la Pologne, c'est ce que Sa Majesté veut, mais avec dix milles hommes, je ne crois pas que Sa Majesté se voudra resoudrre, car ce seroit austant que de le livrer entre les mains du Czar. L'Empereur il luy a une fois done Sa parole, de Le r'envoyer dans Son pays en toute sureté, de sorte que Sa Majesté, ne doute nullement de l'execution de sa promesse, et que nous connoissons mieux la fourberie des Moscovittes, quills nous ont trompé plusieurs fois, pour nous fier à des promesses, quills n'ont nulle fondement, car ni ses deux otages ni tout son pays, en cas de quelque malheur aux Roy, ne seroient point sufisant pour la garantie et pour le dedomagement, et que je m'estoné fort de ce que le Wezyr pouvoit

prendre tant de confiance a des gens, qu'ils ont estoient Ennemis de son Empereur avant 3 jours, et qu'ils le trompent actuellement encor. Neanmoins je ferai scavoir aux Roy tous ces propositions du Wezyr, et qu'aussitot que j'aurois le reponse sur cella, je ne manquerai pas le rapporter aux Grand Wezyr La dessus on m'a envoyé encor le mesme Maurocordato, pour me faire dire, que je n'avois que faire d'attendre la reponse du Roy sur cella, car cella n'est plus a changer, si le Roy veut se contenter, ce qu'on luy offre fort bien, si non, on ne luy offrira point tousjours comme on le fait aujourd'hui, et qu'il leur semble qu'ils ont assez fait pour le Roy, pour qui puisse estre content avec cella, et que je n'avois que m'en aller car je n'aurois point d'autres reponses a attendre, et que mes disputes ne les obligeront a rien, car tout ve qu'ils font, ce n'est pas par devoir, mais par une seule complaisance, quand les mauvais temps viendra il n'aura pas encor cella, apres il fera ce qu'il voudra. Il me doit donc donner encor une lettre pour le Roy, et voila tout mon expedition. Comme tous mes resonements, la dessus prendroient beaucoup de temps, et qu'ils n'ont fait aucun effect, je ne vous les mande point, pour ne point perdre le temps inutilement. Sa Majesté saura ce qu'il y a faire avec cella, mais il me semble qu'il faut depecher aux plus vite un courier a Stambul, pour scavoir aux plus tot l'intention de la Cour, en attendant il faudra tousjours amuser les troupes qu'ils viendront a Bender J'embrasse les pieds de Sa Majesté, et je me recommande dans la continuation de Vostre chere amitié et suis pour toute ma vie Monsieur et tres chere Frere

Vostre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

Poniatowski.

Le 23 de Juillet (2 August)

aux soire

je crois de partir demain d'icy "

No 5.

FROM PONIATOWSKI TO TH. FUNCK, 18 AUGUST, 1711

" . . . Je ne sçais pas si c'est la verité, que je disois au camp des fautes qu'on en fait, ou si c'est les representations vives et fondamentelles, en ce qui touche les interesses de Sa Majesté Nostre Maître, ou qu'on ne vouloit point souffrir, que je sois temoigne, de ce qu'on faisoit a l'armée aux prejudice, et des leurs propres interesses et du nostre, mais le Wezyr me fit dire un jour que je me devois tenir pret pour partir chez Sa Majesté, avec sa resolution, qui estoit qu'on luy destine 10/m Cavalerie Turqu(e), et quelque milles Tartarres pour le ramener dans la Pologne, et comme le temps et la raison passe, que le Roy part incessamment après l'arrivé de cette escorte, qui se rendra infalliblement a Bender dans 8 jours. J'ay repondis la dessus en premier lieu, que sa Majeste ne

s(o)uhaitte rien tant, que de partir, mais de se risquer avec un poigné du monde, et aller dans une pays ou les Moscovittes se trouvent actuellement, et depuis peu, il y en a encor quills y sont alle(z) avec la plus grandde partie des leurs troupes, malgres le traité, pour secuire les Polonois, et pour le venger de leurs costez, il faut considerer que ce n'est pas la voie pour rendre quelque service au Roy, mais c'est le veritable chemin pour le perdre, neanmoins je ferai scavoir à Sa Majesté tout cecy, pour voirre sa reponse la dessus, plusierrs auttres raisons que j'ay allegue, ni celle cy ne servirent de rien, on m'a envoye l'Interpret (Maurocordato) de la Porte, avec la derneire resolution par deux fois, qu'on me don(n)era point d'auttres reponsses, ni qu'on ne fera rien d'avantage pour le Roy, s'il veut profiter de l'occasion, quil le fasse, et que ce n'estoit plus le temps de disputer, et que je n'avois que partir pour preparer le Roy pour son depart car il faloit absolument quil le fasse, et que les Moscovittes nous ont donné une fois leurs parole, quills ne lui feront rien, de sorte que nous leurs crojons entierement, et Vos excusses ne sont point valablls, car elles ne sont que pour traîner, et ce que la Portte fait, est sueliment pour la Paradde, car pour la surette on n'a pas besoin de tout cecy. Enfin mes representations de la fausseté des Moscovittes et de leurs interesses, n'ayant pu avoir lieu, je me suis trouve obligé de prendre la leltre du Wezyr pour le Roy, et de partir crainte d'estre chassé avec confusion de quoi j'ay fis une simple et juste relation aux Hasseki aga, car il y fut present. Comme donc je m'en suis en allé du Camp du Wezyr, j'ay passé par celuj du Tartar Han, ou rancontrant le S-r Baptist (Savary), quil est interpret a Sa Cour, j'ay appris de lui, qui venoit dans le moment de parler avec le Court Pacha (Kurt Mehmed Pasa) et encor un auttre de mesme qualité, dont son nom m'a echape. Ces deux Seigneurs l'ont assure, quills ne scavoient pas ou ills en estoient avec le Wezyr, le quel les a forcé a sceler un papier, dont ills ignorent les contenues, et quil ne leurs fut point permis de scavoir, sour quoi ills ont mis leurs sceau. Comme je estois deja partie, je n'ay pas pu approfondir le misterre, mais il est aisé a jouer, que c'est une chose ou il n'y a guerre de droiture puisque il n'estoit pas possible de penetrer a ceux quills estoient contrainttes de messttre leurs caché."

## No. 6.

PONIATOWSKI TO TH FUNCK, 29 AUGUST, 1711.

" Monsieur,

Les intentions de Sa Majesté vous sont trop connue pour avoir besoin de Vous en informer. Il ne s'agit que de vous faire scavoir nostre situation presente. Sa Majesté estant toujours très persuadé de l'amitié du Gr. S(eigneu)r soy et fondé d'allieurs sour ses promesses apres que ce qui se passé les Ennemis et le Grand Wezyr, ne songé qu'aux plus propmte

depart d'icy, en demandant l'escort aux Wezyr suffisante, pour le reconduire en sureté, puisque les Moscovittes ne songent point aux traités promissés, sont entrés en Pologne et ont occupé tous les passages. Le Grand Wezyr envoya 3 à 4 milles Spahis et fit dire, que 5 milles Tartares les accompagneront, pour mener et livrer le Roy à Leopel, sous prétexte comme Sa Majesté fit représenter aux Wezyr le danger qu'il y en avait, d'aller avec un si petit corps d'armée, et le peu d'utilité, même (?) si il y en avait d'avantage, si on le reconduisait, jusqu'à son armée ou à son pays, le Grand Wezyr écrivait au Roy, deux des plus disobligentes et grossières lettres du monde, ou même le menaçait ne furent point épargnées, en adjutant à la dernière, que le Roy devait incessamment partir pour Belgrad ou Temeswar, d'où il pourra passer par l'Allemagne dans son pays, et que s'il voulait il pourrait y hiverner là. Sa Majesté voyant les intentions du Grand Wezyr, qu'ils ne tendent que pour faire crever, par la pénible et longue marche, le peu du monde qu'il lui restait encore, et d'ailleurs ça n'étant nullement son chemin, ce terrible de tour ne lui servant de rien qu'à la ruine et des ses intérêts et de son peu du monde qui sont avec nous, refusa d'y aller en demandant instamment au Wezyr encore une fois autant des Turcs qu'on a destinés (quels selon leurs comptes doivent être 7 mille hommes), et deux fois autant des Tartares, avec cela avant l'hiver encore Sa Majesté s'est résolue de passer par la Pologne. Nous ne savons point la réponse qu'on nous donnera là-dessus, si cela n'accommodera point le Szafrów qui est devenu conseiller privé du Wezyr, nous courrons risque de n'avoir point encore cette petite nombre des troupes, malgré la bonne intention, l'amitié et les promesses du Grand Seigneur, dont Sa Majesté est toujours assuré, qu'on lui tiendra tout ce qu'on a promis. Il est même encore à craindre que ces troupes n'aient point ordre d'abandonner d'abord le Roy en le menant un peu en Pologne, puisque le Grand Wezyr et si mal intentionné pour nous, et écoute en toutes choses le conseil des Moscovittes, malgré qu'on ne lui ait tenu en pas un point le traité. Ils sont entrés en Pologne avec toutes leurs forces et tâche de subjuguier la Pologne par force, pour se pouvoir d'or en avant servir contre la Porte. On devait restituer Azof dans l'espace des 24 jours depuis le traité, on devait brûler et démolir les autres Fortresses, à présent, d'une côté ils disent qu'il leur faut des deux ou trois années, pour réduire la place d'Azof dans la situation quelle fut, lors qu'on l'avait prise des Turcs et que avant cela n'y avait rien à faire, pour le Taganrock, ils demandent la restitution de la dépense qu'on a fait pour bâtir cette Place. La même chose est de Kamionka, la quelle grand même serait rasée, ils n'en feront rien à l'égard d'Azoff et de Taganrock, on peut voir visiblement, que tous ces délais ne sont, que pour tromper la Porte et pour les amuser comme des petits enfants, mais le Grand Wezyr il semble qu'il le veut bien, car aux lieux qu'il devait d'abord envoyer des troupes et des Tartares après l'armée Moscovite, quelle ne fut pas tant éloignée encore et fort délabrée et fatiguée, pour le combattre, ou pour les obliger à exécuter leurs

traité, il leurs donne encore deux mois de delais pour l'exécution des leurs promesses. On ne considere pas qu'alheurs le mauvais temps et l'hiverre surviendra, les troupes de la Portte ne pourront point tenir la Campagne, la Flotte manque de beau temps, n'y pourra point arriver pour recevoir l'Azoff et les Moscovittes prendront encore le pretexte, qu'aux milheux de l'hiverre ills ne peuvent point passer par le dessert, de sorte que tout ira en fume. Ce que regarde la Pologne et l'Ukraine on n'en parle plus, tout comme si les articlles n'estoient point mis dans la paix. Enfin les Moscovittes par leur miserable situation dont ills devoient—tous perirre, ills gagnent encor puisque ills ne randent rien, et subiugeront toute la Pologne en partie aux Roy August, en partie à soy, et porteront c'y après, avec plus des forces la guerre a L'Empire Ottoman. Mon très cher Monsieur, la volonte de Sa Majesté est que vous representiez tous cella par tout ou vous jougez à propos, particulièrement aux Mufti, le quelle il faut absolument mesttre dans nos interesses. N'epargnez rien pour l'avoir de Nosttre costez, comme c'est un Seigneur desinteressé. Vosttre activité, assiduité, eloquence, et la justice de la cause doit fairre plus que tout le restte. Son Fil(s) n'est pas à negliger s'il est aupres de luy. Sa Majesté espere aussi que vous continuez à cultiver l'amitié d'Ali Pacha et de Suliman Pacha enfin il faut tanter des tous les costez, de quoy le Roy est tres persuadé que vous ne negligez rien en ce qui regarde tant ses interesses que Sa volonte. Sa Majesté ne scauroit s'immaginer que ce soit la volonte du Grand Seigneur pour le mener a Belgrad ou à Temiswar. Il a montré très de generosité et d'amitié envers le Roy pour le vouloir remettre, entre les mains des Allemands quills le reconduissent dans son pays. Ce ne seroit guerre honorable pour le Grand Seigneur après qui se declaré une fois de vouloir ramener le Roy dans ses Estats, de ne point tenir et de vouloir charger un auttre, qui mesme il ne le put point fairre, n'estant pas maistre absolu, des tous les pais ou il faudroit que le Roy passe, et outtre cella l'Election de l'Empereur n'est pas encor fait, on ne scauroit savoir qui put estre eleu, en attendant le Roy August faisant les fonctions du Vicair de l'Empir, malgres tout ce qu'il pouvoit promesttre, estant nosttre Ennemi declare fairoit tout ce qu'il pourroit pour fairre du tort aux Roy et pour le nuirre. De sortte que le Grand Wezyr a beau à dirre aux Roy, que c'est la volonte du Grand Seigneur qu'il mene le Roy a Belgrad ou a Temiswar, il n'en croira rien ni il n'en faira. Sour quoy Sa Majesté desirre que Vous regliez la prise d'Amira le Dragoman à la barbe du Roy, et le procede avec le Bąkowski comme j'ay vous le deja mandé, j'espere qu'il vous sera connue, pour les auttres grossietes du Wezyr qui fait a Sa Majesté sont hors des expressions, jusqu'a à le menacer des derniers affront s'il ne fait pas, ce que le Wezyr veut, à quelle extremité il se va porter encor le temps nous montrera, c'est pourquoy il est de l'interesse du Grand Seigneur et de Sa reputation d'y porter remede aux plustot, selon mon avis un memorial aux Grand Seigneur en luy representant le danger ou est le Roy et tous ce procedé est très necessaire, enfin je prie le bon Dieu, qu'il

vous donne des forces et du bonheur pour reussir dans cette peniblle affaire, estant du fond de mon coeur plus à vous qu'à moy mesme

29 de Aoust 1711.

Sa Majesté m'a ordonné de vous ecirre, que vous vous plaigniez aussi du tout qu'on luy fait d'empêcher la correspondance, on luy prend tous ses lesttres on les ouvvre, et fait tout ce qu'on veut pas un des nos gens ne scauroit plus passer, pour que nous ne vous donions point avis, de ce que se passe avec nous.

Le Roy m'a ordonné de vous saluer fort gracieusement de sa part, il espere tout ce vosttre activité, et aplication."

No. 7.

PONIATOWSKI TO TH. FUNCK, 4 OCTOBER, 1711.

"Monsieur et tres chér amis,

C'est avec beaucoup du plaisir que j'apprends par celle dont Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'ecirre du 30 de 7br le changement des affaires, et comme selon les apparances elles doivent tourner à nosttre avantage, je vous felicitte mon très cher Collonel du melieur de mon couer, l'issue d'une negotiation si epineusse, en vous avertissant et mesme temps, de seque Sa Majesté a fait faire en Vosttre Nom, pour envoyer presenter aux G(rand) S(eigneur) enfin si il y en aura quelque question sour ce sujet que vous scachiez ce quise passe, comme aussi si le memorial n'est point présentée, que vous en usiez selon l'opportunité du temps. La volonté pourtant de Sa Majesté est de le faire tenir absolument aux Grand Seigneur, c'est pourquoy Sa Majesté m'a ordonné de vous envoyer par celle cy la copie, dont voila la teneur :

"Sa Majesté le Roy mon Maistre estant trop assuré et convaincue par plusieurs marqqs que Vosttre Majesté luy a temoigné, de son constantte et inviolable amitié a depeché plusieurs expres, avec des lesttres et de planttes a V.M. contre son grand Wezyr, mais comme ce Minister, craignant que la verité ne parvienne devant le Thron de V Mé a fait garder tous les chemins et passages, pour que Personne de la part du Roy, ne puisse passer, pour se presenter devant V Mé et quil m'a fait mesme appeler de Stambul aupres de luy sous pretexte de vouloir faire quelque traité avec les Moscovittes, et c'estoit seulement pour quil n'y aye qui que c'est, qui puisse faire voirre a V Mé l'indigne procede dont il en use avec le Roy. Sa Majesté ne voulant plus commettre à l'hazard ses lesttres pour Ve Mé, m'a ordonné de chercher les mains, pour fair tenir a Ve Mé, un fidel recit de tout, ce qui se passé. Je prends dont la liberté de représenter par ma très humble relation l'estat present des affaires, esperant que V M fera eclairer sa justice dans ce cas, et que d'un clain (?) d'oill, par l'incomparable penetration et prudence la plus consumé, V Mé s'aprecevra du tort, que son Ministre par un pareille

procede, fait aussi bien à la gloirre et reputation du nomm immortell de Ve Mé, qu'aux l'honneur et l'interesse du Roy mon Maistre Je ne veut point fatiguer les oreilles de Ve Mé avec la relation du traité qui fut fait avec les Moscovittes, si bien aux prejudice des interesses de Ve Mé, que des ceux du Roy mon Maitre, car dans le temps qu'on avoit et le Czar et toutte son armée entre les mains et a la discretion, et quil n'y avoit que vouloir pour obtenir tout, sans risquer la moindre chose, malgré les presenttes solicitations et remonstrances utiles pour l'interesse commun du plenipotentier du Roy le General Poniatowski, le Grand Wezyr, outre quil n'a jamais voulue ecouter pas la moindrrre proposition favourable à l'interesse du Roy, quelque jours après ordona avec beaucoup d'empressement, aux mesme General Poniatowski de partir de son camp, et fit dire aux Roy, quil se tienne pret pour partir dans dix jours. Comme les interesses de Sa Majesté le Roy mon Maitre, demandent instamment sa presence dans pays Sa Mé accepta d'abord les propositions du Wezyr, pour veu que cella soit avec un escort suffisant pour sa sureté. En mesme temps le Roy m'ordonna de fairre scavoir à Ve Mé, tout ce qui se passé icy, à son egard. Ce que j'ay fis en les communiquant à son Kaamakam, mais le Grand Wezyr ayant eu des nouvelles des mes relations, pour empecher la correspondance à Sa Mé fit defense dans tout l'Empir(e) de fairre passer qui que soit de la part du Roy, arrestant, maltraitant et enchainant tous nos Courriers, quels alloient ou venoyent de Bender, pour que Ve Mé ne puisse esttre informé de la verité En attendant il envoya Hasan Pacha avec 3/m Spahis, qu'on vouloit passer pour 7/m hommes, lesquelles 5/m Tartarres devoient joindrrre pour reconduire le Roy à Leopold, le lesser la, et s'en retourner. Sa Majesté considerant le petit nombre de L'Escort, le grand chemin, quil y en avoit encor, entre Leopold et son pays, et que les Moscovittes n'observoient pas les traitées, car contre les conditions, toutte leur armée s'est mis en Pologne, justement sour nosttre passage, manda au Grand Wezyr qui luy est impossible de partir avec si peu du monde, et que ce seroit se vouloir perdirre, que s'entrer avec si petit nombrre aux milieux de 50/m Moscovittes, quills actuellement rompoient deja les traitées, n'observant point les articles, a plus fortte raison, si vojoit le Roy à leur discretion, il en useroit comme il leurs plairoit et se sesiroit infalliblement de Sa Personne, de sorte que Sa Mé demanda aux Grand Wezyr, un plus fort escort, tant poui eviter le danger, ou il auroit esté infalliblement, que pour empecher la confision, et la perte des troupes de Ve Mé. Le Grand Wezyr aux lieux d'accorder à Sa Mé une demande si juste, envoya son Selam Aga aux Roy, avec une lestre plaine des menaces et des grossiertées, luy reprochant pourquoy il avoit fait ses plainttes contre luy à Ve Mé, joignant dans la mesme lestre quil sorte incessamment du pays de Ve Mé, ou quil usera des forces, pour le fairre de loger avec affront. Le Roy mon Maitre estant très persuadé de l'amitié de Ve Mé et ne se pouvant nullement imaginer, qu'a des compliments si ruddes, Ve Mé aye le moindre partfir représenter aux Grand Wezyr, l'impos-

sibilité de son depart de cetter manierre, ne pouvant point comprendre, pour quoy le Grand Wezyr le vouloit livrer entre les mains des Moscovittes, mais tout ce qu'on luy pouvoit alleguer, ne servit, que d'avoir d'auttres lesttres plus forttes, et de menaces les plus atroces du monde, que j'ais honte d'alleguer à Ve Mé Il demanda en mesme temps, quelquun de la part du Roy, ou le Roy mesme aupres de luy, sous pretexte de voirre s'il y avoit quelque chose à fairre avec les Moscovittes. Sa Majesté considerant le procede du Wezyr, et que l'occasion estoit echapé pour tracter avec ses Ennemis, et d'allieurs ne voulant point comme son honneur, en la Personne, quil auroit envoyé aupres le Wezyr, du quel on ne pouvoit s'attandrrre qu'a des afronts sensibbles, fit fairre reponse que le Grand Wezyr il y a quelque temps ne vouloit suffirre auprès de luy personne de la part du Roy, et comme un des ses Ministerrrs estoit obligé de sortir du Camp, il n'avoit que celui de Stambul, quit avoit son plain-pouvoir esperant par la, que s'il y en avoit quelque chose à fairre, ce seront sous la protection de Ve Mé et que son Minister seroit à couvert (?) des affronts (du Grand Wezyr) quills retombent toujours dâns des parelles cas sour la Personne du Maitre Mais le Grand Wezyr ayant tout auttre dessin que de traiter m'apella aupres de luy (selon comme il est connue à Ve Mé) ou de que je fus arrivé, ne sachant autrement, si non que je estois venue pour les affairres, j'ay commencé d'en parler au Grand Wezyr, pour voirre si ce qu'on avoit negligé ne pouvoit estre de quelque manierre retablie Mais au lieux d'entrer dans les resonements, sour les moyens de proceder dans les affairres, après plusieurs injurres receus, sour ce que je n'ay pas voulue quitter si tot mon Poste, quil est selon l'ordrre du Roy mon Maitre de rester toujours à la Porte, je fus menacé d'esttre ramené la cord (?) au coup à Bender. De sorte comme je n'ay plus joué à propos d'attandrrre cette extremité, je me suis mis en chemin avec les ordrrs du Wezyr, quills estoient, de dirre aux Roy mon Maittre, quil n'avoit que 3 jours de rester dans le pays et si il ne sorte pas dans cette interval, pour aller à Themeswar ou Belgrad et de la dans son pays (au lieux qu' auparavant on luy avoit doné à choisir, et selon sa resolution, promis, de le ramener par la Pologne) que le Grand Wezyr le faira prendrrre et livrer aux Moscovittes, ou l'amener au Camp chez luy, pour luy fairre sentir son pouvoir. Sa Majesté fit fairre repons à Wezyr quil s'est bien resolu de passer par la Pologne et de hater aux plus tot, puisque ses proprres interesses le demandent dans le pays, quand mesme cella ne seroit pas avec une trop grandde armée. Mais qu Sa Mé le fasse, avec une si petite, comme il luy fut offert du commencement, cella ne se pouvoit fairre, et que les menaces du Wezyr dans cette conjuncture ne servoient de rien, et cetter promptitude avec la quelle, le Wezyr veut qu'on le fasse, on n'a nulle envie d'executer. Et comme j'ay mande à V( ) M( )é que depuis deux mois toutte la correspondance a esté oté aux Roy par l'ordrre du Wezyr, et que les gens de Sa Majesté ne pouvoient ni recevoir les ordrrs, ni passer avec l'argent de son pays, necessaire pour son voiage. Sa Mé fit demander aux Wezyr à emprunter



une somme des 600/m Escus, ou de luy doner le chemin libre pour envoyer chercher le sienn, sans le quel par une pays etranger, avec autant du monde quil a il luy est impossible de se mettre en chemin. Mais comme tout, est refusé aux Roy de la part du Wezyr, et que les menaces continuent tousjours, et quil n'est pas naturel, de se livrer soy mesme entre les mains des Ennemis. Sa Majesté s'est resolu de se tenir sour la defensiffe, contre les ignominieusses menaces du Grand Wezyr. Mais comme il a toutte la confience dans l'amitié et la justice de V Mé, il espere d l'obtenir contre un si indigne procedé de son grand Wezyr et que V Mé aura la bonté, de porter le remede avant que le mal pourra empirer. J'obmets beaucoup des circonstances, ne voulant point prendrre trop du temps à Ve Mé, avec la lecture de mon tres humble memorial. Je recommande dans la protection du Ciel la Personne de Ve Mé priant le bon Dieu pour son long et hereux Regne, etc.

Comme Vosttre apelle chez le Wezyr et le mauvais sejour que vous y avez eu, vous aura infalliblement fournie des matieres pour augmenter ce memorial, Sa Majesté est de l'opinion que Vous n'oubliez rien, de sorte que sans exagerer les chosses vous scaurez mon cher Collonel ce que vous avez à faire, pour veux que vous scachiez aussi que je serois aux desespoir, si vous oubliez celui, qui est cent milles fois, plus avous qu'a moymesme.

Le 4 d'8br 1711."

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt. Soubor statí.* By Vilém Mathesius, Prague, 1947, pp 466

THIS *Review* has already had occasion (Vol. XXV, No 64, pp. 249 f.) to pay tribute to the memory of Vilém Mathesius, the founder and *spiritus rector* of the Prague Linguistic Circle and, until his death in 1945, the leading exponent of English studies in Czechoslovakia. The present volume gives some measure of Mathesius' achievement in the field of general linguistics and of the study of his own language. The selection of essays which it contains was made by the author himself in the early part of the war, and the book was ready for publication in 1942. The German-controlled censorship, however, forbade its appearance; and the author did not live to see the end of German rule in Bohemia and the subsequent publication of his work, which was finally seen through the press by a former pupil, Dr. Josef Vachek, Lecturer of Brno University.

In selecting from the imposing series of his articles on linguistic subjects, extending over nearly forty years, the thirty-four essays that constitute the present volume, Professor Mathesius was guided by two considerations: he wished to examine "certain aspects of present-day Czech in the broader context of general linguistics," and at the same time "to illuminate the motive ideas and problems of present-day general linguistics" by reference to the linguistic material provided by contemporary Czech. But it should not be concluded from this that only the specialist in Czech studies or Slavonic philology can derive profit from the work. To the foreign reader, at any rate, the principal value of the book lies in its brilliantly clear and persuasive introduction to some of the fundamental problems of modern linguistic research. Although these articles appeared at different times and places they all express the same general principles, the same approach to the problems of language. They present a single coherent argument, and the book is clearly intended to be read as a whole. It is to be regretted that the language difficulty prevents it from being more widely circulated outside its country of origin.

Professor Mathesius' fundamental position is clearly stated in the first two essays in the book. The second of these (*Kam jsme dospěli v jazykozpytu*) gives a broad survey of the history of linguistic research in the 19th century. The historical and comparative study of the Indo-European languages, inaugurated by Rask in Denmark and Bopp in Germany, was developed, especially in the latter country, throughout the century: the "genetic" standpoint, typified by August Schleicher, tended to concentrate attention on the historical study of the sounds and forms of the languages of the Indo-European family; and at the end of the century the *Junggrammatiker*, with their thesis of the absolute validity of sound-laws within given limits of time and place, tended

to encourage this preoccupation with the individual linguistic phenomena, viewed historically. With the exception of Wilhelm von Humboldt and his successors, who, largely concerned with non-Indo-European languages, were better able to consider languages as systems and to compare them on the static rather than the historical plane, the genetic and historical approach held the field almost exclusively until well after 1900. In the first two decades of the present century, however, this supremacy was challenged by the new, indeed revolutionary linguistic conceptions of two non-German scholars—the Pole, Jean Baudouin de Courtenay and the Swiss, Ferdinand de Saussure. It was Baudouin de Courtenay who established the conception of the *phoneme*—the sound considered not as an isolated physiological phenomenon but only in relation to its significance or *function* in a particular linguistic system. De Saussure's fundamental contributions to linguistic thought were two. First, he established and defined the distinction between the two possible methods of approach to the study of language—the *diachronic* (dynamic, historical) and the *synchronic* (static, contemporary). Employing the synchronic method de Saussure further realised “that the elements existing in a given language at a given time form a system whose elements are closely linked with one another.” All these new conceptions are fundamental to Mathesius' own investigations, as indeed they are to much of contemporary linguistic research.

Of prime importance is also the essay with which the book opens, *Stilistika a lingvistická charakteristika*. A linguistic system can be studied from two points of view. The characteristic elements of the system can be isolated and categorised (this is the task of grammatical analysis), but it is also possible to evaluate these elements according to their importance in the linguistic system, and thus to characterise the possibilities of linguistic expression provided by the system. To Professor Mathesius this study, which he terms “linguistic characterology” (*lingvistická charakteristika*), is the most important aspect of linguistic research. The method is, of course, strictly synchronic, and the comparison of languages (without regard to their “genetic” relationship) is a most valuable means of bringing to light what is characteristic in each.

The field in which the Prague Linguistic Circle has so far done its principal work has been that of phonology, and to this subject Professor Mathesius devotes some highly stimulating chapters. Two of them define phonology, in contradistinction to traditional phonetics, and suggest the tasks that face researchers in this relatively new field. Due tribute is paid to the work of the founders of modern phonetics, in particular the Englishman, Henry Sweet; the German, Eduard Sievers, and the Dane, Otto Jespersen. An account is given of the growth of modern experimental phonetics, which has moved more and more into the field of the physical sciences. Phonology, the investigation of significant sounds and their function in a given linguistic system, is the aspect of the study of speech-sounds that now most interests the linguist. Here

too the author stresses the comparative method of investigation. By the use of this method it has, for example, been shown that the phonological structure of English corresponds in certain of its characteristic features with French rather than with German, the language with which it is "genetically" related. Professor Mathesius deliberately concentrates, in the application of his theoretical principles, on the analysis of his own language and of the more widely known western European languages in their modern form. Here he differs from other phonologists, such as the late Prince Trubetzkoy, who have often preferred to make use of material taken from little-known (e.g. Caucasian) languages: while phonological principles have thus been set on a broad and general basis the work of such scholars has tended to take on a forbiddingly esoteric character. A refreshing counter-balance is provided by Professor Mathesius' preference for more familiar ground. A series of articles are devoted to the study of the phonological characteristics of contemporary Czech, and here the comparative method is used most fruitfully. By a detailed analysis of particular sections of the vocabulary of Czech and German, Professor Mathesius is able to draw illuminating conclusions as to common and divergent features in the phonological structure of the two languages. A problem that is of particular interest to the linguist is the extent to which words borrowed from one language are adapted to the phonological system of another, and this question is treated here in some detail, particularly in the article *Cizí slova se stanoviska synchronického*. It should be particularly noted that the problem is here approached from the *synchronic* point of view, not from that of historical morphology which has chiefly claimed the attention of earlier scholars who have considered this problem. The definition of the term "foreign words" is thus of considerable importance in the author's methodical approach. Professor Mathesius' definition is as follows (p. 110) "Foreign words in a given language form a distinct group which is differentiated from the native vocabulary by certain characteristic features." The definition is not entirely satisfying, for the phrase "native vocabulary" is capable of varying definitions. In English Professor Mathesius seems to consider as "native" only the Germanic elements of its vocabulary. Proceeding from this he notes a number of characteristic marks of "foreign" words, e.g. stress on the last syllable (incidentally *camouflage*, given as one of the examples, is not stressed on the last syllable in modern English, though it is, of course, unmistakably characterised as a foreign word by the consonant [ʒ] in final position), initial *v* (as in *view*, *vile*), etc. The number of words thus characterised as foreign consequently becomes so large that we begin to wonder whether in the case of English the author is not merely bringing up a *diachronic* distinction in another form. It is noteworthy that the uncertainty as to pronunciation noted as one of the characteristic features of many "foreign words" is entirely absent in most of the English words included by him in this class. Would it not be more appropriate to say that from

the synchronic point of view the "native vocabulary" of English is more extensive than here conceded? The distinction between English and German made on p 105 would seem to add force to this view. Final judgment on these matters must no doubt wait until the phonological structure of mixed languages has been fully analysed. The analysis of the foreign element in the Czech vocabulary, however, is both convincing and stimulating.

The section of the book dealing with the sounds of language concludes with a series of articles of a more practical application. Professor Mathesius was never content to pursue his research in a vacuum his linguistic studies always bore in mind the problems raised by everyday usage. Consequently we find here severe, but at the same time constructive criticism of the careless or inaccurate use of Czech. It is particularly welcome to hear what the author has to say about the reading and recitation of verse. Actors or reciters are urged to read poetry as the author intended it to be read—as verse, not as prose which is simply divided into lines on the printed page. "If, on the stage or on the wireless, verses are read as mere prose, this is not a victory for naturalness but a gross offence against purity of style." This is a reminder of which not only Czech actors and reciters are in need.

The foundations of phonology have, as we have already noted, been fully laid; and Professor Mathesius' articles on this subject consequently deal in the main with the application to his linguistic material of methods of analysis that have by now been widely accepted as valid. When he proceeds to the broader field of grammatical analysis the land is less clearly charted, and in various passages he attempts to lay down the general principles that should be followed in the grammatical analysis of a given linguistic system. Most important here is the essay *O soustavném rozboru gramatickém* ("On systematic grammatical analysis")<sup>1</sup>. It would go far beyond the scope of the present review to deal with all of Mathesius' arguments on this subject, nor is the reviewer competent to do so. It must therefore suffice to draw attention to the broad categories in which the author proposes that linguistic phenomena should be classified. The act of speech, he says, is made possible by two fundamental processes. first, the intending speaker selects from a given "reality" (*skutečnost*) certain sections that are occupying his attention at a given moment and are capable of being expressed in the word-material of the language he proposes to use; secondly, the linguistic signs that designate the "sections of reality" that he has thus selected are brought into a mutual relationship and thus create a sentence. The investigation of the linguistic means by which the first process is carried out is the task of the science of *naming* or *functional onomatology*, this is further described

<sup>1</sup> Readers ignorant of Czech may like to compare the largely identical English version of this essay published under the title "On some problems of the Systematic Analysis of Grammar" in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 6, 1936, pp 95-107.

as "the science that deals with the system of naming in a language (*o soustavě jazykových pojmenování*) and its application in the concrete act of speech". The linguistic means by which the second process is realised are investigated by the science of *relationships* (*usouvztažnění*) or *functional syntax*. Morphology runs through both spheres, "for the elements of the same morphological system may be functionally linked with both onomatology and with syntax." Onomatology is further subdivided in accordance with the varying types of word-category. An article on the structural analysis of vocabulary (*Příspěvek k strukturálnímu rozboru zásoby slovní*), which compares certain characteristic features of the vocabularies of English, Czech and German, illustrates the tasks of onomatology.

It is syntax, however, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, that claims the author's main attention. The *sentence* is here the object of investigation; and here we are given Professor Mathesius' own definition of the sentence at which he arrives after a discussion of the views of earlier scholars (Wundt, Hermann Paul, Delbruck and others). Refraining from analysing the separate elements of the sentence, he stresses its communicative rather than its expressive character, and above all the fact that in the sentence the speaker makes known his attitude to a given reality.

The analysis of the separate components of the sentence, illustrated by a wealth of practical examples taken for the most part from Czech and English, occupies Professor Mathesius' attention in a number of articles. His main concern is to clarify, alongside the formal division of the sentence into subject and predicate, what he calls the "actual" or psychological construction of the sentence. The starting-point or basis of a given statement (*východiště výpovědi, základ výpovědi*) is something which the speaker can presume to be known or accepted and from which he then proceeds to the "core" of his statement (*jádro výpovědi*) or psychological predicate. Various means are employed to establish this relationship; one of the most important is word-order, a subject to which Professor Mathesius has often made illuminating contributions since he began to study English word-order before the First World War. In the essays in the present work that deal with this subject it is particularly stimulating to note that the examples are to a very large extent taken from colloquial Czech, thus revealing many characteristic features of the language that have been overlooked by earlier research. Here again the comparative method is used to good purpose. We are shown, for instance, how English, with its largely stereotyped word-order, tends to identify the formal with the "actual" construction of the sentence. In Czech, on the other hand, it is the basic function of word-order to make clear the "psychological" subject and predicate of the sentence. The problems of Czech word-order are dealt with in a very complete and authoritative essay, *Základní funkce českého pořádku slov*. ("The basic function of Czech word-order").

In his syntactical as in his phonological studies Mathesius never lost

sight of the living and practical applications of language, and in two essays he deals with the problems of style and expression in contemporary Czech. Bad style, he argues, is not so much due to grammatical solecisms as to the neglect of the rules of "meaning-structure" (*významová výstavba*) that govern the Czech sentence. A series of examples show what this means in practice for all who wish to write clear and precise Czech.

In the final section of the book there is a very important paper on the need for stability in a literary or standard language. This is a subject of vital importance for a language like Czech, whose literary usage has been established at a relatively recent date. The author wisely pleads for a cultivated literary language based on what he calls "elastic stability"; the norm should be not historical purism or grammatical regularity at any price but the accepted usage of the best authors of the past half-century. A concluding article gives an historical sketch of the development of literary Czech, leading up to an account of the spirited action (fought some fifteen years ago) in which the Prague Linguistic Circle, under the skilful generalship of Professor Mathesius, engaged the purists whose views found expression in the periodical *Naše řeč*. The author is able to note with satisfaction that his and his colleagues' views have now gained wide acceptance.

In brief, this is a noteworthy book in the best tradition of Czech and European linguistic scholarship.

Apart from obvious misprints I have noted the following slips:—

- p. 18, l. 24: for *Erasmus Rask* read *Rasmus Rask*,
- p. 81, l. 4: *allzu* is stressed, at any rate in standard German, on the first syllable,
- p. 125, l. 14, *sképtický*: the colloquial lengthening of the first syllable is here hardly likely to be due to the influence of German, where (to the best of my knowledge) the stressed *e* in *skeptisch* is always pronounced short;
- p. 168, l. 24: *nepřehlednost*. presumably *nepřechodnost* is meant,
- p. 196, l. 2: *nedokonavé* should be *dokonavé*
- p. 465. in the table of contents the word *jazykovém* is substituted for *gramatickém* in the title of the article beginning on p. 157

R. AUTY.

*O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian.* By Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński; Wydawnictwo Instytutu Zachodniego, Poznań, 1946, pp 237, with 6 maps and a linguistic diagram.

THIS work has been achieved under the extraordinarily hard conditions imposed on Polish science by the German occupation. The author had to be supplied secretly with the necessary books. The study brings the contribution of the generation of philologists, prehistorians, anthropologists and ethnographers between the two wars to the question of the

first habitat of the Slavs. It carries on Niederle's task, adding to it the new research, and a perfected linguistic method. Whereas Niederle, after the publication of his *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, made some concession to Rozwadowski's view that the Slavs have migrated from the North-east to the Vistula region, Lehr-Spławiński fixes the cradle of the Slavs in the Vistula-Oder area. So he ranges himself among the defenders of the Western theory, which is only one of the four or more theories on the origins of the Slavs.

The six chapters of the book focus on this problem the arguments of various disciplines: prehistory, linguistics, anthropology, ethnography and folk-lore, so that the value of each argument is enhanced by the arguments of other disciplines.

The author considers (p. 14) the *Neuroi* of Herodotus as Slavs who moved from the north-west (Wielkapolska) to the south-east (Podola-Wołyńia). The linguistic argument is the existence in those two regions of names of rivers and localities derived from the Indo-European root *\*neur-*, *\*nur-*, *\*ner-*, *\*nor-*, which is contained in the name of the population *Neuroi*, as well as in appellatives and names of rivers. Pol. *za-nurzyć*, *norzyć*, *nurek*, *norek*; R. *nyrjat'*, *nýra*, SCr *ponirati*, Cz *nořiti*, OCS. *nyrati*; Lit. *nėrti*; *Ner*, *Nerki* = rivers in Wielkapolska, *Nur*, *Nurzec*, *Nurec*, *Nurczyk*, etc. = rivers in Podola-Wołyńia. The conclusion, supported also by archæological facts, is that the *Neuroi*-Slavs migrated from the north-west towards the south-east. However, as the author shows further (p. 65), the names of *Nara*, tributary of Oka, the river *Nařupė* in Lithuania, the name of *Naružas* river in Latvia, the name of *Narew*, tributary of the Bug, are derived from the same Indo-European root. Other examples could be added to show that the above facts are at least ambiguous for the indication of the direction of Slav movements. So, the Thracian *Ναράκιον* (στόμα) = the mouths of the Danube, and the Illyrian *Νάρον* (cf. N. Jokl, *Ebert's Reallexikon*, XIII, 295) could not be separated from that root, the more so as the linguistic association of Thracian and Baltic is shown also by other ties. I should like to add, as belonging to the same root, the names of rivers and localities in Central and Western Roumania: *Nerej*, *Năruja* (Naruža), rivers and localities in the Buzău region, and *Nera*, tributary of the Danube in the Banat.

The author is aware of the difficulty arising from such widespread representatives of the same root over heterogeneous linguistic areas, and he proclaims the methodical necessity of separating Slav and non-Slav names derived from the same root, e.g. the name *Veneti* of Slav and of Celto-Illyrian origin (p. 18).

In the third chapter, the names of all rivers, from the Elbe to the Volga, are analysed and the etymologies are critically reviewed. The author uses not only the bibliography of that vast subject published before him, but he has had also the great advantage of consulting in manuscript, Rozwadowski's invaluable work on the names of Slav rivers, from the deposits of the Polish Academy. According to their origin the



names of the rivers of this area are divided into eight groups. (a) Indo-European without nearer definition, (b) Iranian, (c) Thracian, (d) Balto-Slav and Baltic, (e) Venetian, (f) Slav, (g) Germanic, (h) non-Indo-European.

The danger of error arises from the circumstances that when working on prehistory one is compelled to operate (in the case of names of rivers), exclusively with reconstructed forms and roots. The deductions can seldom be verified by unambiguous historical forms. Very often the same name can be derived from different roots, e.g. *Wista*; even more frequently the same root appears in ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous areas on a large territory, e.g. *Sava, Sana, San, Venedi*. On the other hand, in prehistoric times, the same theme may appear in very similar forms in different Indo-European dialects. There is also the possibility of superposition of names derived in various dialects from the same root, or even superposition by popular etymology of Indo-European on earlier pre-Indo-European forms.

The author always defines the territory ethnically, and works out his linguistic deductions on that background. Thus history comes into the support of philology. By this method names, in appearance etymologically identical, are separated, e.g. the Slav name of the Danube, *Dunavъ* has a different origin from *Dunaj, Dunajczyk*, etc., the names of many rivers and waters, used also as appellative, on Polish and Eastern Slav territory. This distinction has been made by Rozwadowski. The same distinction is drawn between the different names of rivers *Morava*, which are not all of the same origin (pp. 69, 193). The name of the river *Volga* is not of Slav origin, although formally nothing could oppose its derivation from a Slav prototype *\*vľ'ga*, "humid, wet." Volga is of Ugro-Finnic origin (pp. 81-82).

The difficulty of co-ordinating prehistorical ethnography and linguistics is conspicuous in the discussion of the East European river names: *Prut, Dniester, Dnieper, Don*. The author considers these names as being of Thracian origin, and of older date than *Tyras* (= *Dniester*), *Borysthene* (= *Dnieper*), *Tanais* (= *Don*) which are considered as Iranian (pp. 60, 104, 112, 171). So he inverts the conception which considered *Tyras* as the older name and of Thracian origin (Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, II, 2, 38, 98), *Dniester* < *\*Dana-istrũ* as younger and of Iranian origin, maybe influenced by the Thracians in its second part (Sobolevskij, *Arch. f. sl. Phil.*, XXVII, 1905, 241-44), who considers also the *Prut* of Iranian origin and sees in the *Pyretos* a Thracian pronunciation of the Iranian name). As to the chronology of the forms it has been observed that. "The Iranian names of the Western streams (*Danastris, Danapris*) may be just as old (as *Tyras, Borysthene*), but they were not current on the seaboard and only found their way into Greek speech when the Greeks had, as it were, to rediscover the region after considerable changes of population. Maybe then they learnt them not from the Iranians, but from the Slavs who had borrowed them" (Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*,

1913, p. 38). The phoneticism of these river names may be explained by the coexistence of Thracians and Iranians, as has been observed by another scholar: "The Scythian name of a river which ran through a Thracian region was pronounced by the Thracians in their manner and transmitted to other peoples in this pronunciation. The Iranian form was coexistent, and it was transmitted to the Slavs, afterwards to the Petchenegs, or it disappeared" (V. Pârvan, *Considérations sur quelques noms de rivières daco-scythes*, Mem. Acad. Rom., Sect. ist. seria III, tom I, 1923, 28). These remarks show how far the question is from a satisfactory solution.

In the fourth chapter, the science of the spade is called upon in support of the linguistic and historical conclusions. Archæology frames geographically and chronologically the results reached in the foregoing pages. The argumentation of this chapter is hinged on the ethnical origin of the Lusatian civilisation. The author considers as its creators three Indo-European elements—the Illyrians, the Celts and the Slavs; and he uses for all of them the common term "Venetians" proceeding from the fact that the Veneti are attested by Herodotus in the south on the Adria and in the north on the *Οἰνεδικὸς κόλπος*. The Lusatian culture in the Vistula region, reaching south and south-east to the Danubian basin, has been superimposed on an older Neolithic, non-Indo-European culture of Uralian origin which, at about 2000 B.C., encountered another pre-Indo-European Mediterranean civilisation in Etruscan form, in the Vistula region (p. 94). From the fusion of these two civilisations originated, at about 1000 B.C., the Indo-European Lusatian civilisation in whose creation the Proto-Slavs also participated.

Carried by the Slavs, this civilisation expanded towards the south-east and met the Thracian civilisation in the form of Komarowo (Stanisławow) culture in Eastern Galicia. From this fusion resulted the Czech-Wysocka culture of about 800–600 B.C. which is the culture of the Herodotean Neuroi. So the archæological facts concerning the Slav origin of the Neuroi, when taken together with the linguistic, prove that: "the parting point of the Lusatian (Venetian) expansion is the sector occupied, in the Lusatian culture, by the Slavs, and that sector is considered as the fatherland of the Slavs" (p. 104). To this archæological argument the author adds another philological one, viz. the names of the rivers in that region were taken by the Slavs from the Thracians (*Dniester*, *Dnieper*) and not from the Iranians (*Tyras*, *Borysthènes*) (pp. 104, 112).

The author maintains his advocacy expressed in earlier works, of a west to east Slav migration, as against Rozwadowski (*Nazwy Wisły*, pp. 9, 14) and Moszyński (*Kultura Ludowa Słowian*, II. 2. 1566) who argued for an east to west migration. In connection with the cradle of the Slavs arises again the other long-debated question. Where was the fatherland of the Indo-Europeans?

On page 111 the Latin *Venedi* is explained as a secondary form derived from the original Slav *Veneti* according to the Germanic rule of

*Lautverschiebung* -t > -d- = Lat., Gr. -d-. However, this correspondence seems to be isolated, as the name of the Carpathians, which appears in Teutonic as Harfada, appears in Greek with -t-, Καρπάτης.

Anthropological facts are analysed in the fifth chapter. The author considers the original Slav type as belonging to the nordic race. The contribution of the ethnography, folk-lore and social life of the primitive Slavs is then sketched, and the facts are analysed, which hint at the same Oder-Vistula region as the fatherland of the Slavs. The value of these facts is considered by the author as only subsidiary to his former argument.

The hypothetical character of the whole study is defined by the author in his conclusion. "None of the above disciplines provides separately facts which by themselves resolve the problem under discussion. Each discipline throws light on it from a different angle, and the possibility of harmonizing the results obtained independently in each discipline enhances the probability of the final results concerning the making, the chronology and the geographical localization of the Proto-Slav community" (p. 134).

There remain indeed on the level of hypotheses many fundamental problems on which the construction of the study is based, such as the question of the original settlement of the Indo-Europeans, the Balto-Slav linguistic community, the Slav character of the Lusatian culture, the migration from west to east of the Slavs.

The last chapter traces the line of evolution of the prehistoric Slav community from about 2000-1700 B.C. to historical times, dividing the evolution into four cultural-linguistic periods.

The rich and detailed notes form by themselves a study of 180 pages. Six maps and a linguistic diagram contribute to a fuller understanding of the rich material of this essay, which is indispensable to any further research.

GRIGORE NANDRIȘ.

*Zakonodatel'nye akty Petra I* Pod redaktsiei i s predislaviem B. I. Syromyatnikova — Tom I. *Akty o vysshikh gosudarstvennykh ustanovleniyakh.* (*Legislative documents of Peter I*) By N. A. Voskresensky. Edited, with a preface, by B. I. Syromyatnikov. Vol. I: *Documents concerning the supreme institutions of the State*; M.-L., Acad. of Sc. of U.S.S.R. (Inst. of Law), 1945, XLIV, pp. 602.

ACCORDING to the author (p. 24) this edition of Peter the Great's legislative documents was for many years delayed owing to the "anti-historical tendencies and methods" which at the time prevailed in the historiography of the U.S.S.R., and three volumes are evidently still awaiting publication. But the present volume already leaves no doubt as to the

paramount importance of this work—both on account of the material it contains, and of the novel methods applied to the edition. Even a plain reprint of the known documents, of which some are scattered in various works whilst the bulk is not always easily accessible in Speransky's *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov* (*Complete Collection of Laws*), would have been of the greatest value, in spite of Voskresensky's rigorous condemnation of Speransky's editorial methods (Syromyatnikov has quite rightly refuted some of these excessive and unjustified criticisms). The task which Voskresensky has set himself is infinitely greater. His edition aims not only at most scrupulously reproducing all the documents from the original—irrespective of any editions, but also at tracing the origin of each law, and at disclosing the creative process as well as the driving forces of Peter's legislation. Having investigated the records of all relevant archives, Voskresensky strives to show the development of each legal measure from its very inception and through all the intermediate stages up to the final promulgation by giving the successive draughts *in extenso*, and by meticulously indicating the tiniest alterations, additions, and marginal notes. In consequence the reader is occasionally confronted with as many as twelve variants, and for checking purposes he is in such cases naturally forced to look up a corresponding number of different pages. A more condensed arrangement, like the one suggested by Syromyatnikov—only the first and the final texts *in extenso* in two parallel columns, with the intermediate variants indicated on the same page in annotations—would certainly have been more convenient. However, it is open to doubt whether this could have added anything to the present impressive picture of the active part played by Peter in the creation of each single law and institution. The editor points out very appropriately that the evidence accumulated in Voskresensky's work definitely disposes of the theory put forward in particular by P. N. Milyukov that in the sphere of legislation Peter the Great was merely drifting without plans of his own, carried by the course of events, and directed at best by the impulses which came from his "projectors."

Having emphasised the highly specialised nature of the edition, it would be a mistake not to add that the perusal of these documents will nevertheless prove to be worth while for any reader interested in Peter the Great and his time, provided of course he is to some extent familiar with the subtleties of the Russian idiom of the period. The first section of the book in particular can claim to be of general interest. It consists of over two hundred items concerning "Law and Legislation," and shows the Tsar issuing legal instructions, collecting legislative material—native and foreign—demanding and receiving suggestions and projects, and so on. As a matter of fact the vivid and fascinating picture expands far beyond the immediate problems, as for example, with regard to foreign books and their translations—quite apart from those miscellaneous notes and memoranda which record the limitless activities of Peter. In a similar way numerous details of a biographical kind are interspersed

among the statutes, laws and manifestoes which form the bulk of the book. For instance, in the supplement to the second section dealing with "acts of sovereignty" will be found samples of the familiar jocular style in which Peter corresponded about state affairs with those of his dignitaries who had been given mock titles at his notorious revelries. There are indeed exceedingly few documents that do not bear the imprint of Peter's personality in some form or other, since Voskresensky's edition permits us to perceive all the various personal contributions by Peter, till now buried in the official version in which most of his statutes and laws are commonly known. The significance of these utterances varies of course very considerably, some being merely minor adjustments while others lay down basic principles of government or general rules of administration. Though always resolute and outspoken, these personal contributions nevertheless as a rule do not imbue the constitutional documents with the virile zest which is so peculiar to the casual instructions and orders. A sufficient example of the latter will be found in the ruling sent to the Synod (p. 121) to deposit in the Synod's curiosity chamber a piece of ivory that had been revered as the relic of a martyr, to recast its silver shrine for other purposes, and to publish a book against superstitions imported by Greeks. However, in addition to many other cases as typical as the one just chosen at random, the attentive reader will discover some rulings likely to sound rather surprising, such as an order against the abuse of torture in minor cases in particular (p. 101), or the attempt to abolish the custom of selling single peasants "like cattle" without regard to family ties, a custom unknown "in the whole world" (p. 92). These may well appear to be out of keeping with the popular one-sided picture of Peter's violent nature.

In view of the wealth of the material included in this volume two points are a matter for regret. The first is the lack of indices, which are badly needed when closely related things are scattered over various sections or extended chronologically. The second is the author's decision to abstain from references to any previous edition of his documents—although it must be acknowledged that his reasons for doing so are weighty. Less plausible are the considerations which induced the author to omit from this volume the Synod whose place should of course be among the central institutions, i.e. with the other "colleges" and next to the Senate. However, this is not likely to cause any practical inconvenience as soon as the particular volume to which the Synod is transferred will have appeared. I should like to conclude by expressing the hope that the other remaining volumes will follow soon and in quick succession.

LEO LOEWENSON.

*Vvedenie v yazykovedenie* By R. O. Shor and N. S. Chemodanov ; Gosudarstvennoe Uchebno-Pedagogicheskoe Izdatel'stvo Narkomprosa R.S.F.S.R., Moscow, 1945, pp. 280.

BETWEEN this "Introduction to Linguistics" and D. N. Ushakov's "Short Introduction to the Science of Language" (*Kratkoe vvedenie v nauku o yazyke*, 7th ed., Moscow, 1925) there are twenty years of fruitful linguistic research as well as of persistent thinking on materialist lines, which has culminated in the Japhetic Theory of N. J. Marr (v. *Yafeticheskaya teoriya*, Baku, 1928) and its extensions in the work of his pupils and interpreters, I. I. Meshchaninov (v. *Vvedenie v yafetidologiyu*, Leningrad, 1929), N. S. Derzhavin, B. V. Aptekar', and others. Ushakov's formalist compendium was indistinguishable in attitude and treatment from similar works in West European languages, e.g. *La linguistique, ou Science du langage* (Paris, 1921), by the latinist J. Marouzeau, which has recently (1944) reappeared in a second edition. The present work, on the contrary, illustrates and subsumes a militant theory of language.

In his preface to this book N. S. Chemodanov mentions his indebtedness to the stimulating lectures and writings of his teacher in Moscow, Rozaliya Shor (1894-1939), and explains that these were "sufficiently significant and valuable" to justify the not too easy task of giving them book form. To realise her declared intention of writing such a book, he has drawn on her sketch of the introductory chapter, an uncorrected shorthand transcript of her lectures, and her MSS of a series of linguistic articles printed in the *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* and the *Literaturnaya Entsiklopediya*, but a large part of the joint work is admittedly his own. The entire text moreover has been revised by such eminent Soviet authorities as G. D. Vinokur, D. N. Ushakov, I. I. Meshchaninov, and the phonetic section by L. V. Shcherba.

The authors' Marxist point of view is emphatically stated in Chapter 1 (*Vvedenie*). They begin by citing Marx's dictum, "Speech as an individual product is meaningless, speech is the product of a specific community," and give a rather verbose and not always lucid exposition of a materialist-sociological theory of language founded largely on Marr's and modified by later Marxist accretions. Language is defined as "a system of signs expressing notions and categories in which social man reflects existence." They then proceed to identify language with consciousness and to find in linguistic development a parallel to that of human society. For the origin of language, they appeal to a confident statement by Friedrich Engels: "Work and articulate speech were the two principal stimuli under which the simian brain gradually became human." Modern biology would not subscribe to this view, which regards the ape as an undifferentiated, instead of as a specialised product of biological evolution, and which, like the *a posteriori* Victorian substitution of "work" for "action" (the two are hardly synonymous), suffers from the effects of anachronistic thinking. Materialism treats consciousness

as the issue of a material brain, whereas idealism sees the material order in primordial consciousness. Both views, of course, are purely hypothetical constructions. Materialism, we are further informed, rejects both Wilhelm von Humboldt's idealist and subjective theory of language as a bridge between consciousness and the external world, and the late 19th-century theory of psychological linguistics, held in Germany by H. Steinthal and in Russia by his followers Potebnya and Shakhmatov, that the only linguistic reality is the individual psychophysiological act of speech, and that language is a systematised abstraction (cf. A. H. Gardiner's painstaking discrimination in *The Theory of Speech and Language*, 1932). Steinthal's view is assumed by our authors to embody a denial of the social character of language and consciousness. In reality, provided they are not emotionally distorted, the psychological conception of language and the sociological bias of materialism are complementary, rather than mutually exclusive records of observed fact. Aware of an element of truth in the former, Shor and Chemodanov attempt to reconcile it with the materialist-sociological theory by introducing "the dynamics of time": individual thought and speech are possible, they say, only as the outcome of prolonged social evolution, and this leads them to the metaphysics of the statement that "the individual in solitude dynamically carries social forces within himself." Exception moreover is also taken to the doctrine of F. de Saussure's "Sociological School" on the grounds that it places secondary before primary phenomena by exhibiting language as a system of conventional signs handed down by tradition and passively accepted by each articulate individual. But this theory, approved by O. Jespersen, A. Meillet, J. Vendryes, E. Sapir, and others, has also a basis in reality, representing as it does a close concentration on linguistic material, viewed against an unemphatic but permanent social background. With its sociological bias, materialism is apt to lose sight of the linguistically significant fact of language, and this comes out startlingly in its polemical approach to the racial theory, which has tended to pervert the findings of Aryan (Indo-European) linguistics. There can be no doubt that Aryan linguistics has sinned heavily in this respect by its quest of an inevitably fictitious Aryan race and by the aura of superiority with which that race and its artificially constructed "language" (Proto-Aryan) have been invested, but saner and more generous minds, e.g. Jakob Grimm's, have always been free from such perversions and have not committed the cardinal error of confounding race and language and imagining one language to be superior to another. In their polemics with the racialists the Marxists have gone to the opposite extreme of equating language with social group, which recalls that other fallacy of identifying language with consciousness. Curiously enough too, the Marxist theory, like the racialist, is not free from the antithesis of "inferior" and "superior" in relation to language, in spite of professed adherence to Marr's doctrine of the unity of the "glossogenic" (language-building) process and its corollary, the equality of all languages, both of

which, we may note in passing, appear to be in some sort involuntary reflections of the ethnographic and administrative order of the U.S.S.R.

*Vvedenie v yazykovedenie* is soundest where the matter lends itself least to theorising, as in the chapters headed "Phonetics" (Chap. 2), "Grammar" (Chap. 4), and "Languages of the World and their Classification" (Chap. 5), and its weakest parts, besides the "Introduction," are such chapters as "The Origin of Language" and "An Outline History of Linguistics." The chapters on vocabulary (*Leksika*), language laws (*Osnovnye zakonomernosti razvitiya yazyka*), and the alphabet (*Pis'mo*), though as full and detailed as the better ones, seem to be less well done. Chapter 2 (*Fonetika*) contains a clear *exposé* of phonetics with the help of diagrams mainly reproduced from English works and from A. I. Tomson's *Obshchee yazykovedenie* (Odessa, 1910<sup>2</sup>). In this chapter the writing draws closest to the succinctness of Marouzeau's *La linguistique* and has no doubt benefited by Shcherba's revision. One mistake obtrudes itself in Figure 8, which represents the back vowels as a left-to-right diagonal scale from palatal to velar instead of showing them as a vertical scale entirely within the velar area, others are the classing of the vibrant with the constrictives (*shumnye*), possibly an oversight, the explanation of the *v* in European loan-words like *avtomobil'* and *Austriya* (p. 46) as primarily due to the tendency to avoid a diphthong, the mention of Serbian Lithuanian, Latvian, and Swedish (where tone is only sporadically semantic) alongside Chinese as tonal languages (p. 48), the qualification of the French voiceless hush-sibilant (*chuintante*) as "soft" compared with its Russian counterpart, and a few errors in the spelling of foreign words, some of them typographical, others errors of commission (e.g. *thurst* for *thirst*). Spelling mistakes also occur in some of the other chapters (e.g. *serf* for *cerf* in Chap. 1, and *Krahnich* for *Kranich* in Chap. 3). The fourth and the fifth illustrate the abundant use of extra-Aryan linguistic material, which has accumulated as the result of patient and widespread language study in the U.S.S.R. A great many examples are taken from Uralian (e.g. Mordvinian), Turanian (e.g. Azerbaijani), and Palæoasiatic (e.g. Chukcha, Koryak, Yukagir), Meshchaninov's *General Linguistics* (*Obshchee yazykoznanie*, 1940) is laid under contribution, and Marr's support is sought in numerous footnotes. The chapter devoted to the classification of languages is distinctly superior to the one in Ushakov's book and is illustrated with very helpful black-and-white maps, presumably reproduced from German and French originals. This is in many ways the most attractive part of the book and is especially valuable where it deals with the languages of the U.S.S.R. Marr's "system" (not "family") of Japhetic languages is accepted entire, and the Turanian languages are classified according to A. Samoylovich's criteria. Mistakes have been made here and there: the geographical source of Breton is located in Wales as well as in Cornwall, Moldavian (a Rumanian dialect) and Latgalian (a Latvian dialect) are made into separate members of the Romanic and Baltic divisions of Aryan respectively, only because, like



Braid Scots, they have dialect literatures, Ingrian or Isurian (*izhorsky*) is detached from Carelian, to which it belongs; the Altaic languages are not regarded as one stock, the Samoyedic dialects are not conjoined with Ugrian and Somian (Finnic) in a comprehensive Uralian; the major types of Polynesian (e.g. Samoan, Tongan, Maori, and Hawaiian) are ignored in favour of minor Polynesian languages like Rarotonga (Cook Islands) and Rapanui (Easter Island); and there are numerous misspellings of the names of exotic languages (e.g. Semong for Semang, *kassimikoborsky* for *kassimikobarsky*, *laotivsky*, misled by the curious French form *laotien*, for Lao). The most serious defect of all is the omission of the Australian languages, which have been carefully studied and reclassified by A. Capell within the last decade, and the perfunctory treatment of the Amerindian stocks, which are described as having been "very insufficiently studied," in spite of the sound and scrupulous researches of F. Boas, E. Sapir, A. Kroeber, and their younger contemporaries and followers. It is in this chapter too that the unfortunate terms "primitive" and "highly cultured" are most in evidence, e.g. Manchurian is said to have yielded to the higher culture of Chinese, although its decline appears to have been due to the steady seepage of illiterate Chinese farmers and labourers into Manchurian territory. A similar disputable statement will have it that Russian spread in the Russian Empire, like Latin in the Roman Empire, without the auxiliary process of colonisation, whereas history tells us that both the Siberian taiga and the southern steppes were settled and russianised from the Muscovite focus. Equally unsatisfactory are the undated statistics of the leading languages (p. 178), which, e.g., give English as spoken by 168 millions, Russian by 100, Spanish by 80, German by 70, French by 47, Italian by 43, Ukrainian by 40, Portuguese by 40, and White Russian (not a leading language) by 10. A comparison of these figures with those given by L. Tesnière in Meillet's *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (2nd ed., Paris, 1928), viz 170, 80, 65, 81, 45 (including 12 million Provençal speakers), 41, 34, 36, 6.6, in the same order, will reveal the occasional glaring divergencies. There is also a tendency to regard the typological or morphological classification of languages as marking the successive stages of linguistic development, an idea which has been erected by Marr into an unconvincing theory (*teoriya stadyal'nosti*). The chapter on the origin of language brings us up against controversial matter, pure surmise, and a restatement of the Marxist position. The theory of origin is Marr's and presupposes long-range development from manual and other bodily gestures (wrongly regarded as "primitive" among the aborigines of North America and Australia, where they are rather a function of the chaotic diversity of languages) to articulate speech under the magical, transfiguring influence of corporate work. In the treatment of the evolution of writing (Chap. 8), a mainly historical process is traced, along a scale of increasing stylisation, from pictograms to "phonograms." And in the last chapter, which is selectively illustrated

with portraits of eminent linguists, among them the celebrated Germans, Bopp, Grimm, and W von Humboldt, the development of linguistic theory leading up to Marr's sociological materialism is presented competently, if onesidedly.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

*Obshchee yazykoznanie. K probleme stadiyal'nosti v razvitií slova i predlozheniya.* By I. I. Meshchaninov; Gosudarstvennoe Uchebno-Pedagogicheskoe Izdatel'stvo Narkomprosa R.S.F.S.R., Leningrad, 1940, pp. 260

THE word *stadiyal'nost'* (a metaphorical extension of *stadialis*) in the subtitle, the "Japhetic" illustrations, and the frequent occurrence of Marr's name in the text and footnotes would all suggest the main source of Meshchaninov's inspiration, even if there were not a specific statement on the reverse of the title-page that the author is "a pupil and follower of Acad. N. J. Marr." But this interesting and "original work," which is explicitly intended for "the senior classes of philological faculties," has many other sources besides. The names of representative members of the "Sociological School" (F. de Saussure, J. Vendryes, A. Meillet), of Sapir, Jespersen, Schuchardt, and John Ries, and of a line of Russian scholars from A. A. Potebnya to L. A. Bulakhovsky, as well as standard quotations from Marxist and Leninist classics give the wide range of Meshchaninov's reading. His use of the less usual *yazykoznanie* (*Sprachwissenschaft*) for the more usual, if literary, *yazykovedenie* may be due to the wish to avoid confusion with A. I. Tomson's pre-revolutionary *Obshchee yazykovedenie* (Odessa, 1910<sup>2</sup>). The illustrative examples are taken from an abundant variety of linguistic material and serve to differentiate this book from the mass of writing on "general linguistics," which in Western Europe is still largely synonymous with Aryan (Indo-European) linguistics. Following the inspiring lead of N. J. Marr, Meshchaninov does not content himself with Aryan examples only, but introduces matter drawn from the Soviet language stocks, Palaeoasiatic (e.g. Chukcha, Yukagir, Gilyak, Eskimo, Aleutian), Caucasian (e.g. Abkhaz, Awar, Dargwa, Lak, Chechen), Iverian (e.g. Georgian, Mingrelian, Laz), Uralian (e.g. Samoyed, Vogul), and Altaic (e.g. Buryat), as well as from the alien Bantu (Swahili, Zulu) and North Amerindian (Nemepu of the Sahapta group). "Each language system, considered separately," he maintains, "does not disclose its typological features clearly and completely"; and these can be elicited only by comparison with other systems.

Like Marr in his latter days, Meshchaninov dogmatically applies the Marxist dialectic to language. This method views language, as it views other human manifestations, in "a state of uninterrupted motion and change," and accordingly insists that linguistic phenomena should be studied not only in their interrelations (synchronically), but in their

development (diachronically) Fundamentally this is the biological "evolutionary" method familiar to "comparative-historical" linguistics. The chief emphasis, however, is not on a "static" morphology, as with the Neogrammarians (*Junggrammatiker*), but on a "dynamic" semantics. Anticipating a later work (viz. *Chleny predlozheniya i chasti rechi*, 1945), Meshchaninov contrasts "word" (*slovo*) and "sentence" (*predlozhenie*), i.e. the lexical and the syntactic, and pursues the contrast into their "indices" (*pokazateli*)—lexemes and syntaxemes. For Marr syntax "plays the decisive rôle" in linguistic structure—he is persuaded that language begins with the sentence, from which the parts of speech subsequently detach themselves in a definite order—first the noun and its associates (pronoun and adjective), then the verb. This is one example of the "metaphysics" of the dialectic method as applied to language, the historical and palæontological theorising which exploits as material the recorded facts of various languages within relatively narrow time-limits, and is the less reliable, because the less limited, of the two recognised modes of approach, viz. the diachronic as opposed to the synchronic. The wisdom of the Neogrammarians was their insistence on tangible fact, their unwisdom—the "metaphysics of the "protoglossa" (*Ursprache*). The unwisdom of the "dynamic" approach to language (for its exposition in full, v. I I. Meshchaninov, *Novoe uchenie o yazyke*, Leningrad, 1936), which Meshchaninov traces back to Humboldt's conception of language as *énergéïa*, is that, with Marr and his pupils, it squanders the "physics" of linguistic fact on the "metaphysics" of linguistic evolution, i.e. forces detached observation into the constricting framework of a preconceived theory. Marr's hypothesis of the unity of the "glossogenic process" and of the "stadial development" of language in intimate association with the development of material culture is undeniably fascinating and stimulating, but its acceptance, like that of any other mere hypothesis, can only be an act of faith or *pretas*, and as the argument of *Obshchee yazykoznanie* is no more than an attempt to systematise Marr's views and substantiate them with linguistic evidence from "primitive" sources, its validity rests largely on the authority of a questionable thesis, viz. that certain language systems are essentially more "primitive" than others, and that there is a chronological line of progress from incorporation (polysynthesis) to flexion. This attitude of mind is clear, e.g. from Meshchaninov's statement that the possessive conjugation of Abkhaz, as compared with that of Aleutian (Unangan), where this inflection coincides formally with the possessive inflection of nouns, represents "a considerable advance." Progress in language in the sense of improvement rather than merely of development seems to be a matter of emotion and prejudice. A sane scientific attitude is content to leave "superior" and "inferior" and the rest of the vocabulary of "values" to sciolism.

Potebnya (v. *Mysl' i yazyk*, St. Petersburg, 1862) identifies the parts of speech with the parts of the sentence (*chleny predlozheniya*), Ries (v. *Was ist Syntax?*, Marburg, 1894) opposes form to function, and Meshchaninov,

drawing on both and on the Marxist dialectic, studies the "closely connected units," word and sentence, in the perspective of historical development. A word, according to Meshchaninov, is subject to syntactic as well as to lexical change, and it cannot properly be a word unless it has full meaning, i.e. can be treated under "lexical semantics." The "form-words" (*formal'nye slova*) of Potebnya (Fortunatov's *chastichnye slova*) are not lexical, but syntactic elements. Flexion in the widest sense distinguishes lexemes (e.g. *stol-ik*, "little table") and syntaxemes (*eto-mu stol-ku*, "to this little table"), or lexical and syntactic indices. The character of these varies with the character of the linguistic system of which they are a part: thus, in Abkhaz, as sporadically in Austronesian, the noun cannot appear without attributes, viz. a pronoun or a numeral (e.g. *s-ikun*, "my boy," *ikun-ak*, "a boy"). But the indices may, in some cases (e.g. the classifiers in Zulu or the articles in French and German), belong simultaneously to the spheres of lexicology and syntax (e.g. Zulu *ubu-suku bu-balekile*, "the night has flown," where the classifier specifies the noun and binds subject to predicate).

The morphological classification of languages affected by the less orthodox side of 19th-century linguistics, viz. into isolative (amorphous), incorporative (polysynthetic), agglutinative, and flexional, has been revived and reinterpreted by Marr and Meshchaninov in terms of their materialist theory and arranged diachronically in "progressive" stages (*stadii*). At the origins of language, they declare, was the holophrase or incorporative unit, Meshchaninov's "word-sentence" (*slovo-predlozhenie*). This disintegrated first into the incorporative complexes, subject and predicate, each of them a syntactically dependent word-*bloc*, as in Gilyak (e.g. *tovilagan veurd*, "this-big-dog/running-good," i.e. "this big dog runs well," where *-d* is the predicative index, not a verb), and then, with the emergence of the finite verb in the predicate, the possessive, ergative, affective, and nominative constructions (*stroi*), in that order, were formulated. The last of these, the nominative, is characteristic of the Aryan sentence, with its clear antithesis of nominative and verb. The process of development may be seen by juxtaposing the Yukagir polysynthetic unit *asayuolsoromoh* (lit. "reindeer-seeing-man," i.e. "the man saw the reindeer"), the Gilyak dichotomy already illustrated, the verbalised Swahili *watu wanakisomu kitabu hiki kizuri* ("people are reading this beautiful book"), where we recognise two complexes, one bound by the subject-classifier *wa*, the other by the object-classifier *ki*, and, as the last stage, the typical Aryan sentence, with its looser syntactic pattern. But in all these cases the nexus of subject and predicate remains, whether it is morphologically apparent or not: the disintegrated holophrase, while formally isolating its components, binds them syntactically either with the aid of classifiers (e.g. in Bantu, Caucasian, some forms of Papuanic) or merely by arranging them in a definite order (e.g. the Semitic construct state or Welsh postposition of possessor to possessed).

The diverse historical types of syntactic structure are not illustrated

singly by any extant language, but several types may coexist, though not on an equal footing, in the same language (e.g. Palæoasiatic, North Amerindian, Caucasian), which accordingly exhibits the condition Marr has described as "polystadial" and offers a wealth of opportunities for palæontological conjecture. The decisive emergence of the verb may be studied in Aleutian and Chukcha (Luoravetlan), where it has a personal flexion and also expresses the customary notions of number, tense, and mood. The possessive order (*stroi*) occurs in Aleutian and Abkhaz: in the former it is fully articulate, in the latter it is bound up with the antithesis of transitive and intransitive and pointed by classifiers of the active and the passive gender (e.g. Abkh. *s-i-goyt*, "me-he(active)-takes," *w-a-goyt*, "you-he(passive)-takes"). The ergative order is another development of the original holophrase and has its nucleus in the category of transitivity (cf. Chukcha *kljavol čevyrkyn*, "the man is going," with *kljavolja* (ergative case) *jena-pelja-rkyn*, "(by) the man me-abandons," i.e. "the man abandons me"). In contrast to the possessive order, the ergative emphasises verb rather than noun, and its subject is made to agree with the predicate. The subject in all cases figures in an oblique case—in the instrumental, if the verb is transitive, and in the dative, if the verb is a *verbum sentiendi*. The verb, for its part, merges with the object (cf. the objective conjugation of Hungarian and Mordvinian). The transition from the possessive to the ergative order is illustrated, e.g. by Abkhaz and Lak, that from the ergative to the nominative by the Iverian group. But besides the possessive and the ergative constructions, there is an affective and a locative. The resemblance between the affective and the ergative is more apparent than real, because in the former the subject is passive, whereas the ergative-type subject is active, as its name implies. Georgian has an example of the affective order in *mamas* (dat.) *ukvars švili* ("to the father to-him-beloved-he the son," i.e. "the father loves the son"), where the subject has its exponent in the verbal suffix -s (3rd person), and the pronominal prefix *u-* accords with the noun (*mama-s*). In Georgian and the cognate Mingrelian the past tense is constructed on the ergative and affective patterns, the present, significantly enough, on the nominative, and in both the object is the pivot of the sentence. Another structural device, found also with variant cases in Russian and other East European languages, is the locative construction, in which the subject normally invests a locative case-form in its relation to the objective predicate (e.g. Awar *dich ču bugo*, "near me horse is," i.e. "I have a horse," which may be contrasted with the possessive construction, *dir ču bugo*, "my horse is," i.e. "I have a horse"). In all these structural relationships—possessive, ergative, affective, locative—the object is in the absolute (nominative) case, and, where classifier and person exist, links up through them with the verb.

The emergence of the subject in the nominative case occurs, as we have noted, in Georgian, which couples difference of tense with difference

of structure. In view of this we have to agree with Baron P. Uslar that it is impossible to explain the meaning of Caucasian forms and usage in terms of Aryan grammar. This last, according to Meshchaninov, is based on the recognition of person, which has become the focus of grammatical logic, the active subject to a finite verb. In this nominative order too each part of the sentence has its own grammatical indices, which may be shared, where formal concord prevails, by primaries and secondaries alike (e.g. Russ. *bol'shaya ryba*, "big fish," where the adjective has acquired the generic ending of its noun). The "terminal" nominative order is inevitably illustrated in this book by Russian, but Russian, compared to the "analytical" West European languages, is distinctly "backward." The appeal to Meillet and his characterisation of Aryan syntax, in which Russian syntax is included, will not disguise the disparity from the "evaluating" linguist, and this offers a cogent argument against the "progressive" attitude.

Meshchaninov's well-digested material is presented in a plain, sober style, which, however, is not altogether free from *clichés*. Several printer's errors in words from the rarer languages have been observed and listed by the author himself, but *ti brenhin* for Modern Welsh *ty brenn* (king's house) and *ἔργον* for Humbolt's *ἔργον* (p. 21) require correction. There is also a great deal of possibly inevitable reiteration, which might be removed in a subsequent edition.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

*Čechy v dějinách italské kultury* By Arturo Cronia; Prague, 1936.

THE years between the two wars witnessed a widespread interest in Slavonic studies on the part of most of the countries of western Europe. The nations which had been earlier almost unknown to Frenchmen, Englishmen and Italians became the subject of study and interest. The story of the growth of Slavonic studies in London and Paris is already well known. This book helps to complete the picture by giving an account of the cultural relations between the peoples of Italy and Czechoslovakia.

It is the work of one of the most eminent Italian slavists, professor Arturo Cronia. He, with Wolfgang Gusti and Ettore Lo Gatto, have transformed Slavonic studies in Italy from superficial and amateur dilettantism into a well-organised scientific school which, especially in the fields of literary criticism and comparative æsthetics, has made of Italian slavistics an important part of the work being done in the West in making known the achievements and problems of East European culture.

Professor Cronia's book professes to be an account of "Bohemia in the history of Italian culture: the harvest of a thousand years." It

is both more and less than that. On the one hand professor Cronia has not been able to avoid saying a good bit about the bigger subject of Italian influence on Czech culture; on the other, he does not in fact tell us much of how Bohemia has influenced Italian culture, because, I suspect, that influence has been small. But what he has done is very valuable he has given an account of every reference he has been able to find made by Italian writers to the Czechs and Slovaks and to their culture from the visit of the Apostles of the Slavs to Rome in 867 to the publication of Mussolini's *Enciclopedia Italiana*.

The dynamics of history have made it inevitable that the traffic of ideas between Bohemia and Italy should be largely one way. Italy had lived out one civilisation before the western Slavs appeared above the horizon of history. In the Middle Ages Italy was able to give to Bohemia the spiritual inspiration and genius for organisation of the Roman Church, and when the Czechs revolted from Romanism they were still the debtors of Italy for the humanism of the Renaissance and the flowering of baroque in Czech architecture, literature and painting.

Professor Cronia rightly makes much of the visit of Cyril and Methodius to Rome as the event which first established contact between the two countries. But one suspects that the Romans welcomed the apostles, not so much because of their work in Great Moravia, but because Cyril brought with him the relics of St. Clement of Rome which he had earlier collected in the Crimea. So, too, it is with the Italian hagiographers, Gumpold, Laurentius of Monte Cassino and Canaparius, who wrote laudatory lives of the early Czech saints, Wenceslas and Vojtěch-Adalbert. Their interest is catholic, not national; to their Italian biographers the saints are glorious exemplars of the Church universal; with their Czechish or Slavonic significance they are hardly concerned.

The Czechs next impinged on Italian history as the allies of the Holy Roman Emperors, particularly of Henry IV and Frederick Barbarossa, during the conflict with the Papacy in the 11th and 12th centuries.\* Czech princes and bishops and knights came to perform in Lombardy and Apulia the feudal obligation to assist the emperors in their "Rome journeys." There is no doubt that the Czechs became well known to Italians in the 12th century; their courage and ferocity at the sieges of Milan, Crema and Naples ensured that. They were celebrated in both the text and the pictures of the *De rebus Siculis carmen* of Petrus de Ebulo. But what contribution they made to Italian culture by their participation in the wars of Frederick I and Henry VI professor Cronia does not make clear. Indeed, the three Czechs of all those who took part in these Italian expeditions who might conceivably have had some cultural weight, Daniel I, bishop of Prague, prince Děpold and the chronicler Vincencius, professor Cronia does not mention. I fear that all his learned references cannot conceal the truth that while in the Middle Ages the influence of Italian culture on Bohemia and Moravia

was extensive and profound, that of Bohemia on Italian culture was negligible.

This is true even of the later Middle Ages, when the influence of St. Clara on St. Anne of Bohemia, of Petrarch on Charles IV and of the university of Bologna on that of Prague far outweighs the slight interest which Italians showed in Bohemian affairs, even though it is true that Poggio's famous letter about the constancy of Jerome of Prague at the stake and Æneas Sylvius's *Historia Bohemiæ* do witness to the fact that the Czechs had made themselves known to the world.

Of the relations between Czech and Italian culture during the period of the submergence of the Czech nation between 1620 and 1790 not even the industry of professor Cronia has much to reveal, except to emphasise the greatness of Italian influence in fertilising baroque art in Bohemia and Moravia, and the popularity of St. John of Nepomuk in Italian hagiology. It is not until the Italian *Risorgimento* and the Czech *Obrození* made the two countries partners in a joint enterprise, that of moderating or terminating the Habsburg tyranny under which they both suffered, that there is any substantial evidence of an effective sympathy. Italian political prisoners in the Špilberk at Brno and Czechoslovak soldiers fighting and dying unwillingly for the Austrians in Lombardy awakened Italian men of letters to the fact of Bohemian nationality and cultural achievement. Mazzini got to know and to appreciate the work not only of Mickiewicz and Krasiński but also he read and admired in Bowring's *Cheskan Anthology* some of the writings of Kollár. In the latter half of the century the Italian liberals discovered Hus and were swift to build him up as a champion of integrity, truth and national independence. Italian Husitism bore strange fruit: not only Erizzo's *Giovanni Hus il riformatore boemo* (1878), and an operatic melodrama of hopeless love (*Giovanni Hus, dramma storico*, libretto by Zanandini, music by Tessaro), but also *Giovanni Hus il veredico*, a not unskilful appreciation of Hus as a precursor of liberalism and a champion of truth from the pen of the still undegenerate Mussolini (1913).

The first of the modern Italians to appreciate Czech literature at first hand and to convey something of its spirit to the Italians was Emilio Teza, who in a series of articles and translations, written between 1866 and 1910, afforded to his compatriots the material for building up an ever-increasing interest in Czech poetry. From his time onwards professor Cronia is able to adduce names and writings of scores of Italian men of letters, historians, philologists, compendiarists, encyclopædists and journalists who have in the last fifty years made Czechoslovak literature better known and appreciated in Italy. Gradually their work has become more scientific and accurate, more appreciative of the ethos of the Czechoslovak spirit, especially as since 1918 it has been less dependent on German or French translations.

Professor Cronia may not have succeeded in doing what the title of his book suggests, that is, in giving an account of Bohemian influence on



Italian culture, but he has done something more in keeping with the facts, something equally valuable: he has given us a conspectus of the knowledge of Bohemia and the Czechs which the Italians have had during a thousand years.

There are appended to the book some twenty pages of a summary in Italian. I feel that this and other similar works of international interest would become deservedly much better known were they either to be written in French or English, or at least provided with a summary in one or the other of those languages.

R. R. BETTS

*London.*

*Kultura Polska a Niemiecka—Polish and German Culture (Native elements and German influences in the structure and civilisation of medieval Poland).* By Marian Friedberg, Publications of the Western Institute, Poznań, 1946, 2 volumes, pp 310 and 363.

THIS work deals with the relations of Poland and Germany in the Middle Ages, in two parts. All questions relating to the structure of the Polish State and the community are discussed in five sections in Vol. I. All cultural developments are the subject of four sections in Vol. II. It is not possible for one man to give a competent opinion on all parts of the book, since it is really a synthesis of Polish history in which the work of many specialists has been used, archæologists as well as historians, Polish and German, from Lelewel and Roepell to the monographs of the last quarter of a century. Until similar specialists have criticised their own sections only a general review can be given. It is a satisfactory book. Its divisions are simple and logical—a complete revolution from the old chronological account of princes and wars. The first volume deals with the genesis of the Polish State, the Piasts and their relations with the Empire, the knighthood of Poland, colonisation under German law and Polish towns. In each chapter the author's method is the same. He gives the facts based on a critical investigation of all the documents. Where there is a difference of opinion, e.g. between German and Polish historians, he gives all sides of the problem and draws his own conclusions; and it is this latter part of each section which gives originality and vitality to the work. Thus the views of recent German historians such as Kehr, Brackmann and Sappok are given fitting prominence. The bibliography at the end is not too long, but includes all works that matter, from Lelewel to Tymieniecki, Z. Wojciechowski and the great *History of Silesia* edited by Kutrzeba.

To show the author's method one might turn to the controversial questions rising from the conversion of the Poles to Christianity. He puts these problems at once in historical perspective by making two comments. Firstly, that the German Church was still young in the thirteenth century and had not itself the resources to convert great masses

of foreigners. He compares its position with that of Poland which, 150 years after its conversion, had to summon a foreign bishop to aid her in the conversion of the Pomeranians, and solicited the advice of St. Bernard on the question of the Orthodox Church in Russia. He points out further that the Poles were not converted by outside pressure, but as part of a cultural development at home. He notices that the conversion of Poland took place under strong princes, as was the conversion of Hungary under Stephen, Denmark under Canute the Great and Rus under Vladimir. Finally, he points out how conversion was used by the Germans as part of a system of conquest and absorption. Gero was no missionary, and the powerful German leaders were utterly opposed to the idealism of Otto III, whether expressed in his ecclesiastical policy or his philo-slavism.

Equally convincing is his treatment of the questions arising out of the document "*Dagone Iudex*," especially the German claim that the Polish state was founded, like the Russian state, by foreign rulers. His account of the great events of Otto III's visit to Poland in the year 1000, although it deals with many controversies, is lucid and convincing. The discussion of how far Bolesław accepted vassalage to the Emperor he ends with a quotation from the anti-Polish chronicler Thietmar, who blames the Emperor for raising a subordinate to be a lord. He is convinced that Poland was an independent State with an independent Church in 1000, though she had to fight hard subsequently to maintain both. Less convincing, perhaps, is his attempt to relate the religious and cultural rise of Poland at this time to regions further west. His own solution is that the noble ideals which Poland received and which obviously had nothing in common with the rapacity of the border Saxons, came not from the more educated Germans of the Rhine, but from Lower Lorraine, i.e. Belgian centres like Liège.

Perhaps the most complete piece of creative criticism is seen in the author's account of the Mongol invasion. The classic description of this event, which has left a firm imprint on all our Western history books, is the most notorious development of that German school of historical thought which, while claiming to be scientific, often distorted facts to serve a purpose. To the mind of the Prussian of the 19th century it seemed absurd that the Germans should have taken no part in the great invasion of Europe in 1241. So there grew up the epic of the battle of Liegnitz where the Germans conducted a battle which, though a defeat, was heroic and led to the retreat of the Mongols. Apart from the fact that Batu retreated for other reasons, these historians had to transform a Piast prince into a German leader, anticipate the partial germanisation of Lower Silesia by nearly a century and create out of the Teutonic Order, then a small body struggling to subdue the border Prussians, the great military corporation which it later became. Mr. Friedberg's account of the invasion and of the German legend is admirable. What a pity that Western compilers of history do not read Polish as well as

German! Moreover, he does not give the Poles credit that was not theirs. He admits the presence of Poppo, Grandmaster of the Order, but points out that he was not killed. He analyses the composition of the army and gives due credit to the foreign allies, Czechs and Germans, who came to help the Poles. The Germans were probably mainly local settlers, since there could be no possibility of the presence of large numbers of Germans owing to the speed of the Mongol advance. The great body of the army was composed of the fragments of the armies of Lesser Poland and Upper Silesia, already defeated, but mainly of the Knights of Lower Silesia under their Piast prince with whom must have fought, according to the laws of the time, a great number of Polish peasants.

One of the most interesting sections of the work is the chapter on pagan Poland on which so many recent books have been written, which are scarcely known outside Poland. Archæological discoveries have shown an early civilisation carried on by a people with a very high culture, with furniture, tools and a high standard of agriculture, who seem to be the ancestors of those who dwelt in Great Poland in historical times—a discovery that challenges some of the earlier theories of the migration of peoples. This culture, though pagan, was not barbarian, but it lacked stone for building, and writing to record its own achievements. About the early Piasts, too, much has been discovered, though the theory of a connection with early Irish or English missionaries is not accepted by Mr. Friedberg. Polish history, having eliminated the mythical elements in the early chroniclers, has done much to rehabilitate the earlier princes by the comparative method, by new discoveries and by sifting the older legends, while Mieszko I since the studies of Dr Z. Wojciechowski has become an important historical figure. Excellent investigation, too, has made possible an account of the rise and development of schools, of architecture and of art and literature.

A great deal might be said about the growth of the towns and the spread of colonisation based on German law, but tribute must be paid, where all cannot be discussed, to the clear and comprehensive description of the complicated problems of the rise and organisation of the Polish knighthood, which with its native clan system and its foreign elements is so different from our own.

An important part of the book is the Introduction, which is brief and to the point. Its most interesting theme is an exposition of the reasons which made relations with Germany so complicated a problem throughout Polish history. These reasons are:

1. The connection of Poland with the West must be made through Germany.
2. Almost all early accounts of Poland depend on hostile German chroniclers.
3. The influence of Germany on her neighbours through the tenure of the Empire mainly by German rulers and through the presence

in Poland of the Teutonic Order—a German corporation supported by the Papacy as well as the Empire.

4. The rise of modern historiography under German auspices at a time when the Poles had no State to support Polish scholars, and were involved in a desperate struggle to survive, e.g. Professor Korzon spent seventeen years in exile in Orenburg and wrote most of his work when he was a clerk in the Warsaw-Vienna railway company.
5. When Polish historians appeared after 1866 in the universities of Cracow and Lwów, they were influenced by their relationship to Austria. The so-called Cracow school took a distrustful and sombre view of early Polish institutions and culture, reading into them the failure of later Poland.
6. These views became so deeply imbedded in general history that it took two great wars to eradicate them

The present work is part of this great revolution in the general attitude of the world to Polish-German problems and it combines lucidity and commonsense with objectivity.

A. BRUCE BOSWELL.

*Poems by Adam Mickiewicz* Translated by various hands and edited by George Rapall Noyes, The Polish Institute of Arts and Science in America. N Y., 1944, pp 486, \$4 00.

THIS finely produced and carefully edited volume (I have not noted a single printer's error in its pages), one of a series of special studies by well-known scholars published by the Institute, has been late in reaching this country, but it is not the less welcome on that account. All libraries catering for students of Slavonic literature, indeed of 19th-century thought in general, should possess a copy. Professor G. R. Noyes, for nearly half a century associated with Russian and Polish studies in the University of California, has long been known to readers of this *Review*, both as a welcome contributor and a Corresponding Editor. To students he is known for his English, Russian and Polish literary criticism and biographies, and even in well-earned retirement he has not been idle. What follows in these paragraphs will be as much a tribute as a modest attempt at appreciation

During a generation he has been at work on the Polish Romantic poets, in particular on Mickiewicz, and he has brought together here translations of nearly all the Polish bard's works except for *Pan Tadeusz*, which long ago appeared separately in the Everyman's library, and (be it said at once) loudly calls for reprinting. Now all translation, though inevitably based (if it is to be worthy of attention) on sound scholarship, is an art rather than a science, and therefore a highly individual thing, difficult of critical appraisal. If the subject-matter is in prose, the task may look somewhat easier—on that much could be said: but the

rendering of poetry, above all of lyrics, is so beset with problems, not to say pitfalls, that only the boldest will venture on it. No one knows this better than Professor Noyes, yet he has not flinched, and we are all grateful in consequence.

From the Preface we learn the names of those, chiefly former students, who have helped him in the work. Their part has been a real one: nevertheless this volume, with its simply written yet telling Introduction and its wealth of concise but invaluable Notes, is clearly the creation of a single mind. It is a labour of love, and worthy to crown the efforts of a long life of study. I know of no account of Mickiewicz in any language that sets before the reader the mind and work of the poet, on the background of his times, better than the sixty pages of this Introduction. As for the Notes, which could, of course, have been expanded *ad libitum*, they do everything except deal with purely linguistic, i.e. grammatical matters, and provide bibliographical materials sufficient to occupy students of the whole range of European letters. They amount to an indispensable chapter in the history of the most stirring period of modern writing and thought.

Before venturing on some comments, I should like to register one tiny regret. From the very full selection of works here offered, including early Ballads, the Sonnets, the shorter epics, some of the poems of reflection, and two Parts of *Forefathers' Eve*—as well as the Books of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrimage, which are *poems* in prose, there are missing certain things that really belong in any complete Mickiewicz—the *Lines to Lelewel*, *Ordon's Ridoubt*, a selection from his "fables," Part IV of *Forefathers' Eve*, and some of the aphorisms taken from the mystics like Jacob Boehme—the work of the mature poet who had ceased to write longer poems. Professor Noyes knows all this very well, and it sounds ungrateful to note the fact. I do it only for the simple reason that no one is likely in our generation to attempt again to produce a volume of this kind, and—so far as I know—there is no one so able as he to undertake it. We shall therefore have to wait. Counsels of perfection in any field are in any case a debatable kind of ware.

Let us then accept with gratitude the rich treasure before us—what is to be said of its various parts? They are so arranged that one can follow the poet through the three consecutive periods of his development—the early works in which he threw down the gauntlet to all who held to the classical school of poetry—for the most part ballads or lyrical ballads, but including the *Ode to Youth*, which provided the "marching orders" for the new age: the five years of not unhappy exile in Russia, on which new light is being constantly thrown by Russian and Polish scholars; and the five subsequent years—Rome, Dresden and Paris, which saw the maturing of the poet's powers in the fiery furnace of personal and national suffering and sorrow. With few exceptions these translations have appeared in print before, either in this *Review*, or in the volume published by the university of California in 1925, or in the

Boston periodical *Poet Lore*. Now for the first time, however, we have in consecutive pages all the Scenes from Part III of *Forefathers' Eve* (also known as *The Ancestors*), with the richness of their variety of local colour and subject-matter, their fury in the face of power politics, and their tenderness over individual suffering.

To many readers the bitterly anti-Russian sentiments of some of these pages may seem a stumbling-block. Professor Noyes has wise words to say about all this, and I shall venture to add only one modest comment. If the man who had made many warm friends in the years 1824-1829 among Russian men and women of letters, and had spent many happy days in Russia—along with not a few that were far from happy, could bring himself a few years later to write as he did, it was out of wrath at the system he and his generation were faced with in Europe, of which many of those Russian friends were just as much the victims as he himself and his fellow-Poles. No doubt his feelings ran away with him when he included them in his indictment, but they were for the most part aware of his dilemma, and for the most part they bore him no grudge.

And now as to the translations themselves. As noted already, no two people will translate any work of art in the same way, any more than two painters will see and reveal the beauties of a land- or sea-scape in the same lines and colours. Precisely here is the place where supreme art comes in, and where science is but her handmaiden. Among the passages I marked during my reading is the following:

“ Wretched am I amid the spiteful herd :  
I weep—they jeer at me ,  
I speak—they cannot understand a word ;  
I see—they do not see ! ”

(*Romanticism*, p. 69)

This is surely a perfect rendering of the passionate confession of faith of the village maiden, bewailing the loss of her dead lover but convinced that his spirit is not far from her, a confession which provokes both the anger of the *profanum vulgus* and the reproof of the scientist, who dismisses such ideas as foolish nonsense. On the other hand, I do not think the use of the words “ old man ” to translate the Polish *mędrzec* a few stanzas later is happy: the more so as we have here the poet-student breaking a lance with the learned scientist professor of his own university.

An example of a quite different kind is the somewhat freer translation of the stirring poem *Farys* (I prefer this spelling to the *Faris* used in the book), whose images and concepts form a sort of link between the *Ode to Youth* and the *Improvisation* in Part III of *Forefathers' Eve*. (When I cast about for an English poem presenting the same kind of problems for the translator I can only hit upon *The Hound of Heaven*.) The Beduin horseman, confident of his steed and sensing a mission, rides

out into the desert, snapping his finger at sundry warnings of what awaits him there, and winning through to a victory that gives him a sense of being "monarch of all he surveys." It need not surprise us if the English rendering cannot always live up to the terseness and dash of the original, e.g. in the famous, with variations oft-repeated, couplet,

"Pędz latawce białonogi!  
Skały z drogi, sępy z drogi!"

much of whose onomatopæic effect is bound to be lost in

"Speed, courser of the silver feet—  
Ye crags make way! Vultures retreat!"

But my own efforts after many years to find an adequate rendering of those couplets have brought no better results.

One word in conclusion. Between the years 1820 and 1850 a number of courageous people in Europe dared "to see visions and to dream dreams." They were moved as well by the spectacle of human misery round about them (both in town and country) as by the trend of things in economics and politics—a trend towards the concentrating of more and more power in the hands of a few favoured mortals. Various called "mystics," "messianists," "utopian socialists," etc., the true value of their protest was then, and is to-day, too little appreciated. Directed above all against that arch-enemy of human happiness and well-being, selfishness, it was a protest not only of the mind but also of the spirit. In it no small part was played by the Poles—for obvious reasons, and the first of these in thinking and aspiring was Mickiewicz. The poet has found a worthy exponent and appraiser in Professor Noyes: the social crusader—the Mickiewicz of 1840–1850 is still only half understood. Here then is a chance for someone to do a service, at the same time as he pays a debt.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

*U.R.S.S., Haute Asie, Iran.* Par Pierre George, Professeur à l'Université de Lille et à l'Institut d'Études Politiques de l'Université de Paris. Preface par André Cholley, Professeur à la Sorbonne ("Orbis": Introduction aux études de Géographie Presses Universitaires de France, 1947, pp. 536 + xvi, avec 51 figures et cartes, et 16 planches hors-texte, 650 fr.)

THIS work—the fruit, its author tells us, of nearly fifteen years' labours—is a creditable attempt to provide a systematic, large-scale geography of the U.S.S.R.—physical, economic and regional. It is the first of its kind in France since the Russian Revolution, as the large volume of Camena d'Almeida (1932), which it in part supersedes, dealt almost exclusively with the data of physical geography. and there has been

only one book on the same scale, dealing with the same subject, published in this country in recent years—both circumstances which of themselves would be sufficient to justify closer study. But the merits of M. Pierre George's book go beyond these formal considerations.

The purely physical geography occupies half the work, with painstaking chapters on structure and relief, climate and waterways, the Arctic regions, and vegetation and landscape. They are specialists' surveys, on which a layman hardly ventures to comment, beyond expressing anew traditional astonishment at the perennial capacity of the French genius for making geography particularly lucid and almost exciting. On the whole the treatment is more elaborate than that of Gregory and Shave. The chapter on the Russian Arctic contains a short but useful historical sketch of the progress of discovery from the 11th century to the present day. The bibliography for all these chapters is very extensive indeed.

In the second section, "L'Organisation de la Vie Humaine," there is assembled an impressive series of essential facts and statistics, in the course of a straightforward and conscientious account of this vast subject, which would do credit to many a reference-book of more general character. The chapter-headings will be a sufficient advertisement of its scope: (i) the peoples of the Soviet Union, (ii) the organisation of economy, (iii) agriculture, (iv) industrial raw materials, (v) industrial development, (vi) country and town, (vii) transport and commerce, (viii) the war and reconstruction.

Professor George deals faithfully with all these subjects, drawing upon a wide literature in each case—a great deal of it the work of Soviet geographers. Apparently, however, he has confined his references for the most part to those printed in books and learned journals accessible to French readers, i.e. in the western European languages, moreover, useful wartime publications, such as those on Soviet Asia published in this country (Bates, Davies and Steiger), do not appear to have reached him. Here and there these limitations, probably inevitable in France of 1945-1947, are reflected in a certain inequality of treatment.

Thus the historical sketch of the Russian peoples, and the barely noticeable references to the history of the Asiatic nations (pp. 230-32), bear only too obvious traces of the lack of any sources more modern than the *Histoire de Russie* of Milyukov, Seignobos and Eisenmann (1932-1933). The outline of agrarian history for 1861, intended to serve as background for the better explanation of collective farming (p. 268), omits the essential element of the survivals of serfdom which laid so heavy a stamp on Russian agriculture in spite of its capitalist development after the reform. The representation of the State farms as in the main "educative," "instruments of propaganda," subsidiary in fact to the collective farms, and the omission of their essential economic rôle (pp. 272-73) is quite misleading. On the other hand, the account of the various branches of agriculture contains much that is useful.



Again, in the midst of a clear and suggestive description of the general course of industrial development and organisation (chapters IV and V), it is somewhat disconcerting to have the *combinat*—an exceptional type of enterprise—presented as the normal basic unit of industry under the State trust, instead of the single factory (p. 305). To find the statement (without any qualifying reference to the level in 1921) that “about 1925 the industrial level of the U.S.S.R. had fallen very far below the level of 1913” (p. 331) and to read (p. 333) that by 1939 the Stakhanov movement had supplied “more than two hundred thousand skilled workers”—an obvious understatement. It is a little late in the day to be still calling the Kirov Works at Leningrad “Krasny Poutilov” (p. 368); and “Electrosil,” repeated several times, is also a mistake. There are also other lapses from a generally high standard of accuracy in detail.

The chapter on transport contains much economic and historical material that is not available in English (except for the section dealing with foreign trade). On the late war and its economic consequences the student will also find valuable matter drawn from the fourth Five Year Plan and other important Soviet documents.

The third section of the book, “Esquisse de Divisions Régionales,” is but an outline, most useful on the European territories of the Union, Siberia and Kazakhstan, and less so on other parts. One need only note the curious appending of two brief chapters—evidently not by the wish of the author—on the physical geography of the plateaux of High Asia, Iran and Afghanistan.

In sum, this first attempt in French to cover such a vast canvas, with minute detail as well as with large outlines, must be recognised as a successful and positive contribution to knowledge, to which both students and teachers can turn with confidence. It makes in particular a useful companion volume to Gregory and Shave’s *The U.S.S.R.*, which it supplements at many points, as it falls behind the English book at others. The defects mentioned are such as can be put right without difficulty in a second edition.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN.

#### DOCUMENTS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

*Soviet Union at the San Francisco Conference (April–June, 1945). Voice of the U.S.S.R. at the London session of the U.N.O. Assembly (January–February, 1946). Molotov on the Future of Germany (July 9 and 10, 1946). Molotov’s speeches at the Paris Peace Conference (July 31–October 15, 1946). Vyshinsky’s speeches at the Paris Peace Conference. U.S.S.R. at the New York session of the U.N.O. Assembly (October–December, 1946). V. M. Molotov’s speeches and statements at the Moscow session of the Council of*

*Foreign Ministers (March-April, 1947). U.S.S.R. and Marshall's Proposals (June-July, 1947). J. V. Stalin on Post-War International Co-operation (1946-47) Published by Soviet News.*

BEFORE the war it was an agreeable and seemingly harmless pastime to write and speak on Soviet foreign policy without taking any trouble to study the observations of Soviet statesmen on the subject. It will be a fruitful enterprise for some future historian of European history during the years 1919-1939 to compare the space allotted in the leading newspapers of other countries to the foreign policy statements of Lenin and Stalin, Litvinov and Molotov, with that granted to the speeches of (say) Hitler and Mussolini. and to examine the care shown for the textual accuracy of such fragments of the Soviet point of view as did see the light in other countries. One of the most striking occasions of all—the speech of Stalin at the eighteenth Party Congress on 10 March, 1939—fell on the same day as a notorious “sunshine talk” to lobby correspondents, about the prospects of peace in Europe, by the British Prime Minister (on the eve of Hitler’s occupation of Czechoslovakia); and the consequent maltreatment of Stalin’s political analysis and offer of co-operation against aggressors, made at one of the most critical moments in the history of Europe, needs to be seen in the columns of the press to be believed.

To-day something of the same kind is beginning again, in some quarters. It is all the more useful to have on record, in an easily accessible form (the nine booklets listed here cost eleven shillings between them), a compendium of the Soviet leaders’ proposals, and their criticisms of other Governments’ proposals, on various international occasions since the war. Their idiom is an unfamiliar one to the general student of diplomatic history, and the ideas they express will be agreeable or otherwise, according to the political tastes of the reader. But even those to whom Soviet ideas are unpleasant will find a good deal that is useful for the better understanding of international post-war politics, which cannot be found elsewhere. Just as the collection of Litvinov’s speeches from 1934 to 1938 (“Against Aggression”) is an invaluable guide to the policy in 1939, not only of the U.S.S.R. but also of other major European Powers, so this unpretentious series of documents can be recommended to the discerning as a guide to the difficulties of to-day—and not only those of “understanding the Russians.”

A few examples may be given. In the first of these booklets, (1) the Soviet statements on the invitation of Argentina to join the United Nations, at the very outset of the organisation, while an invitation was denied to the Polish Provisional Government, and (2) the Ukrainian and Belorussian memoranda on their losses at the hands of the Germans, are most pertinent to burning international issues of 1947. The discussion on Indonesia at the Assembly of January-February, 1946, and the Soviet attitude there on the events in Greece of the winter of 1944-1945, are

no less relevant to political and economic difficulties experienced eighteen months later. Molotov's two speeches on the future of Germany, at the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers in July, 1946, make most interesting reading at a time when the reconstruction of West German economy has moved into the foreground of discussions about American aid to Europe. The debates on the Danube and on the reparations clauses of the Balkan peace treaties at the Paris Peace Conference in the autumn of 1946 will show how much more there is behind the refusals of the eastern European countries to attend the "Marshall" conference of Paris, in the summer of 1947, than is conveyed by the simple and popular explanation that they had orders from Moscow.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN.

*Life in Russia.* By John Lawrence; George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1947, pp. 245, 12s. 6d net.

MR. LAWRENCE, author of *Life in Russia*, had the privilege of living in the Soviet Union from May, 1942, until the autumn of 1945 as Press Attaché at the British Embassy, and the avowed purpose of his book is "to answer those questions about Soviet life with which everyone returning from the Soviet Union is bombarded for months on end." The first chapter deals mainly with his initial voyage to Russia and the last three with impressions and experiences gained during trips which he was fortunate enough to be able to make through various parts of the country, on one occasion when returning from leave in England, and on another occasion as an interpreter to the British Parliamentary Delegation which visited Leningrad, the Urals and Central Asia as guests of the Supreme Soviet of the U S S R. at the beginning of 1945 Chapter 12, which is contributed by Mrs. Gifford, wife of the former Commercial Secretary at the British Embassy, and which is among the best chapters in the book, describes her experiences of Soviet doctors and a maternity home when she was having a baby and bringing it through an almost fatal attack of pneumonia and whooping cough. The remaining chapters deal with the climate, clothes, villages, houses, shopping and feeding, "blat" (which is another name for wire-pulling and the knack of being able to get things done by almost any methods), politics, education, family and religion, doctors, and the Russian character.

Mr. Lawrence's book contains a good deal of useful information which is worth reading, both as a partial answer to some of the questions English people normally ask about the Soviet Union and as a necessary corrective to mistaken and sometimes harmful notions. But it is presented in a dull and discursive style and is loosely arranged; and some of it is so generalised that it leaves an unfortunate impression of superficiality, as though the author had made only a cursory study of some of the topics with which he deals. For example, there are too many

sentences of the type : " Most children receive some secondary education and very large numbers receive the full ten years' education which finishes at 17 " (p. 91) Mr. Lawrence tells us at one point that he was often asked questions about India and " worked out a six-minute lecture on Indian history in Russian, which seemed to interest people." His present book shows more than a trace of the same technique

Mr. Lawrence tells us in the Preface " I have hid nothing that I saw from the reader." He devotes three of his pages to the " detestable " system of political police and concentration camps. He maintains that the political police do " not enter into everyday life to the extent that is sometimes supposed," that pains are taken to recruit " a good type," that the intention of those who control the system " is on the whole humane," and that " much suffering and loss of life is caused by sheer childish incompetence " In connection with this incompetence he reminds us of the " incredible mistakes of our own 18th-century bureaucracy " and recalls that in 1756 two-thirds of the children brought to the Foundling Hospital died because parliament made it a condition of a grant to the Hospital that all children who came were to be accepted, and more came than could be provided for. This, he rightly says, " does not prove that our ancestors were more cruel than we are," and " if by now we have learnt better, the Russians, too, are learning." But clearly the only sure way of stopping suffering and loss of life in concentration camps is to abolish the whole system of camps root and branch, not simply learn how to run it more efficiently.

G. H. BOLSOVER.

*Russia and the Russians.* By Edward Crankshaw ; MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1947, pp 256, 9s. 6d. net.

MR. CRANKSHAW rightly believes that the fate of our world depends upon the relations between the U S S.R., the U.S.A., and Great Britain. He also believes that we and the Americans must either " conquer " the U.S.S.R. or " love " her , and as he does " not think we shall deliberately set out to conquer," he suggests that " it is high time we paid some attention to the problems of loving " Though he talks of the " ineluctable antithesis " of conquest or love, he admits that by " love " he really means " understanding " or " toleration," and his main purpose in writing *Russia and the Russians* has been to contribute towards an understanding of the Russians by sketching the salient features of their development and character. His approach is that of an artist. This leads him to reduce facts and analysis to a minimum and to concentrate instead on painting an impressionist picture which he believes will help us to understand the Russians through our senses if not through our intellect.

Mr. Crankshaw's impressionist approach to his subject disarms much of the criticism which might otherwise be directed against his diffuse

and emotional style, occasional errors of fact, and irritating habit of writing down to his public. It also accounts for most of the distortions in a picture which, nevertheless, has the great merit of stirring the imagination and provoking some hard thinking. But it cannot excuse misleading phrases such as "Soviet Power is not the same as Russian Power, which is what we encounter in our peregrinating conference rooms" (p. 208). While no one will challenge the truth of the first half of this sentence, it should be equally obvious that it is precisely Soviet Power which we now meet in our conference rooms and which is proving more difficult to deal with than even purely Russian Power would be. Nor can impressionist licence justify Mr. Crankshaw in trying to cover the finished picture with squirts of whitewash just when the spectator is beginning to feel that he is near to understanding it. As he develops his study of the Russians we find him using such phrases as "lack of light and shade . . . the habit of appearing as all brilliance or all greyness . . . All these find their reflection in the Russian character, and the keynote of them all is immoderation" (pp. 12-13); "a Russian to-day . . . could observe: 'it seems to me that you Social Democrats think far too much of men and far too little of Man' Which is unanswerable. We do. The only answer, indeed, is the counter-charge. 'it seems to me that you Communists think far too much of Man and far too little of men.' Which is also unanswerable. They do Impasse" (pp. 148-49), "the difference between the outlook of the Russian and the outlook of the Englishman is so great as to come into the category of incompatibility" (p. 150), "this precious new society, this paradise of *Komosols* does *not* make provision for the independent mind and spirit—for the mind and spirit as we understand it, that is" (p. 215); "It is the difference between two aims of life, which are opposed and forever incompatible; on the one hand a striving for the greatest good; on the other hand a striving for, the greatest good of the greatest number. Our struggle . . . has been always for the greatest good—and damn the unhappy majority. The struggle of Russia today . . . has been for the greatest good of the greatest number—and damn the glorious minority" (p. 219). Yet after talking repeatedly of "incompatibilities" and "impasses" Mr. Crankshaw suddenly says "it will be clear . . . that the basic cleavage between Russia and, at any rate, Great Britain is one of temperament rather than one of principle, and, . . . that even where temperament is concerned the differences between us . . . are scarcely more than differences of emphasis" (p. 245). This incongruous attempt to minimise differences and attribute them to differences of emphasis in temperament can only bewilder and confuse the reader. In any case, many an honest endeavour to live together has failed through incompatibilities of temperament alone.

But in spite of these shortcomings *Russia and the Russians* is a book to be read. It contains many good and stimulating passages and not a few penetrating observations, and though it fails to suggest any prac-

tical means for bringing the British and the Soviet Russians closer together, it will make the reader more alive to the issues and problems involved, give him a clearer understanding of the Russian character and approach to affairs, and stimulate him into thinking more deeply and carefully about the all-important question of the relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union's place in the modern world.

G. H. BOLSOVER.

*Defeat in Victory.* By Jan Ciechanowski (1947); Doubleday & Co., Garden City, New York, pp. 397, \$3.50.

THIS book is not pleasant reading, but it needs to be read and pondered nevertheless. It comes from the pen of the Polish ambassador in Washington, who went through the first year of hostilities in France, saw the Battle of Britain with his own eyes, and was then sent to represent his country and its cause in the United States until, nearly five years later, his work came to an end on the recognition by the Powers of the Soviet-sponsored new régime in Warsaw. The record of his conferences with Roosevelt and the other American war-leaders, both political and military, frequent and cordial during three years but seldomer and even embarrassing from then onwards; of the visits to Washington made by General Sikorski and M. Mikołajczyk; and of the "repercussions" in diplomatic circles of Casablanca, Teheran, Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta and finally of San Francisco, at which Poland was not allowed to have a seat, is calm, restrained and unvarnished. Taken as a whole it seems to justify the motto placed in the Frontispiece—a saying of Bismarck's: "No one will ever be rich enough to buy his enemies by concessions."

As one might expect, the author presents the Polish point of view, and there are many who do not share it. But it cannot be wished out of existence; and it will remain as a warning to the men and women of the future who commit themselves to grave responsibilities without seeing what they imply. Here is the comment of one well-informed American critic, Max Eastman:

'In giving us the inside story of the betrayal of Poland, Mr. Ciechanowski has done a service to history and to mankind. He has done it with quiet dignity, an honesty of mind that is above question, and in a clear, simple, dramatic style that makes the tragic and shameful story exciting to read. No one who wants the truth of world politics can afford to miss it.'

We shall have, no doubt, in time the other side of the picture, so that the two points of view can be weighed: but until it appears the indictment stands, and it gives furiously to think.

The casual reader is likely to see in *Defeat in Victory* only the complainings of a vanquished diplomat, of a patriotic Pole who is congenitally

hostile to everything Russian—in short an indictment of Soviet policy in general and of war-time proceedings in particular. But such a view would be both inadequate and unjust. Not Moscow but London and Washington are placed in the dock, not Marshal Stalin and his ministers, but rather Churchill and Roosevelt. What makes the reading of the book so depressing, and must have made the writing of it anything but a pleasure, is the succession of events that show (i) what happened to the Atlantic Charter, (ii) how the United Nations Organisation became the property of the Big Powers, and (iii) how step by step the two Anglo-Saxon partners “retreated from glory,” until they found themselves in the defensive position they occupy in Eurasia to-day. Put in a nutshell, we have the newest phase of the 19th-century “Eastern Question,” not so different from what it was seventy years ago—something which the Great Powers may or may not be able to face with detachment, but which spells grave concern to the smaller nations living in the area reaching from the Baltic to the Levant.

What astonishes the informed observer is not that, given the grand recovery of the Soviet military machine from the days of Stalingrad onwards, this was bound to happen, but that neither the American President nor the British Prime Minister seem to have been aware of it. In any case they did not betray such awareness in action. If Ciechanowski is right, first one and then the other wavered (hampered in part by home political considerations), when they should have stood together; and by so doing they made the victory of single-eyed Soviet diplomacy only the easier. The usually given reason is, of course, their fear of defection from the common cause by Moscow, by way of a separate peace with the Germans. This excuse will not stand up against the verdict of history; but it does suggest that the Allies at bottom never were real partners, possessing as they did too many diverse aims, and starting from quite diverse premisses.

At the very centre of the whole struggle stood Poland, whose people set the world an example of courage and endurance. Its accredited leaders strove throughout for friendly relations with all its greater allies, making prodigious efforts to nurture these in the face of incredible difficulties. This is no place to enumerate the events that made Polish-Soviet understanding so hard to realise, or to deal with the continued campaign of vilification of the recognised Polish authorities. All of this was well known to the British and American leaders; it baffled them, but they did little or nothing about it. The author of this book recounts his sense of frustration as he watched the progress of things—which was really regress, until the final capitulation.

But one weakness of the work must be mentioned. It gives the reader no idea as to the mistakes made by the Poles themselves. Among them should be mentioned the following: (i) The anti-Sikorski campaign waged by a single group of Poles in the U.S.A., chiefest among them being the late Ignacy Matuszewski, of whose good intentions there can

be no doubt, but whose tactics were deplorable. Never was a united front more necessary for any nation in time of crisis, yet these people could not see it. In acting as they did they only made the work of their opponents the easier. Ciechanowski was faced with this breach in the ranks all the time, and he should have told us something about it. (ii) The tactics of certain cabinet members in London after the tragic death of Sikorski, notably of the Socialist group led by Jan Kwapinski, which placed the new Prime Minister, striving to carry on the work of his predecessor, in an impossible position. (iii) The failure of the government in London to warn the nation at home of the diminishing resolve of London and Washington to honour their earlier declarations, which made the shock of disillusionment so much harder to bear, when it came. It may be said that these last two matters did not concern the ambassador in Washington directly, but they do belong to the tissue of forces that led to "defeat in victory."

One small criticism in conclusion. A book like this, which can be of such use to the serious student, should never be published without an Index. When a second edition appears, this defect should be remedied.

W. J. ROSE.

*Passages for Russian Translation and Comprehension.* By A. S. Macpherson and N. Wissotzky, Edward Arnold & Co., 1947.

THIS little book sets out gallantly to fill another of the many gaps in the armoury of Russian teaching, viz. the lack of a collection of proses suitable for rendering into Russian. So far, as Russian teachers know only too well, we have had to do the best we could with passages set not only without the slightest regard for Russian syntax, but often enough on subjects (e.g. scenes from the Western European Middle Ages) quite remote from ordinary Russian conceptions and vocabulary.

Mr. Macpherson and Mrs. Wissotzky offer us in the first part of their book thirty-five roughly graded passages for translation into Russian, with notes and an English-Russian vocabulary; while in the second part there are a dozen considerably longer passages in Russian, followed by questions on the subject-matter of the stories and a corresponding Russian-English vocabulary.

Of the Russian passages we are told that "some have been specially written, others are simple tales by Tolstoy." Ten of the twelve give simple family scenes, at home or travelling, written with unselfconscious naturalness but not without regard for the need of building up a balanced and varied stock of words.

The authors would appear to have devoted particular thought and care to their two vocabularies, which are admirably clear and generous with information on declension, conjugation and accentuation, though it would be better still if this information were inserted rather more



uniformly. They do not succeed in avoiding the usual crop of Russian misprints (mainly accents and signs of punctuation omitted or misplaced) but the number of more important slips is negligible. One might instance the reference to the future perfective (p. 41, n. 2) as the "present perfective", the suggestion that *за* may govern the genitive (p. 81) and on p. 79 the failure to make clear that the two perfectives of *говорить* correspond to its two different functions as a transitive and an intransitive verb.

But it is the *proses* which represent the pioneering contribution of the book and as such deserve rather fuller consideration. So far books of *proses* have tended to follow one of two patterns, either of which had serious drawbacks. Either a selection was made of short passages from English literature (in the widest sense) or the compiler wrote his own *proses*. The former pattern has the advantages of variety and vividness but the disadvantages that it is very hard to graduate the passages, and that, for the student of Russian in particular, even quite simple passages of idiomatic English raise a host of problems when he comes to composition after perhaps less than fifty hours of class-work on grammar and sentences. The latter is easier to graduate and allows the student's path to be made as smooth as is good for him, but, alas, the authors are all too prone to make their *proses*—*prosy*.

Frankly, the ideal book of *proses* has yet to appear. I conceive it—for students of Russian—in three sections graduated respectively up to Matriculation, Intermediate and Degree standard, the first two parts comprising at least forty *proses* each and the third at least sixty, the style throughout must be idiomatic and lively, the matter as varied and interesting as possible; the first part should have in addition to a vocabulary a copious introduction on the essential differences between Russian and English sentence-structure; and all three parts should have profuse notes designed (especially in the earlier stages) both to accustom students to recognise in a particular difficulty an instance of a more general type, and (especially in the later stages) to show students how many ways there may be of solving particular difficulties.

Meanwhile the authors of this book have stepped into the breach in their own way. They have chosen to write their own *proses*, and have certainly done better than many others. Their English is not stodgy; it does not suggest the leading articles of some of our graver dailies; indeed, although here and there one can glimpse constructions waiting, so to say, to be turned into Russian, the whole effect is reasonably neat and smooth and not unduly anæmic. The subject-matter is spread over a moderately wide field, but the amount of duplication and repetition does seem rather high: on the one hand a text of 5,000–6,000 words rests on a vocabulary of under 1,000, and on the other, certain subjects seem to recur in too many passages without any corresponding expansion of vocabulary; e.g. the trains which figure in about 20 per cent. of the *proses* spend an inordinate time in starting and stopping and even that

with a minimum variety of terms. I used to be a railway enthusiast myself, but it does seem a little unfair to neglect cars altogether !

The notes are brief, appropriate and helpful. It is a pity that none are provided for the last five proses, and also that words which occur only once in the text and are dealt with in a note are omitted from the vocabulary.

The ideal book of proses may remain an ideal ; but here we have in being a painstaking, sound and useful attempt to provide for the needs of first-year Russian composition classes, which should be welcomed by all teachers of Russian.

F. F. SEELEY.

*The Friendship of Margaret Fuller D'Ossoli and Adam Mickiewicz.* By Leopold Wellisz, Polish Book Importing Co., New York, 1947, pp. 40.

MR. LEOPOLD WELLISZ has made an important literary discovery. He has found in the Library of Harvard College ten hitherto unknown letters of Adam Mickiewicz to a well-known American romantic writer, Margaret Fuller, written between 1847 and 1849. The biographers, both of Mickiewicz and of Miss Fuller, knew that they met once in Paris in 1847, and again in Rome in 1848, that Mickiewicz made a great impression on Miss Fuller when she saw him for the first time, but very little beyond that. These newly discovered letters give us an insight into the story of an intimate and unusual friendship between the great Polish poet and the American writer and feminist. The earliest of these letters is somewhat disconcerting for a contemporary reader in its pathetic, high-pitched phraseology ("Vous appartenez à la seconde génération des esprits. Votre mission est de concourir à la délivrance de la femme polonaise, française et américaine," etc., etc.—the whole letter is written in this tone), but the other nine are quite different. When Margaret complains, or begs for advice, Mickiewicz assumes the role of her spiritual leader and confessor. Besides, these letters, warm and affectionate, contain some highly interesting poet's confessions. Especially striking is the peculiar mixture of religious exaltation with very liberal views concerning love affairs. When Margaret appears to have complained of suffering from melancholy and "rêveries" her Polish friend bluntly advises her to find a lover, calling to witness Emerson: "Emerson"—he wrote—"dit bien 'give all for love,' mais ce 'love' ne doit pas être celui des bergers de Florian, ni celui des écoliers et des dames allemandes. Les rapports qui vous sont convenables, sont ceux qui développent et affranchissent votre esprit, en répondant aux besoins légitimes de votre physique." Little wonder that—as we learn from Mickiewicz's subsequent letter—his American correspondent was rather shocked by his views.

Thus the letters found by Mr. Wellisz not only add ten new items to the corpus of Mickiewicz letters; they throw new light on the confusing and controversial mystical period of the man when he was the follower of Andrzej Towiański. As a rule, Mickiewicz's letters are rather disappointing. They lack the great literary values of Słowacki's (only recently have people realised that Słowacki's letters belong to the masterpieces of Polish prose), or the rich intellectual content so characteristic of Krasusiński's or Norwid's correspondence. When Mickiewicz had something important to say he chose other mediums of expression than letter-writing. These letters to Margaret Fuller are an exception to this rule, they are among his most intimate and revealing.

Mr. Wellisz has published them both in the French original and in an English translation. In his commentary he collected many useful data concerning Mickiewicz, Margaret Fuller and their relations.

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB.

#### ERRATA

Ad. Vol. XXV, No. 64

p. 292, l. 8 for *Orthographical Dictionary*, etc, read *Etymological and Orthographical Dictionary*.

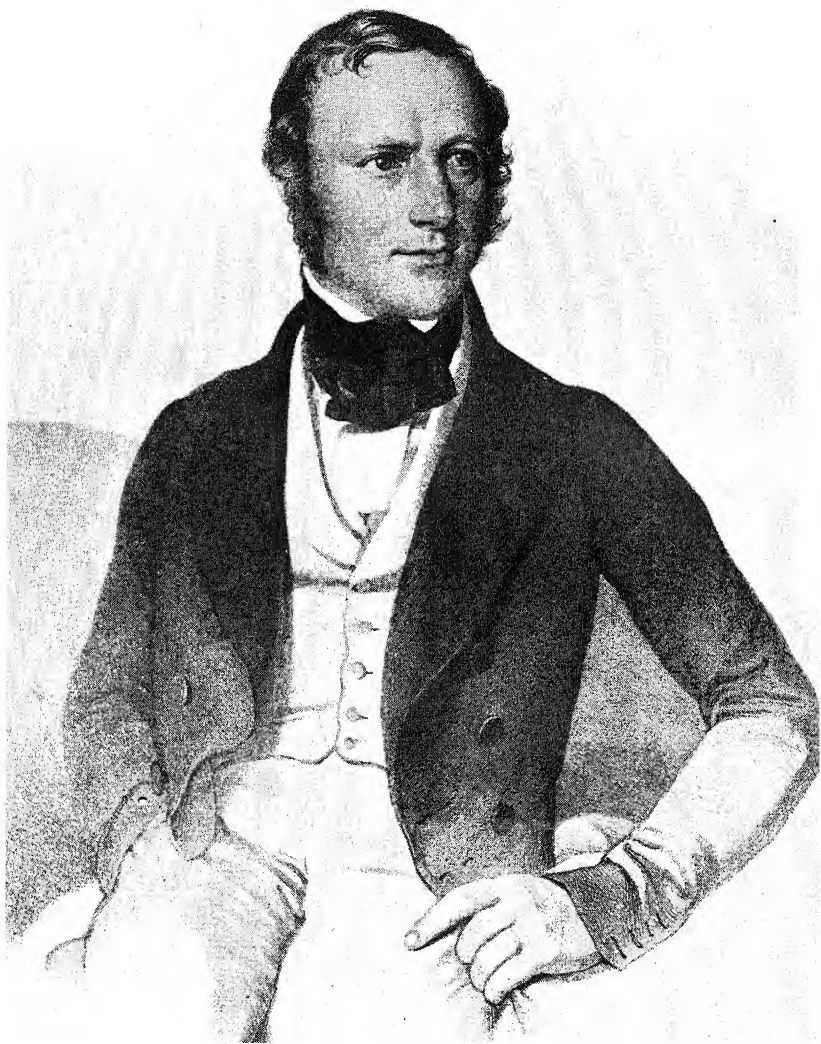
Vol. XXV, No 65:

- p. 433, l 18 (from bottom) omit "(10th century)."
- p. 435, l. 20 (from bottom) for "(Churash)" read "(Chuvash)."
- p. 437, l 5 (from bottom) for "participle" read "particle"
- p 446, l 2 (from bottom) for *stammflektierend* read *stammflektierend*.
- p. 452, note 22 for Smits read Šmits
- p 452, note 28 for Φίρροι read Φίρροι

VOL. XXV, No 65, p. 611.

The Editors regret that the two texts of the *Euchologium* quoted on p 611 are not strictly accurate, and therefore cannot be relied on as they stand.





*Josef Maas pinx. 1849.*

FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ

# THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

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1848

A CENTURY has passed since the words "Forty-Eight" acquired an almost legendary meaning in Central Europe; and in our own day the phrase is already in process of acquiring fresh significance from which quite unexpected results may spring. For a hundred years "Forty-Eight" has been in everyone's mouth; it has served as a convenient shibboleth to more than one political party, and has exercised powers of distortion upon many burning controversies.

One of its curious features has been that, while used by everybody and serving to rout or rally new political recruits, it still awaits definitive treatment by a historian of the front rank. Anton Springer's *History of Austria* will always stand on its own very real merits; but it is limited to the Habsburg dominions, and was the work of a clever publicist deprived of access to the secret archives of his time. After an interval of nearly fifty years the veteran Baron Helfert started to do the work on the grand scale, but left at his death the merest torso behind him. It remained for that admirable historian-in-exile, Veit Valentin, to produce a monumental history of *The German Revolution*, in which the balance is restored in favour of the Reich but destroyed again at the expense of Germany's neighbours. Since then, Professor Namier has encouraged us to expect something that will at last fill the yawning gap. His British Academy Lecture, expanded in scope and interpretation, is published under the arresting title *The Revolution of the Intellectuals*. Yet we are still waiting the *magnum opus* which no one is better qualified to give us than he.

This being so, no apology is needed on the part of the Editors if they devote a considerable part of the present number of the *Review* to papers dealing with the events of 1848 in Central Europe. Not all hoped-for materials have come to hand, and further papers may appear in the autumn. There are still many unexplored corners of the whole picture, and still episodes which serve to envenom the relations of neighbouring peoples. For instance, the spring of 1848 saw a turning point in the relations of Germans and Czechs, culminating in the refusal of Palacký to accept the German offer of representation for his nation at the *Vorparlament* in Frankfurt. His letter, reproduced below (we believe, for the first time in English), is a document of the utmost importance; and the same may be said of the Manifesto put out a month later.

Again, the long feud between the adherents of "Governor" Kossuth and of his one-time Commander-in-Chief, Arthur Görgel, will continue so long as essential documents are withheld, while the full story of the relationship of the Croatian Ban, Jelačić, with the exiled court and with the revolutionary Magyar government still awaits impartial treatment.

What makes it so difficult to deal with the February Revolution is that it is altogether lacking in plan or pattern. It is generally conceded that the first decisive event was the overthrow of Louis Philippe's régime on 24 February, and that the news from Paris had an explosive effect first in Vienna and then in Berlin. But already in 1846 Metternich's illegal seizure of the Free City of Cracow had created a situation in which smouldering fires might burst out at any time, the troubles in Switzerland in 1847 might also spread to Austria; already in January, 1848, opinion in Milan and Venice was solidly against Austria and disposed to desperate measures, there were outbreaks in both Munich and Prague before those in Vienna; and the national movement in Hungary, though aimed at extension of the parliamentary system, was rapidly heading for a point at which the nationalist and dynastic programmes were incompatible. In Germany too the movement, while it attracted many men of ability and character, failed of that unified leadership without which the court of Berlin was certain to triumph in the end. It was left for soldiers like Radetzky, Windischgraetz and Jelačić to overcome resistance in one field after another.

For years none other than Metternich himself had pleaded the danger of a system in which those in authority administered but did not govern—for the excellent reason that the Emperor was a weak-minded epileptic, while Metternich's two colleagues in the Triumvirate, Count Kolowrat and the Archduke Ludwig, kept him in a permanent minority. In the end everyone was taken by surprise when the most august of all the political systems crumbled at the bidding of a few intellectual theorists, backed by noisy, and at first unarmed, students. There were no contacts with outside forces. There was no plan, no munitions of war, there were no trained bands. The whole thing could probably have been repressed in a few hours had the last man not been sent to repel the impending attack of Piedmont.

The movements, which seemed to promise a new heaven and a new earth in the whole of Europe, fizzled out in disillusionment and obscurity. Nevertheless the high ideals of 1848 long continued to exercise attraction; and the history of the fight for universal suffrage as a political panacea is all the more deserving of study today, when the extremists of the Left have openly thrown off the mask and disclaimed the principles of parliamentary sovereignty.

# LETTER SENT BY FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ TO FRANKFURT<sup>1</sup>

TO THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTY  
c/o PRESIDENT SOIRON.

Gentlemen,

The post has just brought me the letter of 6th April in which you do me the honour of inviting me to Frankfurt to take part in your deliberations, the main purpose of which is to summon a German Parliament at the earliest possible moment. It was a pleasant surprise to me to find in that letter full and authentic evidence of the confidence which the most distinguished men of the German Reich continue to have in my opinions; for in inviting me to a Diet of "German patriots" they themselves acquit me of the unjust accusation so repeatedly brought against me of having shown myself an enemy of the German nation. While acknowledging with a sincere sense of gratitude the distinguished kindness and justice of the eminent assembly in this matter, I find myself all the more constrained on that account to reply with open confidence, straightforwardly and without reserve.

I am unable, gentlemen, to accept your invitation for my own person, nor can I send any other "trustworthy patriot" in my stead. Permit me to give you, as briefly as possible, my reasons.

The object of your assembly is to establish a federation of the German nation in place of the existing federation of princes, to guide the German nation to real unity, to strengthen the sentiment of German national consciousness, and in this manner expand the power and strength of the German Reich. Although I respect such effort and the sentiments upon which it is based, I cannot, precisely for the reason that I respect it, participate in it in any manner whatsoever. I am not a German—at least I do not feel myself to be one—and you would assuredly not desire to call me in to join you as a mere assentor, a "yes-man" without a mind or will of his own; for in that case I should at Frankfurt either have to deny my true feelings and appear in false colours, or if it came to the point, raise my voice loudly in opposition. For the first I am too forthright and direct of speech, for the second I am not shameless and ruthless

<sup>1</sup> The Editors are grateful to Dr William Beardmore for allowing them to use his English version of these historic documents



enough. I cannot therefore bring myself to break in with hostile notes upon a consensus and harmony which I regard as gratifying and desirous, not only in my own home but also in my neighbour's.

I am a Czech of Slavonic blood, and with all the little I possess and all the little I can do, I have devoted myself for all time to the service of my nation. That nation is a small one, it is true, but from time immemorial it has been a nation of itself and based upon its own strength. Its rulers were from olden times members of the federation of German princes, but the nation never regarded itself as pertaining to the German nation, nor throughout all the centuries was it regarded by others as so pertaining. The whole union of the Czech lands, first with the Holy Roman (German) Empire and then with the German confederation, was always a mere dynastic tie of which the Czech nation, the Czech Estates, scarcely desired to know anything and to which they paid no regard. This is an actual fact equally well known to all German historians and to myself; and if anyone is still prepared to doubt it, I offer to make the matter in due time perfectly clear and certain. Even if it were to be fully accepted as true that the Bohemian Crown had at one time been in feudal relationship to the German Empire (a contention which Czech publicists, however, have always denied), it cannot occur to any real historian to doubt, in so far as concerns internal affairs, the one-time sovereignty and independence of the government and land of Bohemia. The whole world is well aware that the German Emperors had never, in virtue of their imperial dignity, the slightest to do with the Czech nation, that they possessed neither legislative, nor judicial, nor executive power either in Bohemia or over the Czechs; that they never had the right to raise troops or any royalties from that country; that Bohemia together with its crown lands was never considered as pertaining to any of the one-time ten German States; that appurtenance to the Reich Supreme Court of Justice never applied to it, and so on: that therefore the entire connection of the Czech lands with the German Reich was regarded, and must be regarded, not as a bond between nation and nation but as one between ruler and ruler. If, however, anyone asks that, over and above this heretofore existing bond between princes, the Czech nation should now unite with the German nation, this is at least a new demand—devoid of any historical and juridical basis, a demand to which I for my person do not feel justified in acceding until I receive an express and authentic mandate for so doing.

The second reason which prevents me from taking part in your deliberations is the fact that, according to all I have so far

learned of your aims and intentions as publicly proclaimed, it is your irrevocable desire and purpose to undermine Austria as an independent empire and indeed to make her impossible for all time to come—an empire whose preservation, integrity and consolidation is, and must be, a great and important matter not only for my own nation but also for the whole of Europe, indeed, for humanity and civilisation itself. Will you be good enough to give me a brief and kindly hearing on this point too?

You know, gentlemen, what Power it is that holds the entire East of our Continent. You know that this Power, now grown to vast dimensions, increases and expands of itself decade by decade in far greater measure than is possible for the countries of the West. You know that, secure at its own centre against practically every attack, it has become, and has for a long time been, a menace to its neighbours; and that, although it has unhindered access to the North, it is nevertheless, led by natural instinct, always seeking, and will continue to seek, to extend its borders southwards. You know, too, that every further step which it will take forward on this path threatens at an ever accelerated pace to give birth to, and to establish, a *universal monarchy*, that is to say, an infinite and inexpressible evil, a misfortune without measure or bound, such as I, though heart and soul a Slav, would nonetheless profoundly regret from the standpoint of humanity even though that monarchy be proclaimed as a Slavonic one. Many persons in Russia name and regard me as an enemy of the Russians, doing me the same injustice as those in Germany who regard me as an enemy of the Germans. I am not, I would declare loudly and publicly, an enemy of the Russians: on the contrary, I observe with pleasure and sympathy every step forward which that great nation makes within its natural borders along the path of civilisation, but, with all my fervid love of my own nation I always pay greater respect to the good of humanity and learning than to the national good, and for this reason the bare possibility of a universal Russian monarchy has no more determined opponent or foe than myself—not because that monarchy would be Russian but because it would be universal.

You know that in the South-east of Europe, along the frontiers of the Russian Empire, there live many nations widely differing in origin, in language, in history and morals—Slavs, Wallachians, Magyars and Germans, not to speak of Turks and Albanians—none of whom is sufficiently powerful itself to bid successful defiance to the superior neighbour on the East for all time. They could only do so if a close and firm tie bound them all together as one. The

vital artery of this necessary union of nations is the Danube. The focus of power of such a union must never be diverted far from this river, if the union is to be effective and to remain so. Assuredly, if the Austrian State had not existed for ages, it would have been a behest for us in the interests of Europe and indeed of humanity to endeavour to create it as soon as possible.

Why is it, however, that we have seen this State, which by nature and history is predestined to be the bulwark and guardian of Europe against Asiatic elements of every possible type—why is it that we have seen it at a critical moment lacking help and almost devoid of counsel in the face of an advancing storm? It is because, in the unhappy blindness that has long afflicted her, Austria has long failed to recognise the real juridical and moral basis of her existence, and has denied it: the fundamental rule, that is, that all the nationalities and all the religions under her sceptre should enjoy complete equality of rights and respect in common. The rights of nations are in truth the rights of Nature. No nation on earth has the right to demand that its neighbours should sacrifice themselves for its benefit, no nation is under an obligation to deny or sacrifice itself for the good of its neighbour. Nature knows neither dominant nor underyoked nations. If the bond which unites a number of diverse nations in a single political entity is to be firm and enduring, no nation can have cause to fear that the union will cost it any of the things which it holds most dear. On the contrary, each must have the certain hope that in the central authority it will find defence and protection against possible violations by neighbours of the principles of equality. Then will every nation do its best to confer upon that central authority such powers as will enable it successfully to provide the aforesaid protection. I am convinced that even now it is not too late for this fundamental rule of justice, this *sacra ancora* for a vessel in danger of foundering, to be publicly and sincerely proclaimed in the Austrian Empire and energetically carried out in all sectors by common consent. Every moment, however, is precious; for God's sake do not let us delay another hour with this! Metternich did not fall merely because he was the greatest foe of liberty but also because he was the bitterest, the most determined, enemy of all the Slavonic races in Austria.

When I direct my gaze beyond the frontiers of Bohemia, natural and historical considerations constrain me to turn, not to Frankfurt but to Vienna, to seek there the centre which is fitted and predestined to ensure and defend the peace, the liberty, and the rights of my nation. But *your* endeavours, gentlemen, seem now to me to

be directed, as I have already said, not only towards ruinously undermining, but even utterly destroying, that centre to whose authority and strength I look for salvation for the Czech lands and not alone for them. Or do you think that the Austrian State can continue to exist when you forbid it in its hereditary domains to maintain an army of its own independent of Frankfurt as the joint head? Do you think that the Austrian Emperor or any sovereign who succeeds him will be able to maintain his position if you impose upon him the duty of accepting all the most important laws from your Committee, and in this manner make the imperial Austrian Parliament and the provincial Diets of the united Kingdoms mere shadows without substance and power? And suppose that Hungary, following her own instincts, should sever her connection with the State, or what is much the same thing, should withdraw within herself—would such a Hungary as refuses to hear of racial equality within her borders be able to maintain herself free and strong in the future? Only the just is truly free and strong. A voluntary union of the Danubian Slavs and Wallachians, or even of the Poles themselves, with a State which declares a man must first be a Magyar before he can be a human being is wholly out of the question; and much more so is a compulsory union. If Europe is to be saved, Vienna must not sink to the rôle of a provincial town. If there exist in Vienna people who ask to have your Frankfurt as their capital, we can only cry: Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they ask!

Finally, there is a third reason for which I must decline to take part in your deliberations: I regard all the attempts hitherto made to give the German Reich a new system of government based on the will of the people as impossible of achievement and as unstable for the future, unless you decide upon a real life-or-death surgical operation. By this I mean the proclamation of a German Republic, even if only in temporary form. All the draft schemes attempted so far for a partition of power between the semi-sovereign princes and the sovereign people recall to my mind the theory of the Phalansteries, which was likewise based on the fundamental rule that the persons concerned would act like arithmetical figures and would not seek any other application than that allocated to them by the theory. It is possible that my opinion is unfounded, that my conviction is at fault—but I really hold that conviction, and may not for a moment let that compass leave my hand unless I wish in the storms of the present day to perish without help. As to the establishment of a republic in the German Reich—this is a matter

wholly outside my competence, so that I have no desire even to express my opinion on it. I must, however, reject expressly and emphatically in advance the idea of a republic within the frontiers of the Austrian Empire. Think of the Austrian Empire divided up into sundry republics, some considerable in size and others small—what a delightful basis for a universal Russian monarchy!

In conclusion, to sum up these somewhat lengthy but only general remarks, I must briefly express my conviction that those who ask that Austria (and with her, Bohemia) should unite on national lines with Germany, are demanding that she should commit suicide—a step that has neither moral nor political sense. It would, on the contrary, be much more justifiable to demand that the German Reich be attached to the Austrian Empire, that is to say, that Germany should be incorporated in the Austrian State on the conditions above referred to. As that, however, is not in accord with German national sentiment and opinion, nothing remains but for the two Powers—the Austrian and German Empires, to organise themselves on an equality side by side, to convert their existing ties into a permanent alliance of defence and defiance; and, should it be of advantage to both sides, to institute also a common customs union. I am ready at every moment with pleasure to give a helping hand in all activities that do not endanger the independence, the integrity and development of the power of the Austrian Empire.

Accept, gentlemen, the expression of my sincere regard and attachment.

FRANTÍŠEK PALACKÝ

*Prague, 11th April, 1848.*

# MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST SLAVONIC CONGRESS TO THE NATIONS OF EUROPE

JUNE 12TH 1848

The Slavonic Congress at Prague is an event that is new both for Europe and for the Slavonic peoples themselves. For the first time since history made mention of us, we, the widely scattered members of a great family of kindred peoples, have assembled in large number from widespread regions to make one another's acquaintance once more as brothers, and to deliberate peacefully upon matters that concern us all in common. We have mutually understood one another, not only through the medium of the beautiful tongue spoken by eighty millions of souls but also through hearts that beat in unison, and through spiritual and intellectual interests that are identical. The truth and candour that marked all our proceedings constrain us also to proclaim before God and the whole world what was the object of our Congress, and what were the principles which guided our deliberations.

The Latin and Germanic nations, once so famous in Europe as powerful conquerors, for centuries not only ensured independence for their own States by the might of the sword, but were also able in every possible way to satisfy their lust for dominion. Their statecraft, based mainly upon the right of superior force, assured liberty merely for the higher classes, and dominance by means of privileges, while laying only duties upon the common people. Not until quite recent times was it possible, thanks to the power of public opinion which suddenly made itself heard throughout all lands as the very voice of God, to break down all the fetters of feudalism and restore once again to the individual the inalienable rights of man and of humanity. On the other hand, the Slavs, among whom liberty was ever cherished the more fervently as they showed little aspiration for conquest and dominion, and among whom the desire for independence always prevented the formation of a higher central power of any kind, fell in the course of the ages, people after people, under alien dominion. A policy which has long been condemned, as it should be condemned, in the eyes of the world, has most recently of all deprived the heroic Polish nation, our noble

kinsmen, of their independence as a State. The whole great Slavonic world, it seemed, found itself in bondage for all time when the ready servants of that system of bondage did not hesitate to deny to the Slavs the very capacity to be free. But this ridiculous contention finally vanishes before the word of God as spoken to the heart of each individual during the mighty convulsions of our day. The spirit has won the final victory; the ban of the old curse is broken; the thousand-year-old structure, raised and defended by brute force in collusion with fraud and malice, is collapsing into dusty ruin under our eyes. A fresh vital spirit, spreading over the wide expanses, is creating new worlds—freedom of speech, freedom of action have at last become realities. Now the long underyoked Slav is again raising his head, he is scaring violence away from his presence, and with lusty emphasis is claiming his ancient heritage, his liberty. Strong in feeling, stronger still in will-power and his newly acquired fraternal unanimity, he remains none the less true to his natural character and the principles of his forefathers. He demands neither conquest nor dominion, but he asks for liberty for himself and for all others. He demands that liberty shall be unconditionally recognised as the most sacred right that man possesses. Therefore we Slavs reject and hold in abhorrence all dominion based on main force and evasion of the law, we reject all privileges and prerogatives as well as all political differentiation of classes; we demand unconditional equality before the law, an equal measure of rights and duties for all. Where a single slave is born among millions, true liberty does not exist in that place. Yes, *liberty, equality, fraternity* for all who live in the State is our watchword to-day, as it was a thousand years ago.

Nor is it only for the individuals in the State that we lift up our voices and put forward our demands. Not less sacred to us than man in the enjoyment of his natural rights is the *nation*, with its sum total of spiritual needs and interests. Even if history has attributed a more complete human development to certain nations than to others, it has none the less always been seen that the capacity of those other nations for development is in no way limited. Nature in and for herself draws no distinction between nations as though some were noble and others ignoble; she has not called any one nation to dominate over others, nor set aside any nation to serve another as an instrument for that other's ends. An equal right on the part of all to the noblest attributes of humanity is a divine law which none can violate with impunity. Unhappily, it would seem that in our days such a law is not yet known, or not

observed as it should be, even among the most civilised nations. What men have voluntarily surrendered as against individual persons, that is, authority and tutelage, they still continue to arrogate to themselves as against individual nations; they claim predominance for themselves in the name of freedom, being unable presumably to distinguish between those nations and themselves. Thus the free Briton refuses to recognise the Irishman as on an equality with himself, thus the German threatens many a Slavonic people with violence if it will not agree to assist in the upbuilding of the political greatness of Germany, and thus the Magyar is not ashamed to arrogate to himself exclusive national rights in Hungary. We Slavs utterly decry all such pretensions; and we reject them the more emphatically the more they are wrongfully disguised in the garb of freedom. Faithful, however, to our natural character, and declining to seek revenge for wrongs done us in the past, we extend a brotherly hand to all neighbouring nations who are prepared to recognise and effectively champion with us the full equality of all nations, irrespective of their political power or size.

Similarly we reprehend and hold in abhorrence that policy which claims to deal with lands and nations as mere material, subject to a ruling power, to take, to change, to partition at pleasure or fancy irrespective of the race, the language, the customs and the inclinations of the nations, and regardless of their natural connection or of the independence which is their right. The brute force of the sword alone decided the fate of the vanquished—vanquished without taking part in the fight—from whom nothing other was demanded than soldiers and money for consolidating brutal force, or hypocritical flattery of the violator.

Taking our stand on the conviction that the mighty current of thought of to-day demands new political formations and that the State must be reconstructed, if not within new bounds at least upon new foundations, we have proposed to the Austrian Emperor, under whose constitutional rule the majority of us live, that the imperial State be converted into a federation of nations all enjoying equal rights, whereby regard would be paid not less to the different needs of these nations than to those of the united Monarchy. We see in such a federal union not only our own salvation but also liberty, enlightenment and humanity generally; and we are confident that civilised Europe would readily contribute to the realisation of that union. In any case we are determined to ensure for our nationality in Austria, by all the means available to us, a full recognition of the same rights in the State as the German and Magyar nations already



enjoy, and in this we rely upon the powerful demand for all genuine rights which wells up warmly in every truly free breast.

The enemies of our nationality have succeeded in terrifying Europe with the bogey of political Panslavism which, they have declared, threatens to destroy all that has been won anywhere for freedom, enlightenment and humanity. We, however, are acquainted with the one magic word which of itself suffices to lay that bogey; and for the sake of freedom, enlightenment and humanity we do not desire to keep it secret from the nations disquieted by the pricks of their own conscience. That word is *justice*, justice towards the Slavonic nations generally and justice towards its oppressed branches in particular. The Germans pride themselves upon being more capable than other nations and disposed to make a just assessment and valuation of the specific qualities of others. We hope they will apply that in our case, and we would ask that in speaking of the Slavs they be not caught out in any lie. We raise our voices emphatically on behalf of our unhappy brethren the Poles, whom malicious violence has robbed of independence; we ask the governments concerned finally to remedy this old sin, this curse which has descended as a burdensome heritage upon their Cabinet policy, and in this matter we rely upon the sympathies of all Europe. We protest against the arbitrary partition of territories such as it has been desired to carry out of late especially in Poznań; we look to the Governments of Prussia and Saxony to abandon at long last the systematic denationalisation of the Slavs in Lusatia, in Poznań, and in East and West Prussia, which they have carried on up till now, we demand of the Hungarian Ministry that without delay they cease to employ inhuman and violent methods against the Slavonic peoples in Hungary, in particular the Serbs, the Croats, the Slovaks and Ruthenians, and that the national rights which are their due shall be fully assured them as speedily as possible. Finally, we hope that a callous policy will no longer be an obstacle to our kinsmen in Turkey, but that they will be enabled to give free play to their national aspirations in State form and develop their nationality along natural lines. In thus expressly opposing action of such unworthy character we do so precisely by reason of our confidence in the beneficent effects of liberty. Liberty makes nations which have hitherto been dominant juster than they were before, and gives them to understand that wrong and outrage do not bring shame upon him who must suffer but upon him who perpetrates them.

We, the youngest but by no means the weakest, in entering once more the political arena of Europe, propose that a general European

Congress of Nations be summoned for the discussion of all international questions ; being thoroughly convinced that free nations will more easily come to agreement than paid diplomats. May this proposal meet with due consideration before the reactionary policy of the individual Courts causes the nations, incited by hatred and malice, mutually to destroy one another !

In the name of liberty, equality and fraternity of all nations.

FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ.

PRESIDENT OF THE SLAVONIC CONGRESS.

# 1848 IN CENTRAL EUROPE

## AN ESSAY IN HISTORICAL SYNCHRONISATION

THE modest task of this contribution will be not to discuss the ideas of the 1848 revolutions in Central Europe or to analyse the various manifestoes and constitutions they produced, not to draw distinctions between the aims of the various liberal and national movements or the programme of parties and leaders—that has been or will be done elsewhere—but simply to relate the different revolutionary movements and events in the states of Germany and the Habsburg Empire to each other in time, and to attempt to assess their degree of *immediate* interdependence and influence upon each other

To the student of history 1848 in Central Europe is a fascinating kaleidoscope, presenting an infinite number of different patterns and aspects and capable of almost as many interpretations, according to how he looks at the various shapes and colours of which it is made up—and how often he rearranges and re-classifies his material. At the same time it is as confusing as it is fascinating, for the series of pictures he obtains, interesting as each is for itself, seem to bear—like the patterns seen in a kaleidoscope—no very clear-cut relationship to each other, though the resemblances are sometimes as obvious as they are indefinable. There are so many centres of action and resistance, so many triangles (and quadrilaterals) of forces, so much seems to happen in a number of different places all at once, that it is all very difficult to follow. The consequence has been that the student of 1848 in Central Europe has tended to fall into one of three quite excusable errors: he has concentrated on one state or province or capital, and claiming it as the centre of the revolution, and has brought events and personalities and ideas only into sharp focus in, or closely related to, that centre, treating everything else as blurred and subsidiary; or secondly, he has tried to give due regard to all the various centres and aspects of revolution, but has over-simplified issues and over-emphasised influences and inter-relationships, so that everything happening in 1848 in Central Europe is made to appear to have conformed to a single master-pattern, as if following a common blueprint; or, finally, he has been so appalled by the richness and variety of the tapestry of events of that year of revolutions that he has carefully cut out the various individual figures and places, in order to study them

separately and in isolation, and has thrown away or ignored all the threads which linked them together, thus losing all sense of direction and all realisation of 1848 in Central Europe as a composition of very different, but, historically and emotionally, highly interdependent events.

It is indeed extremely hard to get a real grip, or to take a true bearing, on the slippery and heaving surface of the Central Europe of 1848 and 1849, but a simple process of historical triangulation can take one a certain way. In the Germany nominally presided over by the Confederate Diet set up in 1815, the three great centres of action and reaction in 1848-1849 were the cities of Frankfurt-am-Main, Vienna and Berlin—the capitals respectively of the Germanic Confederation, of Austria and of Prussia. The mutual antagonism of these three centres tended to dominate all discussion of “the German Question,” and prevented either a Frankfurt-Berlin axis against Vienna or a Berlin-Vienna axis against Frankfurt from developing very far, whereas a Vienna-Frankfurt axis against Berlin, or indeed (despite the link of the regency of the Archduke John) against anything, was never even remotely possible. In the Habsburg Empire, Vienna shared another triangle of forces with the capitals of Bohemia and Hungary—Prague and, after the removal in March, 1848, from Bratislava (Pressburg), where the Hungarian Diet had up to that time met, Budapest—while, within the kingdom of Hungary itself, Budapest formed a subsidiary triangle with the respective centres of Croat-Slovene and Transylvanian nationalism. Another subsidiary triangle within the kingdom of Bohemia was formed by the internal stresses of Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian regional and sectional interests, pulling against as well as with each other. In addition, almost immediately after Frankfurt emerged as a significant centre of political activity in 1848, it too, had to suffer competition in western Germany, too diffused and intermittent in nature to justify the simile of yet another triangle of forces, yet forming clearly enough around two rival centres of activity to be a very definite embarrassment to what was being attempted in Frankfurt itself. These two rival centres of ideological crystallisation were to be found in southern Baden and in the northern Rhine Province respectively: the one being the radical-republican movement associated in particular with the names of Hecker and Struve, which produced the risings of April, 1848, and May-July, 1849; and the other being the barrage of socialist and communist criticism and denigration directed against Frankfurt from Cologne by Karl Marx and his associates, in the columns of the *Neue Rheinische*

*Zeitung* which, styling itself "an organ of democracy," first appeared at the beginning of June, 1848, and continued (except between 20 September and 12 October, 1848, when it was temporarily suppressed) until 19 May, 1849, a few days after both Austria and Prussia had withdrawn their representatives from the Frankfurt Parliament and reduced that body to a farcical rump, a shadow of its former self. Of all the main centres of revolution Berlin alone was not subjected to strong competition in the state of which it was the capital, for no strong resistance or secession movement developed in the recently (1815) acquired Rhineland, while the movement of the Poles in Posnania in the direction of autonomy and against the incorporation of Prussian Poland within the Germanic Confederation was very rapidly checked. Although Prussia was deeply involved against Denmark quite early in 1848 in the Schleswig-Holstein question, this was less on her own account than as the representative of outraged German national feeling, and she was soon to make her peace with Denmark—on terms so disadvantageous to German interests that her action widened the already existing rift between Berlin and Frankfurt into a dangerous gulf.

The Central European revolutions of 1848 can be said to have started neither very suddenly nor at all unexpectedly. There had been many indications in 1847 and even earlier that the so-called "era of Metternich" was drawing to its close, and nobody was more aware of this than Prince Metternich himself, whose mood of pessimism with regard to the immediate future was growing daily more acute. In the States of Germany, in the Habsburg Empire and in many other parts of Europe, unrest and dissatisfaction had already been rife and growing for several years, and many new and local causes of irritation had recently been added to the general feeling of *malaise* which had suffused Europe for a whole generation, and which had only been very partially relieved by the revolutions of the early thirties in the western and southern countries of the continent. These revolutions had hardly touched Central Europe, but they had nevertheless given Metternich an excuse for tightening up his "system," through the *Schlussprotokolle* of 1834 and other new repressive measures. In the thirties and early forties the protests against his régime and that of his coadjutors had gradually become more vociferous, but only in the second half of the forties did action follow words on any significant scale. Up to and including 1845 he felt that his system was holding together, but from 1845 onward he himself experienced a growing feeling of helplessness in the face of events and movements which he could

no longer control. He had reached the age of seventy in 1843 and had ceased to possess the overwhelming self-confidence of his youth and middle years. Thus, nobody was less surprised than Metternich himself at the deluge which engulfed and swept him away in the spring of 1848. The only thing (apart from "a liberal Pope") he had *not* foreseen was the base ingratitude of the Habsburg dynasty and Court he had served so faithfully for forty years when it dismissed him overnight without thanks or regret under the by no means overwhelming pressure of a few demonstrations and petitions on the part of the Viennese students and workers. But the news of his dismissal on 13 March, 1848 created a great sensation throughout Europe, where it was not fully realised that he had for several years wielded only the shadow of his former power and influence, either at the Court of his Emperor, or in the "Concert" of the Powers, great and small, which he had once dominated. Right up to 13 March Metternich remained a great scarecrow to liberals and local patriots, but his policy had been suffering from creeping paralysis for a long time. It was nevertheless the condition of Europe—especially of Central Europe—since 1845 rather than his own failing powers that had paralysed him as a statesman.

Frederick William IV's amnesty on his accession in 1840 had given liberal leaders new scope and confidence throughout Germany, and it set the final seal of failure on Metternich's *Schlussprotokolle* of 1834, even though Frederick William IV was himself to prove a sore disappointment to these liberals and was to accept a position of subservience to Austrian and Habsburg leadership in Germany that was most gratifying to Metternich. The Prussian people did not share their king's sentiments in this direction, but one strong tie of self-interest which did bind Austria and Prussia together in the 1840's was the continued unrest in Poland which was to culminate in the rising of 1846. In face of the strongly-expressed sentiments of the Western European powers, the action against Cracow that had been decided upon secretly by Austria in agreement with Prussia and Russia as long ago as 1835, was postponed until Cracow was re-occupied by Austrian troops in 1846 in the course of suppressing the Galician insurgents, and its "free" status extinguished. The rising in Posnania had been effectively put down by Prussia and its leaders brought for public trial in Berlin, but the Austrians attempting to exploit Ruthenian and Ukrainian peasant resentment against the Polish landowners and bourgeoisie who had led the Galician revolt, found themselves with a full-scale *jacquerie* on their hands—and out of hand—which alarmed them exceedingly, even though

it also wrought great havoc in the ranks (and with the property) of the insurgent Poles. The year 1846 in Galicia and Posnania was a preview of what could have happened on a much larger scale there had the Poles but waited until 1848! As it was, the Austrian and the Prussian authorities were more or less prepared in 1848 with a policy of temporary political concessions to the Polish autonomists (which were quickly withdrawn a few months later with the connivance of the new German Central Authority at Frankfurt), and of more permanent economic concession to the peasants in the shape of the removal of the remnants of serfdom and feudal dues. A recurrence in 1848 of the two-tier rising of 1846 was thus successfully neutralised step by step, and the Tsar of All the Russias, whose armies stood ready on the borders of "Congress" Poland, was not called upon to intervene—as he was in Hungary in 1849. In Poland's history 1848 is therefore not the "great year" that it is in almost every other part of Europe except the Iberian Peninsula, Britain and Russia, but a year of inglorious frustration far less significant than either 1831 or 1863, barren as both these were of immediate practical results. For the Poles, 1848 had gone off half-cock in 1846!

Magyar nationalism, less explosively but more surely than that of Poland had been feeling its way toward an open challenge to the rule of Vienna and of Metternich throughout the forties. In 1843 came the apparently innocuous but actually epoch-making step of making Magyar the sole official language of the proceedings of the ancient Hungarian Diet (where up to that time Latin had held equal status) as the first stage in a long-term policy of Magyarisation of all the peoples living under the crown of St. Stephen. The restiveness of the Diets of Croato-Slovenia and of Transylvania under this policy was to culminate in civil war among the people of Hungary in 1848 and 1849 and to contribute much to the failure of the Magyar revolution of those years. The Magyars, too, had conjured up forces they could not control, and had mixed their liberalism so completely with an extreme and chauvinistic type of nationalism that, like the Poles in 1846, they found their subject-peoples used against them by the dynasty whose authority they sought to nullify. But the Magyars, unlike the Poles, had not been weakened, nor had their national strength diffused, by partition or by the extinction of their separate political institutions and the Habsburgs had to submit to the humiliation of letting Tsar Nicholas I help them liquidate the Hungarian independence movement in 1849—a proceeding which ultimately satisfied nobody, for in 1854 he

was, in the one unforgettable phrase of his long life, to compare himself to John Sobieski as "*l'autre imbécile qui a sauvé Vienne.*"

When Pius IX was elected Pope in 1846 Lombardy and Venetia immediately became potential centres of fresh political disturbance within the Habsburg Empire, for all Italy took new hope from the appearance of this so-called "liberal" Pope. The amnesty he immediately issued raised as many false expectations as had that of Frederick William IV in Prussia six years before. Even Metternich, usually a good judge of men, did not discern that the Pope's liberalism was but skin deep, and sought to warn him against the giving of too many concessions in the Papal States—concessions which might also be demanded in Lombardy and Venetia. The Italian federalists saw Pius IX as the future president of a united and federated Italy into which the Habsburg possessions would ultimately be drawn—by peaceful means or, if needs be, by war—and Metternich sensed the danger from this direction. Nevertheless, he could not prevent the working out of a federal plan for Italy by the Papal States in consultation with Tuscany and Piedmont-Sardinia in October, 1847, nor was he able to check the unrest, already stirring at both ends of Italy, which came to a head in the rioting against the Austrian authorities in Milan at the beginning of January, 1848 (a main feature of which were demonstrations in favour of the Pope), and in the revolution in Sicily which broke out on 12 January and rapidly and successfully spread to the mainland and Naples. When the pope—using the forbidden word in public for the first time, called down God's blessing upon "Italy" on 8 February, the writing was already upon the wall as far as Austrian rule south of the Alps was concerned, although, owing to the backsliding of Pius IX, the military skill of General Radetzky and the advent of a new Napoleon (with ideas very different from those of his Carbonarist days) at the head of the French state, it was to take another generation of striving before the "*barbaro dominio*" of the foreigner was eliminated entirely from Italy.

The revolutionary movement of 1848 thus broke out in Italy quite independently of events in France and a clear two months before it had Central Europe in its grip or the position of Metternich had been openly assailed.

The rebuff to the ideas of Metternich in Italy was not at first fully appreciated north of the Alps, but it had become obvious to everybody by the end of January, 1848, that his fiat no longer held any force in, or with regard to, Switzerland. The restored Swiss confederation of 1815 had been guaranteed by the powers



at Vienna, and unlike Frederick William IV, who let Prussia's dependency of Neuchâtel remain neutral, Metternich threw all the weight of his diplomacy against the liberal cantons and on the side of the *Sonderbund* in the struggle which culminated in the short and almost bloodless Swiss Civil War of 1847. The Catholic cantons were unable to maintain the confederate *status quo*, and were forced—like the Southern states of the U.S.A. a generation later—to enter into a closer confederation with the others. Britain, through Palmerston, openly spurned the appeals of Metternich to the Vienna powers to intervene in Switzerland and when Austria did finally persuade France and Prussia to join somewhat half-heartedly in a note of protest, this was ignored by the Swiss. A second note, presented on 18 January, 1848, was likewise ignored, and when Russia associated herself with this action a month later, it still made no difference. Well before the end of February, 1848, it was obvious that the teeth Metternich had so carefully inserted into the Vienna treaties were no longer capable of closing—even upon a small country which stood right on Austria's frontiers and which possessed virtually no armed power to resist intervention. If events in Italy were the writing on the wall for Metternich, those in Switzerland—much nearer to the seat of power of the Habsburg Empire at Vienna and of the Germanic Confederation at Frankfurt—were much more than that. They were a slap in the face which resounded across Europe, and from which he was still reeling when troubles much nearer home finally drove him from power.

Trouble in the false paradise of the states of the Germanic Confederation was no new thing in 1848 and it is sometimes claimed that the German revolution ought to be dated as commencing, not in that year, but in 1847 at the latest. Certainly there is some support from the sequence of events for such an argument, for had not the weavers of Prussian Silesia rioted in 1844, had not the people of Leipzig risen against the unpopular Prince John of Saxony in 1845, had not floods and famine led to demonstrations in many parts of Germany in 1846, and had not the Berlin potato riots of April, 1847—coinciding with Frederick William IV's belated summoning of the first Prussian United Diet (which had been promised to the Prussian people as long ago as 1815, by Frederick William III)—all in their different ways been just as "revolutionary" as anything that happened in 1848? The same cannot be said of the local squabbles and riots in some of the other German states. The protracted feud between the profligate Elector and his Estates in Hessen-Kassel and the Lola Montez crisis in Bavaria, for instance,

have both rightly been characterised as *opera bouffe*, having little real significance outside the states immediately concerned. More significance attached to the activities of the liberal opposition in such states as Baden, Württemberg and Nassau, but their strivings fall into the category of reform movements rather than of revolution, and it was only when Friedrich Hecker and his extreme radical associates broke with the more moderate elements in South-West Germany toward the end of 1847, and began to work for a German radical-socialist republic, that a truly revolutionary trend may be said to have taken shape there—and Hecker was to be no more successful in Germany in 1848 than were the Chartists in England. Nevertheless, the more moderate liberals, and the monarchist-nationalists, of South-West Germany had their weapons ready and polished, even if they had not yet used them. Their annual political assemblies, culminating in that at Heppenheim in October, 1847, their scientific conferences (which also concerned themselves with politics) of the *Germanisten* in 1846 and 1847, the foundation of the *Deutsche Zeitung* at Mannheim in 1847, and many things beside, prepared them for what was to happen in the March days of 1848, and allowed them to divert the disturbances of those days into peaceful channels. Their preparations had, unfortunately, not armed them against things which were to happen subsequently—such as the Prussian attitude on the Schleswig-Holstein question, the Austrian and the Czech attitude toward the idea of a greater German unity, and, lastly, Frederick William IV's quixotic stubbornness. In the rough-and-tumble of the debates in the state Diets at Karlsruhe, at Stuttgart, at Wiesbaden, and elsewhere, they had become politicians (which, as a class, Germany almost completely lacked before their generation—though she had been rich in soldiers and administrators), but they had not become revolutionaries. Finding themselves, in 1848, suddenly in the midst of a real revolution—for by mid-March everything was in such a state of flux in Central Europe that, for a time, anything could have happened, and almost everything did—they never completely recognised it as such, and they could not adjust their more leisurely reforming tempo, which had sufficed for the preliminary skirmishes of 1846 and 1847, to the urgent need for action and decision once the battle of interests and ideologies was joined. Giving first priority in their debates in the Frankfurt Parliament to the formulation of "The Fundamental Rights of the German People," it may be said that, in admiring its plumage, they let the phoenix of an awakening German nation escape from their grasp. By the middle of 1849

they had only the ashes of this great opportunity, and their memories, left to them.

It has been said that, broadly speaking, the movement of 1848 was not born of the strivings of liberalism in the states of the Germanic Confederation, but of an upsurge of national feeling in the non-German dependencies of the Habsburg Empire and of the Prussian state. This is an over-simplification to some extent, but it remains, fundamentally, a true assessment. Because the sentiment of nationality is much fiercer and more elemental than mere liberal convictions or a striving after democratic institutions can ever be, the revolution of 1848 in the Habsburg dominions tended to be much more violent than in the purely German states. There was no civil war in Germany comparable to that in Hungary, and no bombardment or reduction by force of any capital city of Central Europe outside the Habsburg Empire, like that of Prague (in June, 1848), of Vienna (in October, 1848) or of Budapest (in January, 1849). The two revolutions in Baden were short and on a very small scale, and the towns of Freiburg-im-Breisgau and Rastadt, which the insurgents briefly held, were both small, and neither was a capital or a residence-town. The riots in Berlin (in March, 1848) and the rising in Dresden (in May, 1849) were strictly localised, and of bloodshed in the actual fighting there was very little. Apart from Hecker, the leading German figures of the revolution of 1848 and 1849 tended to prefer the pen or the tongue to the sword, and were essentially men of peace. Karl Marx, the most extreme of them all, though he fearlessly travelled from Cologne right across Germany in the midst of the revolution to visit Vienna in August and September, 1848, was never caught out of doors in a riot and is never recorded as having mounted a barricade. Yet his observations on the course of that revolution—in France as well as in Central Europe—have had more influence upon the attitude of posterity toward it than those of any other man who lived through it. It is those who write the history of revolutions rather than those who man their barricades who have the last word!

It is true that German national and nationalistic feelings were violently enough aroused and expressed later in the course of the revolution—as in the Polish, the South Tirol and the Schleswig-Holstein debates in the Frankfurt Parliament (in July, August and September, 1848, respectively), and that most good German liberals applauded without reserve the successes of Radetzky in North Italy and of Windischgrätz in Bohemia and Hungary. Nevertheless, the first moves of the revolutionaries in Germany proper—and in the

German-speaking areas of Austria—were all those of liberals and radicals against the conservatism and authoritarian rule of their own princes. The interest shown by these liberals in the unification of Germany as one nation took the definitely non-aggressive form of the demand that a popularly-elected German parliament should meet to discuss turning Germany (including as much of Austria as possible) into a constitutional federal state. Bassermann's famous motion to that effect in the Baden Second Chamber on 12 February 1848, and Heinrich von Gagern's resolution in the Diet of Hessen at Wiesbaden on the 27th—and not the news of the fall of Louis Philippe in Paris (of which Gagern was not yet aware when he spoke)—were the true starting points of the revolution in western Germany. By the meeting of the Heidelberg Assembly (5 March), and by the *Vorparlament* (31 March), the Committee of Fifty (3 April) and the National Assembly itself (18 May) at Frankfurt, the intentions of men like Bassermann and the Gagern brothers were carried step by step nearer to realisation, all in a perfectly orderly and gentlemanly manner—only disturbed by the secession of the extreme radicals under Hecker and Struve from the *Vorparlament*, and the proclamation by them of a German republic in Baden (17 April), and by the mordant and caustic criticisms being flung across the Rhine at their efforts, by Marx and Engels and their Communist League—which formulated a "Revolutionary Programme for Germany" on 1 April and began publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* on 1 June. Only when a Frankfurt mob rioted against the National Assembly and murdered two of its members in September, 1848, upon hearing of its acceptance of the terms of Prussia's "humiliating" armistice of Malmo with Denmark, was the orderly constitutional movement brought face to face with the violence inherent in the revolution. Such violence had come to the surface much earlier (though not as early as the "March Days"), in Vienna and in Prague where different nationalities had to live and to try to work side by side. Palacký, in his famous letter of 11 April, 1848, announcing Czech non-participation at Frankfurt, had sounded the keynote of the whole revolution—that national feelings were more fundamental than liberal convictions. But Frankfurt did not heed his words, and proceeded to discuss "fundamental rights" at length before bringing up much more pressing problems arising from the nature of the mosaic of states and nationalities living under the sovereignty of the various rulers of Germany and of the Austrian emperor. The Austrian National Assembly—which first met in Vienna on 22 July, 1848—had not proceeded seriously to the consideration of a new

constitution for the Habsburg realm when it was removed by Imperial rescript from the Austrian capital (after yet another outbreak of revolutionary violence there) to Kremsier (*Kroměříž*) in Moravia, and though it began to reassemble at Kremsier on 15 November, its constitutional committee did not hold its first meeting until 13 January, 1849. It, too, began with "fundamental rights," but, more rapidly than Frankfurt, proceeded to other things, and succeeded in completing its draft constitution, embodying an ingenious and by no means unworkable federal system of government for the Austrian Empire, by 4 March. It had finished in two months a rather more complicated task than that for which the Frankfurt constitutional committee (assisted by a whole sheaf of preliminary drafts and plans) had needed more than half a year. But, alas, this haste came much too late, for on the day that the Kremsier draft constitution was published, appeared the counterblast of the Stadion *oktroiert* constitution, whereby the Habsburg Emperor made of his realm (including the Kingdom of Hungary) a strictly unitary state, and three days later the Austrian National Assembly was finally dissolved by him, its work unfinished and its constitution unadopted.

It is one of the cardinal characteristics of the movement of 1848 and 1849 in Central Europe that events seemed always to run a step ahead of, and to be a little too much for, the revolutionaries. At first they seemed unaware of this, and when, breathlessly, they tried to catch up, it was too late. After the first three heady months of almost unbroken success in March, April and May, 1848 were over, the forces of reaction—with which a majority of the makers of the revolution had always sought to compromise, instead of trying to crush them while they were still stunned by its early drive and vigour—soon gathered enough courage and coherence to counter-attack the revolution, before its leaders had even half done their work. That the revolution, everywhere, was a race against time only its sworn adversaries seemed to realise.

Thus, even before the German and Prussian National Assemblies first met (on 18 and 22 May, 1848, respectively), the Polish revolt in Posnania had been crushed by the Prussian government without effective protest (leave alone intervention) from anywhere else in Central Europe. Even before the great Slav Congress (which assembled on 2 June) had half-completed its deliberations in Prague, or the promised Austrian National Assembly had even met in Vienna, the radical revolutionary movement in the Bohemian capital was crushed by Windischgrätz, when he took the city on 17 June.

Even before Heinrich von Gagern, as President of the German National Assembly, had announced on 24 June, the "bold stroke" of setting up a Central German Government in Frankfurt the sister revolution in France, which had provided so much encouragement to all Germans, had run into the reaction of "the June days," with the announcement of the dissolution of the National Workshops, from which (as from the subsequent bloodshed in the streets of Paris) neither it nor the European revolutionary movement as a whole was ever to recover. Even before the Austrian "Emancipation Act" could be introduced (26 July) or passed (8 September) by the Vienna *Reichstag*, Radetzky had been victorious in North Italy at Custozza (25 July)—he reoccupied Milan on August 6—and Prussia had called off the war with Denmark in the Armistice of Malmö (2 July). It had been stated already that the revolution in Germany never recovered from the Frankfurt Parliament's loss of prestige when, after its acceptance of the unpalatable terms of this armistice, the people of Frankfurt rioted against it and lynched two of its members (18 September). In a similar fashion, the revolution in the Habsburg Empire suffered a mortal blow when the people of Budapest and Vienna simultaneously took matters into their own hands, and, disregarding the more peaceful overtures and negotiations of their elected parliamentary representatives, respectively murdered Count Lamberg (the Imperial plenipotentiary) on 28 September, and Count Latour (the Austrian War Minister) on 6 October. From that time onward the princes and rulers of Central Europe were no longer prepared to negotiate or compromise with the revolution—even to gain time—and the mildest of reformers were classed by them along with the most bloodthirsty mob leaders. The appointment of Schwarzenberg as Austrian chief minister on 21 November was the symbol of this new stiffening, just, as had been that of Count Brandenburg to a similar position in Prussia at the end of October. The Hungarian Parliament was dissolved by the Emperor on 3 October and the Austrian banished to Kremsier on the 22nd; and although no disturbances comparable to those of Vienna and Budapest occurred in Berlin in the autumn, Frederick William IV and Count Brandenburg took the precaution of dissolving the Prussian National Assembly on 5 December, proclaiming on the same day an *oktroiert* constitution of their own. On 13 December Schwarzenberg, acting in the name of the young Emperor Francis Joseph (who had ascended the Habsburg throne on 6 December), finally rejected the proposal from Frankfurt that Austria should accept a place in a Greater German federation, and thus snapped

the somewhat tenuous link between constitutional planning in Germany and in Austria. Windischgrätz had already offered a more brutal affront to the Frankfurt Parliament by summarily executing (on 9 November) one of its members, Robert Blum, who had come to Vienna in October as a delegate of the left-wing parties at Frankfurt, though not as an official representative of the Assembly as such. Finally, on 20 December occurred a very spectacular demonstration of the fact that the whole movement of 1848 in Europe had, as a revolution, now spent its force, for Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Second French Republic—by universal manhood suffrage!

The year 1849 witnessed an almost unbroken series of fresh disasters for the revolution in Central Europe: Budapest fell to Windischgrätz on 5 January, the Frankfurt Parliament adopted the principle of Prussian leadership for a United Germany on 13 January—only to have Frederick William IV reject the German crown offered him on 28 March, although he took until 15 May to make his decision public and irrevocable; meanwhile, in the Habsburg lands the Kremsier Assembly had been dissolved (7 March) and the revolt in North Italy finally crushed by Radetzky at Novara (23 March). Kossuth's "deposition" of the Habsburg dynasty in Hungary and his declaration of his country's independence, with himself as Governor (on 14 April), was by that time little more than a gesture, although the Magyars continued the forlorn fight from their substitute capital of Debreczen until the Tsar Nicholas had intervened against them and they were forced to capitulate at Arad (12 August) after their defeat at Vilagos. Kossuth thereupon fled to Turkey, and into lifelong exile.

In the Germany of the former confederation there was also by that time little left of the revolution to crush. The Frankfurt Parliament, a rump of which (after the withdrawal of the Austrian and the Prussian delegates by their governments on 5 and 14 May respectively, and the secession of the "Gagernites" on (28 May), had adjourned to Stuttgart on 7 June, was chased out of its assembly hall—and out of existence—by the King of Württemberg's soldiers on the 18th—just thirteen months after it had first met amid such high hopes in the *Paulskirche* at Frankfurt-am-Main. By the end of the same month the German princes had firmly taken the question of a future constitution for Germany back out of the hands of the people and their elected representatives, and, in the League of the Three Kings and the Gotha Assembly (25 and 26 June) were trying to propound fresh solutions of their own to the German problem.

In July, 1849 (when Rome fell to the French and the short-lived Roman Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi was extinguished), came the fiasco of the Erfurt "Union" Parliament—a pale afterglow of the constitutional ideas of the majority at Frankfurt—and the last capitulation of the Baden republicans at Rastadt. In August, not only did the Hungarian revolutionary army surrender at Arad, but so also did Venice, the last remaining pocket of resistance to Radetzky in North Italy. In the Papal States at the same time the Pope's temporal power was restored, backed by French and Austrian guns.

The elderly Archduke John of Austria, a persistent and still substantial ghost of the great Central European revolution of 1848, lingered on in office as Imperial Regent and head of the already disintegrated Frankfurt Central Government until 20 December, 1849, when even he resigned. In June, 1848, he had accepted, amid high hopes on all sides, the Regency both over the Habsburg realm (while the Emperor Ferdinand skulked at Innsbruck) and over the new Germany being created—it was hoped—at Frankfurt. In his person he seemed to form a firm bridge between the two Germanies and between these and the non-German nationalities of Central Europe. The events of the eighteen months that followed saw all the hopes of this ambitious prince (and of many better democrats and liberals than he ever was) dashed to the ground, and trampled upon by the forces of reaction.

The restoration of the old Confederation of 1815 at the end of 1850, at the Convention of Olmütz (*Olomouc*) came as a not unexpected climax to all this. Prussia, humiliated, had to turn to find a different way of securing for herself the recognised leadership of Germany—a way which would unify Germany, and exclude the Habsburg Empire from it, not by the method of speechifying and majorities, but by blood and iron. Yet, though Prussia emerged from the years of revolution with less prestige than her rival, she nevertheless now possessed one great advantage over Austria. She remained a constitutional state (even if it was with the *oktroiert* constitution of 1849, watered down again in 1850, with its illiberal three-class franchise), whereas Austria, after 1 January, 1851, did not, even in name—for on that date Francis Joseph cancelled the unitary and makeshift constitution of Stadion (proclaimed on 4 March, 1849, to smother the Kremsier draft constitution at birth, but never put into force) and his empire returned to its old autocratic pattern that was by now so completely out of tune with the times. The liberal *Deutsche Zeitung*, of Mannheim, had written of Austria



on 30 March, 1848: "*Die Staat, die dennoch immer am weitesten zurück ist, kann nicht unser Führer werden,*" and this was even more true in 1851 than in 1848. Prussia and Frankfurt took the lead in the revolutionary movement away from Austria during the March days; she only took it over again in the period of reaction which followed the revolution, just as she had done in the era of Metternich which had preceded it. This was a sinister reputation for any state to acquire! Not only did Austria show herself by her history in 1848 and 1849 incapable of leadership in Germany, but incapable also of putting her own house in order or of solving her nationalities problem, under the Habsburg dynasty, as what has been called a "supra-national state." From that time onward she was marked out for destruction as a great power, and the dynasty which had ruled over her for so long was doomed. Eighteen-forty-eight had been a last chance for Austria to develop into a federation of free peoples and of Germany to unify herself as a liberal and democratic state. That this chance was lost or thrown away accounts largely for the disasters both of 1914-1919 and of 1933-1945.

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## THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SLAVONIC CONGRESS

THE background of the Slavonic Congress, which met in Prague from 2 to 12 June, 1848, under the presidency of František Palacký, and in which some 350 delegates from all the Slavonic countries except Bulgaria took part, is to-day fairly well known. It is recognised that this was no chance phenomenon in the history of Europe and the Slavs, but that it was the outcome of the earlier struggle for rebirth on the part of the Slavonic nations, and that it was made necessary by the practical needs of the troubled year 1848 ; for it was necessary to put up a defence both against pan-German attempts to annex some of the Slavonic territories to the pan-German block by the use of arguments from history and of agitation by the German minorities in those territories, and against the attempts of the Magyars, who at that time had no sympathy for the desire of the nations in the Danube area for an independent life, to establish a Magyar hegemony in the middle Danube. It is also well known that the idea of bringing together spokesmen of the Slavonic peoples occurred more or less at the same time at various places in the Slav world : in Croatia, Slovakia and Poland ; but it was undoubtedly in the excited atmosphere of Vienna, where the representatives of almost all the Slavs gathered together at the beginning of 1848 when the general movement of liberation swept over the whole of Europe, that the call for a Slavonic Congress was first made. But to-day it is also clear that in Prague, dominated as it was from the beginning by a Czech-national and Slavonic temper that was almost Messianic, this idea was received very sympathetically, and that it was in Prague that a group of enthusiasts resolved to embody what had been merely a project in action—Vocel, Erben, Zap, Jordan ; who were soon joined by Palacký the Moravian, and Šafařík the Slovak, whether because they saw in it a defence against the pan-German plans of Frankfort, or because they lived in an atmosphere dominated by the ideal of the close literary, cultural and political association of all Slavs. The idea of calling a congress of Slavs in Prague took root simply because it was sown in ground long prepared by the preceding movement of emancipation.

It is also clear that the Slavonic Congress in Prague could not, as was originally planned, be merely a meeting of the Austrian Slavs, some kind of manifestation of narrow Austro-Slavism, and

that, thanks to the Pole, K. Libelt, and the Russian, M. Bakunin, it was brought into close correspondence with pan-Slav ideas. These wider plans existed in Prague from the beginning ; and also from the beginning the organisers of the Congress worked to make it in fact a pan-Slav manifestation and a worthy counterweight both to the plans of the pan-Germans and to the Magyar ambition for predominance in Central Europe.

But the efforts of the Congress were vain. On 12 June the Whitsun storm <sup>1</sup> broke in the city, and caught the Congress before its work was ended ; before it had resolved on all the motions before it, and before, in the closing meeting fixed for 14 June, it could proceed to the plenary acceptance of the findings of the Congress. And therefore the only complete product of the Slavonic Congress was the manifesto to the European nations, prepared by the so-called diplomatic committee under Palacký's presidency, which was first agreed to in the sections and the great committee, and on 12 June by the full Congress. This manifesto was the only completed achievement of the Congress, what does it say, and what is its importance ?

The manifesto is a variation on the theme with which it ends and which characterises its spirit. "In the name of the liberty, equality and fraternity of all nations." It records with joy that the members of the first Slavonic Congress understood each other, not only through their melodious common tongue, but also by the harmonious beating of their hearts and the community of their spiritual interests. The manifesto went on to emphasize the inborn desire of the Slavs for freedom, and welcomed the victorious spirit "which the oppressed Slav shows by the great value he puts on his ancient inheritance, that is, his freedom." The manifesto condemned all oppression whether of individuals, classes or nations, and demanded equality of rights and duties as well as equality before the law for all citizens. It denounced the privileges and prerogatives of any single class and called for liberty for all elements within the nation. It asked that liberty should be restored to Slavonic nations in the name of natural right and of their ancient achievements and traditions. "We Slavs," it goes on, "condemn and hold in contempt all rule based on mere force, taking our stand on the side of law. We condemn all privileges and prerogatives, all political distinctions between estates. We ask for equality before the law without

<sup>1</sup> The riots and fighting in Prague, in which the Governor, Count Leo Thun, was taken prisoner by the demonstrators. This led to the bombardment of Prague by Windischgrätz and its submission to him on 17 June

exception, and an equality of rights and duties for all. If there is but one bondman among millions, there is not freedom. For indeed the liberty, equality and fraternity of all living in the State is again to-day our watchword, as it was a thousand years ago."

This freedom is not only for the individual, but for whole nations also. "Since," the manifesto continues, "nature knows nothing of noble or ignoble nations, she has not of herself called on any one nation to be lord of another, nor appointed any nation to serve another as a means to its own ends." The manifesto then accused the British, Germans and Magyars of having transgressed against the spirit of this principle, and offered the hand of brotherhood to all neighbouring Slav nations "who are prepared both to recognise and to defend by action the full equality of rights of all nationalities without regard to their political power or size." The manifesto condemns the rude might of the sword used for dynastic purposes and in the interest of power, arbitrarily to dismember countries and peoples; and in the conviction that "the mighty spiritual current of this present time demands new political forms and requires that the state shall be built, if not with new frontiers, at least on new foundations," the manifesto announced that the Congress had decided to propose to the Emperor the reconstruction of the Austrian state as a union of nations with equal rights. "We see in such a union," the manifesto says, "not only our own salvation, but also the salvation of freedom, culture and humanity in general, and we trust that Europe is ready to help to realise it. In any case, we are resolved to win for all the nationalities in Austria the means to the full recognition of the same rights in the state as are enjoyed by the Magyar and German nations."

In this regard the manifesto went beyond the purely Austro-Slav programme and came out in favour of the ideal of Slav unity; it spoke with pity about the fate of the enslaved Slavs, and emphatically demanded justice for them. It eagerly commended the Polish struggle for independence; it condemned the partition of the Polish state in the 18th century; it demanded of the states that they should "at last right these ancient wrongs, and free themselves from this hereditary curse which so long has corrupted the policy of their governments." It protested against the oppression of the non-Magyar nationalities in Hungary, and drew the attention of Europe also to the fate of the Slav nationalities in Prussia and Turkey, protesting against the inhuman and tyrannical treatment of the Hungarian and Turkish Slavs. "It is the concern," said the manifesto, "not only of the Slavs, but also of the whole of Europe,

that the Slavs living in Turkey should be able to develop as free peoples." Europe need not fear the political efforts of the Slavs or their desire for freedom, and has no reason to be alarmed about any sort of pan-Slav danger.

Finally, the manifesto was not left as merely a proclamation to the nations of Europe of the Slavonic programme ; it set forth a plan for summoning a general European Congress to deal with all Slavonic and European questions and to lay the basis of a new European order. "Coming as we do as the youngest, but by no means the weakest, of the actors on to the stage of European politics, we present a proposal for the summoning of a general European congress of nations to deal with all international questions. We are absolutely convinced that a band of free nations would get on together better than a caucus of paid diplomats. May this proposal be considered in good time before the reactionary policy of the various monarchies causes the nations to destroy each other by their malice and hatred ! In the name of liberty, equality and fraternity." These are the last words of the manifesto.

What estimate are we to make of this proclamation of the Slavonic Congress to the nations of Europe ? Hitherto it has been assumed to be the work of K. Libelt, a Pole, on the grounds that it was under his influence and in accordance with his proposal that the Congress on 5, 6 and 7 June departed from the Austro-Slav programme it had followed up to this time, and adopted the progressive, pan-Slav programme of the Poles. It has hitherto been believed that the Congress accepted the text of the manifesto to the nations of Europe as it was drafted by Karel Libelt ; sometimes it is said that it was the point of view of Libelt and Bakunin which triumphed in the manifesto ; sometimes emphasis has been laid on the theory that it was worked out according to Libelt's and Bakunin's proposals.

What has historical research had to say about these assumptions hitherto ? It is impossible to deal with this in detail, but we can say that the current view of the manifesto does not tally with the facts. In the manifesto are ideas which had been heard in the Congress long before they were officially expressed by Karol Libelt during the sessions of 5, 6 and 7 June, and which had been current in the Czech milieu even before the Congress met. To the Czech Palacký, not only as president of the Congress but also as president of the diplomatic committee, was entrusted the formulation of the manifesto and to him, we can say almost certainly, can be ascribed a far larger part of the original collaboration in the definitive

revision of the manifesto than has generally been done. It was assuredly Palacký who developed in the body of the manifesto the ideas expressed by its concluding utterance, and who there expounded his concept of primitive Slav democracy and the ancient love of the Slavs for liberty, ideas which he had developed more fully in his *History of the Czech Nation*. The hastiest comparison of Libelt's draft of the manifesto of 7 June with the final text of the manifesto accepted by the Slavonic Congress on 12 June will show that Libelt's contribution to the actual manifesto to the European nations is on the whole smaller than it has been deemed to be hitherto. Apart from the article about brotherhood between nations (which Palacký too maintained), the principle of building society on the freedom of the people, the principle that one nation should not oppress another, and the stimulating call to European peace, the definitive text of the manifesto of 12 June is predominantly concerned with questions long familiar to the Congress.

If we are now, for the purpose of this article, to estimate the historical importance of the manifesto of the Congress, it must be said that at first glance it is a product of the age, and especially of the year 1848—characteristic of the general European movement and of its demand that every nation should have liberty and self-government. It is characteristic in its doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of the nation, beside which all questions of the form of the state, whether it is to be a republic or a monarchy, are matters of indifference, so long as it has the sanction of the will of the people. So much for the superficial character of the manifesto. But we must look closer. In the whole European struggle of 1848 the manifesto has its own specific place. It is true that it reproduces many of the ideas that are to be found in Mazzini and in the "Young Europe" society, as well as those proclaimed by the Polish émigrés in the thirties of the 19th century. But its proper place in the framework of the 1848 movement only appears when we put it side by side with the claims of other European nations, especially the Germans and the Magyars. While the contemporary revolutionary activities of the Germans and Magyars in their own struggle for freedom showed no willingness to recognise any other nationalities than their own, and that too on the basis of a narrow national programme, the Slav manifesto of 1848 went beyond the narrow Slav point of view, and planted its standard in the forefront of the fight for humanity as a whole, like Mazzini in the thirties, like the Polish "Towarzystwo Demokratyczne" "Giovine Europa" and "Młoda

Polska." While the Germans and Magyars, as part of their 1848 plans, dreamed of supremacy and lordship over other peoples, the Slavs were concerned with the full equality of rights of all nations and the equality of all nations. But that is not all. The manifesto goes further than the other earlier humanitarian programmes; for, unlike Mazzini, "Giovine Europa" and "Młoda Polska," it proclaims that the Slavs have no wish for vengeance for past wrongs done to them by their non-Slavonic neighbours, but that they offer the hand of brotherhood to all neighbouring nations who are ready to acknowledge and defend the equality of rights of all nations and to assist oppressed nations to recover their rights. Lastly, while the other liberal movements of 1848 were prepared to allow the privileges of the upper classes and the nobility to remain, the radical Slav manifesto declares, like the revolutionary movements of the thirties, that the Slavs demand that all individuals be free and equal. In the enumeration of human rights they included a guarantee of personal freedom for every individual.

In all these respects the manifesto of the Slavonic Congress stands out above the programmes of the other European nations in 1848: it surpassed the conceptions even of the most highly developed nations, and the Slavs took their stand in the forefront of the supreme struggle for humanity and cosmopolitanism. Apart from the articles which deal specifically with the Slavs, the manifesto contains everything that the humanitarian and democratic development of any nation needs. Herein lies its great importance.

The manifesto can in fact be regarded as an effective reply to the Germans and Magyars who abused and sneered at the Slavonic Congress, endeavouring to frustrate it or at least to reduce it to the status of a mere provincial Czech meeting. The manifesto shows the Slavs and their labours as something better than that. If it was the purpose of the manifesto as originally defined to gain the sympathy of Europe, if it was meant to make it clear that Europe had no reason to be afraid of what the Slavs were doing, it was well designed to achieve those aims. With justice J. E. Vocel, a Czech member of the Congress, was able to write of the manifesto shortly after the Congress had ended: "Every unprejudiced man must acknowledge that the moral ennoblement of humanity would be markedly advanced by the realisation of these principles; for liberty and equality of rights, which, after millennial struggles among uncultured nations, have at last in our own day been won for the individual, have been extended by the demand of the Slavonic Congress to whole nations. Thereby the Slavs first of all nations

have given proof of their high moral ideal as well as of their sympathy and of their genuine, God-pleasing, brotherly love to all mankind. Wherefore we firmly believe that this first Slavonic Congress, baptised as it has been with blood, cannot but be fruitful of great moral and political achievement, and that in the pages of impartial history it will obtain a notable and glorious place." Indeed we do take pride in the manifesto of the Slavonic Congress of 1848. It could not but become our blazon.

The manifesto to the nations of Europe was the sole completed achievement of the Slavonic Congress. Its two other tasks, the proposal of an address to the Emperor and the plan for a union of the Slav nations, which had been entrusted to two commissions for further elaboration, were prevented from maturing by the premature cessation of the activities of the Congress and remained mere projects. They cannot therefore be discussed as definitive acts or achievements of the Congress.

What then can be finally said about the outcome of the Slavonic Congress of 1848?

The Congress was unable to finish its work because of the Whitsun troubles; the disorder in the streets of Prague prevented it from realising its plans. Although under Czech leadership it had made its preparations carefully, it remained a torso. The Czech delegate, J. E. Vöcl, did not succeed in initiating his "happier age." The Slavs did not succeed in winning their right and proper place either within the European family of nations or within the Austrian Empire. They did not succeed in securing equality of rights with the other nations of that Empire, nor in transforming Austria into a federal state of Slavonic nations. During the Whitsun troubles the Congress broke up, before it had passed any resolution about the federation of either the Austrian Slavs or any others, before it had established the means whereby the Slavs might secure their right to be placed on a level with other nations, before they could begin the building of a supranational organisation in a new Europe on the basis of the equality of all nations. The plans for the reorganisation of the Austrian Empire in the spirit of international equality of rights had to remain a mere dream; the new map of central Europe, of all Europe, drawn in accordance with nationality rights, had to remain a figment. The union of Slavonic nations was only a concept. The demand for equality of rights for all nations and equality for all Slavs, the appeal to set the relations between the Slavonic nations on the basis of the equality of rights of those nations, the project of calling together a pan-European



conference for the solution of all Slavonic and European problems, had to remain nothing more than unfulfilled aspirations.

Nevertheless the Slavonic Congress of 1848 has an important place in the history of the Slavs as well as in that of Europe. In the first place the Congress brought progressive elements into European history once more. Starting as a reaction against pan-Germanism and Magyar ambitions for domination, against attempts to organise Europe under the hegemony of Germany and Hungary, the Congress followed Mazzini and the Polish émigrés of the thirties in putting forward a great protest against the oppression of one nation by another, against both national and social class tyranny ; in making a great plea for the liberty and rights of all mankind and every individual on the basis of the ideal of liberty, equality and fraternity. It was a factual unrevolutionary manifestation for peace between nations and for a humane symbiosis between nations. Here were uttered the noblest sentiments ; we must acknowledge that J. E. Vocel was right when he passed this judgment on the Congress : " Only by realising the ideals of the Congress can the troubled world attain peace and reconciliation."

In the second place, the Congress breathed new life into Slavdom. It was the first great and well-attended pan-Slav congress , it was the first meeting for a very long time of representatives of all the Slav nations (except the Bulgarians) at which there were assembled delegates without distinction of faith or political conviction, watched by all the Slavonic countries with general interest and sympathy. Though outwardly it appeared to be dominated by Austro-Slavism, it was in fact so managed that in the course of its sessions it acquired great significance for the Slavs outside Austria ; for the Congress not only demonstrated to the world the strength and greatness of the Slav race, it also showed the Slavs to Europe in the most favourable progressive light. The Congress was the peak of the Slavonic renaissance. In it were centred all the recreative aspirations of the nations of Europe in the springtime of 1848, and that under the pressure of the danger which threatened the Slavs from the oppression of the Germans and Magyars. But the Congress was not merely the echo of foreign ideas or a reaction to German and Magyar activities. In that heart of Slavdom the thought of the Congress developed rapidly, for in that very centre the premises for its development had already been long laid down by the earlier elaboration of the ideas inherent in the struggle of the Slav nations for rebirth, by the long-standing aspiration for freedom, independence and humanity, and by the long struggle for co-operation.

That is why it is impossible to apprehend the importance of the Congress without knowing something of the preceding history of the Slavonic nations, especially of that from the end of the 18th century to 1848. The Slavonic Congress of 1848 was not an historical accident ; it was the organic continuation and completion of the already long internal struggle for rebirth of the Czech and other Slavonic nations, and an important landmark towards which the development of the Slavonic world had already long been moving under the directive force of the idea of commonwealth and close co-operation.

It is true that 1848 also showed that there were still not a few disagreements between the various Slav peoples. At the Congress there were bickerings between the Poles, Russians and Ukrainians ; there were disagreements due to the Hungarophil point of view of the Poles and the anti-Magyar orientation of the southern Slavs ; there was disharmony between Czechs and Slovaks, especially over the Hungarian connection : in opposition to the Czech thesis of the state rights of the Czechs and Slovaks within the framework of a federated Austria, the Slovaks declared for their continuance under the Hungarian crown, always provided that they should enjoy equal rights with the Magyars. Sometimes the egotistical views of the Poles created as much disquiet as did the futile exaltation of their unrealistic romantic dreams. But despite these and other failings, the Congress was, as the first Slav political demonstration, a great reinforcement of the Slavonic idea, of Slavonic confraternity and solidarity, and it transformed into fact ideals that had already been proclaimed for many years, the ideals of mutuality, co-operation and of the just settlement of inter-Slavonic misunderstandings. At the Congress Palacký had already justly said in the manifesto : " For the first time in the history of the Slavs the dissevered members of this great family of nations have come together in numbers sufficient to enable them to get to know each other, and to resume in peaceful conference their common tasks. They have come to understand each other not only by means of their melodious spoken language, but also through the harmonious beating of their hearts and the consonance of their spiritual aspirations. The truth and uprightness," he went on, " which have characterised all their proceedings have made it possible for them to declare their desires before God and the world and to proclaim the principles that have guided them in their proceedings."

Thirdly, the Congress laid down a new programme of mutual Slavonic relations, more concretely and realistically than had ever

been done before, and that not only in the literary and cultural field, but also in political life. This was the progressive programme of the equality of rights of nations and classes. It was based not on the primacy of one Slavonic nation within the Slavonic group, but on the equality and equality of rights of all Slavonic nations, and also on the claim that inter-Slav disputes should be resolved in the spirit of the equality of all the nations that constituted or should in the future constitute the Slavonic group, and on the basis of the principle of general freedom of thought and constant striving for progress. In the sphere of the spiritual and literary co-operation of the Slavs the Congress laid down the principles which were to be repeated at all similar congresses down to our own day : instruction in the Slav languages, common scientific congresses, the establishment of Slavonic institutions of the sciences and arts, cultural exchanges, scientific and cultural work, and so on.

Fourthly, the Slavonic Congress not only proposed a new programme of inter-Slavonic co-operation ; it also took steps for dealing practically with Slavonic relations and aimed at bringing together the delegates of individual Slavonic nations to deal with disputes arising out of their mutual relations, such as those between the Poles and the Ukrainians, those among the southern Slavs, those between the Czechs and Slovaks, and so on. It was only the enforced termination of the Congress which prevented the reaching of agreements on inter-Slav relations.

Fifthly, from the Czech point of view, it is necessary to emphasise that the Congress was primarily a Czech achievement. Even though the idea of the Congress originated with other Slavs, the Croats, Slovaks and Poles, and though it was in all probability planned on Viennese soil, where a large number of Slavs used to meet each other, it was the Czechs alone who did the work necessary to making the project an actual fact ; the Czechs undertook the organisation of the Congress and thereby ensured for themselves an important place in the struggle of the Slav nations. Prague could not but become the centre of the Slav struggle and of the interest of Europe. Even if Karol Libelt and Michael Bakunin introduced an element of disharmony into the deliberations of the Congress, the development of the meeting followed the lines laid down in the original programme, which on the surface was dominated by central European interests, but was in fact characterised by pan-Slavism and a broad conception of the Slavonic world.

The Whitsun riots put a stop to the proceedings of the Congress, but it did not eradicate from the minds of the Slav leaders or of

the Slav nations the noble struggle for liberty and humanity, or the pioneer demand for peace between nations on the basis of equality of rights, the liberty of nations, and human equality in general, and for social and national justice. It was thereby that the Slavonic nations in 1848 gave proof that their efforts and moral standpoint were loftier than those of many others even of the more advanced nations of Europe. The members of the Congress went home full of fears, indeed, but also full of enthusiasm for the Slav idea. They were equally haunted by the fear expressed in the original programme "that a terrible war is imminent unless the nations are reconciled in accordance with the hopes of the Slavonic Congress," but determined, in the words of the original programme, "that the Slavs will never endure German overlordship." They also departed with František Palacký's introductory words ringing in their ears: "The Slav is and will remain unconquerable as long as the battle-cry of common freedom and concord sounds in his heart."

The delegates also went home bearing in their hearts Safařík's exhortation to the Slavs to fit themselves for "true liberty," to prove "that the theory that the Slav is not fit for a higher, fuller, political life, is untrue, and that for the Slavs the decisive hour has come when they must either prove that they have been called to liberty or must be transformed into Germans, Magyars or Italians; when they must prepare themselves to be able to say 'I am a Slav,' or cease to be Slavs altogether." They took with them too both the words of Hodža: "Concord and unity will ensure the strength of the Slavs," and the faith of the Pole, Lubomirski, that "while the Slavs are by their original nature disposed to avoid war of all kinds, they nevertheless do not want peace at the expense of freedom."

They took back with them also Lubomirski's faith in the great future of the Slavs, that "as the third great European race the united Slavs must undertake and accomplish more for true humanity than the Romance or the Germanic race has done hitherto." As they departed the Slavs could not but recall the whole list of projects calling on the Slavs for mutual co-operation and assistance, projects which were to abide as the legacy of the Slavonic Congress of 1848 as an enduring impress on the thought and deeds of the Slav nations down to our own day, and to be our boast before the other nations of the world.

The temper in which the Slavs left Prague, affording as it did a programme for the future, was well expressed by a contemporary

observer, Tomek, in these words: "Our needs, intentions and aims are one and indivisible. We must stand all for one and one for all if we are to get full safeguards for our rights. We must be of one mind; we must banish from our minds all memory of old dividing quarrels; we must be brothers, equal brothers of one mother, among whom there is no firstborn."

This is why to-day, on the occasion of its centenary, we recall the Slavonic Congress of 1848 and its achievements. Rightly we do so to-day, since in its development and its principles we can find no little guidance for what we are, do and think in our present perturbations.

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*Brno.*

## RUSSIA AND 1848

THE year 1848 is not usually considered to be a landmark in Russian history. The revolutions of that year, which seemed to Herzen like "a life-giving storm" on a sultry day, did not reach the Russian empire. The drastic changes of policy on the part of the imperial government after the suppression of the Decembrist rising in 1825 seemed all too effective: literary storms like the Chaadayev affair in 1835, the loose student talk for which Herzen and his friends were punished, even minor peasant disorders in the early forties in remote provincial districts, were easily disposed of; in 1848 itself not a ripple disturbed the peace of the vast and still expanding empire. The gigantic strait-jacket of bureaucratic and military control which, if not devised, was reinforced and pulled tighter by Nicholas I, appeared despite frequent cases of stupidity or corruption to be conspicuously successful. There was nowhere any sign of effective independent thought or action.

Eighteen years earlier, in 1830, the news from Paris had put new life into Russian radicals; French utopian socialism wholly transformed Russian thought; the Polish rebellion became the rallying point of democrats everywhere, very much as did the Republic in the Spanish civil war a century later. But the rebellion was crushed, and all embers of the great conflagration, at any rate so far as open expression was concerned, were by 1848 virtually stamped out—in St. Petersburg no less than in Warsaw. To observers in western Europe, sympathetic and hostile alike, the autocracy seemed unshakable. Nevertheless the year 1848 is a turning-point in the development of Russia as of Europe, not only because of the decisive part played in subsequent Russian history by revolutionary socialism, heralded by the Manifesto composed by Marx and Engels to celebrate its birth; but more immediately because of the effect which the failure of the European revolution was destined to have upon Russian public opinion, and in particular upon the Russian revolutionary movement. At the time, however, this could scarcely have been foreseen: well might a sober political observer—a Granovsky or Koshelev—feel gloomy about the possibility of even moderate reforms; revolution seemed too remote to contemplate.

It seems unlikely that anyone in the 1840's, even among the bolder spirits, except perhaps Bakunin and one or two members of the Petrashevsky circle, counted on the possibility of an immediate

revolution in Russia. The revolutions that broke out in Italy, France, Prussia and Austria had been made by more or less organised political parties, openly opposed to the existing régimes. These were composed of, or acted in coalition with, radical or socialist intellectuals, they were led by prominent democrats identified with recognised political and social doctrines and sects, and they found support among the liberal *bourgeoisie*, or from frustrated national movements at various stages of development and animated by different ideals. They tended also to draw a good deal of strength from disaffected workers and peasants. None of these elements was articulate or organised in Russia in any sense resembling the situation in the west. Parallels between Russian and western European development are always liable to be superficial and misleading, but if a comparison is to be drawn at all the 18th century in Europe offers a closer analogy. The opposition of Russian liberals and radicals which, after the severe repressions following the Decembrist rising, had grown bolder and more articulate in the middle thirties and early forties, resembled the guerrilla warfare conducted by the encyclopædists in France or by the leaders of the German *Aufklärung* against the Church and absolute monarchy, far more than the mass organisations and popular movements in western Europe of the 19th century. The Russian liberals and radicals of the thirties and forties, whether they confined themselves to philosophical or æsthetic issues, like the circle gathered round Stankevich, or engaged in political and social problems, like Herzen and Ogaryov, remained isolated *illuminati*, a small and highly self-conscious intellectual élite; they met and argued and influenced each other in the drawing-rooms and salons of Moscow or St. Petersburg, but they had no popular support, no widely extended political or social framework either in the form of political parties or even in the kind of unofficial but widespread middle-class opposition, which had preceded the great French Revolution. The scattered Russian intellectuals of this period had no middle class to lean upon, nor could they look for help from the peasantry. "The people feel the need of potatoes, but none whatever of a constitution—that is desired only by educated townspeople who are quite powerless," wrote Belinsky to his friends in 1846.<sup>1</sup> And this was echoed ten years later by Chernyshevsky in a characteristic hyperbole: "There is no European country in which the vast majority of the people is not absolutely indifferent to the rights which are the object of concern only to the liberals." While this was scarcely true of western Europe, then or earlier, it

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by F. Dan, *Proiskhozhdeniye Bolshevizma*, New York, 1946, pp. 36-38

reflected the backward state of Russia accurately enough. Until the economic development of the Russian Empire created industrial and labour problems and with them a middle class and a proletariat of the Western type, the democratic revolution remained a dream : and when such conditions finally materialised, as they did with increasing tempo in the last decades of the 19th century, the revolution did not lag far behind. The " Russian 1848 " occurred in that country in 1905, by which time the middle class in the West was no longer revolutionary or even militantly reformist , and this time-lag of half a century was itself a powerful factor in causing the final cleavage between liberal and authoritarian socialism in 1917, and the fatal divergence of paths between Russia and Europe which followed. Perhaps the late F. J. Dan was right in supposing that this was the parting of the ways which Herzen had in mind when, in his letter to Edgar Quinet, he declared, " You will go by way of the proletariat towards socialism , we by way of socialism to freedom." <sup>2</sup> The difference in the degree of political maturity between Russia and the West at this period is vividly described in the introduction to *Letters from France and Italy* which Herzen composed in his Putney exile ten years later. His topic is the Revolution of 1848 in western Europe .

" The Liberals, those political Protestants, became in their turn the most fearful Conservatives ; behind the altered charters and constitutions they discover the spectre of Socialism and grow pale with terror ; nor is this surprising for they have something to lose, something to be afraid of. But we [Russians] are not in that position at all. Our attitude to all public affairs is much simpler and more naive. The Liberals are afraid of losing their liberty—we have none ; they are nervous of interference by governments in the industrial sphere—with us the government interferes with everything anyhow ; they are afraid of losing their personal rights—we have yet to acquire them. The extreme contradictions of our still disordered existence, the lack of stability in all our legal and constitutional notions, makes possible on the one hand the most unlimited despotism, serfdom and military settlements, and on the other creates conditions in which such revolutionary steps as those of Peter I and Alexander II are less difficult. A man who lives in furnished rooms finds it far easier to move than one who has acquired a house of his own. Europe is

<sup>2</sup> Dan, *op. cit.*, quoted from *Kolokol*, No 210



sinking because it cannot rid itself of its cargo—that infinity of treasures accumulated in distant and perilous expeditions. In our case, all this is artificial ballast ; out with it and overboard, and then full sail into the open sea ! We are entering history full of strength and energy at precisely the moment when all political parties are becoming faded anachronisms, and everyone is pointing, some hopefully, others with despair, at the approaching thundercloud of economic revolution. And so we, too, when we look at our neighbours, begin to feel frightened of the coming storm, and, like them, think it best to say nothing about this peril. But you have no need to fear these terrors ; calm yourselves, for on our estate there is a lightning conductor—communal ownership of the land.”

In other words, the total absence of elementary rights and liberties, the seven dark years which followed 1848, so far from inducing despair or apathy, brought home to more than one Russian thinker the sense of complete antithesis between his country and the relatively liberal institutions of Europe which, paradoxically enough, was made the basis for subsequent Russian optimism. From it sprang the strongest hope of a uniquely happy and glorious future, destined for Russia alone.

Herzen's analysis of the facts was quite correct. There was no Russian *bourgeoisie* to speak of : the journalist Polevoy and the literary tea merchant, friend of Belinsky and Turgenev, Botkin, and indeed Belinsky himself, were notable exceptions—social conditions for drastic liberal reforms, let alone revolution, did not exist. Yet this very fact, which was so bitterly lamented by liberals like Kavelin and even Belinsky, brought its own remarkable compensation. In Europe an international revolution had broken out and failed, and its failure created among idealistic democrats and socialists a bitter sense of disillusion and despair. In some cases it led to cynical detachment, or else a tendency to seek comfort either in apathetic resignation, or in religion, or in the ranks of political reaction ; very much as the failure of the Revolution of 1905 in Russia produced the call to repentance and spiritual values of the *Vyekhhi* group. In Russia, Katkov did become a conservative nationalist, Dostoevsky turned to orthodoxy, Botkin turned his back upon radicalism, Bakunin signed a disingenuous “ confession ” ; but in general the very fact that Russia had suffered no revolution, and no corresponding degree of disenchantment, led to a development very different from that of western Europe. The important fact was

that the passion for reform—the revolutionary fervour and the belief in the feasibility of change by means of public pressure, agitation, and, as some thought, conspiracy—did not weaken. On the contrary, it grew stronger. But the argument for a political revolution, when its failure in the West was so glaring, clearly became less convincing. The discontented and rebellious Russian intellectuals of the next thirty years turned their attention to the peculiarities of their own internal situation ; and then, from ready made solutions, imported from the West and capable only of being artificially grafted on to the recalcitrant growth provided by their own countrymen, to the creation of new doctrines and modes of action adapted carefully to the peculiar problems posed by Russia alone. They were prepared to learn and more than learn—to become the most devoted and assiduous disciples of the most advanced thinkers of western Europe, but the teachings of Hegel and the German materialists, of Mill, Spencer and Comte, were henceforth to be transformed to fit specifically Russian needs. Bazarov, in Turgenev's *Fathers and Children*, for all his militant positivism and materialism and respect for the West, has far deeper roots in Russian soil—and not without a certain self-conscious pride, than the men of the forties with their genuinely cosmopolitan ideal : than, e.g., the imaginary Rudin, or indeed the supposed original of Rudin—Bakunin himself, for all his pan-Slavism and Germanophobia.

The measures taken by the Government to prevent the “ revolutionary disease ” from infecting the Russian Empire, did no doubt play a decisive part in preventing the possibility of revolutionary outbreaks : but the important consequence of this “ moral quarantine ” was to weaken the influence of western liberalism ; it forced Russian intellectuals in upon themselves, made it more difficult than before to escape from the painful issues before them into a kind of vague search for panaceas from the West. There followed a sharp settling of internal moral and political accounts : as hope receded of marching in step with western liberalism, the Russian progressive movement tended to become increasingly uncompromising. The most crucial and striking fact is that there was no inner collapse on the part of the progressives, and both revolutionary and reformist opinion, though it grew more nationalist, often took on a grimmer tone. It favoured self-consciously harsh, anti-æsthetic, exaggeratedly materialistic, crude, utilitarian forms, and continued to be self-confident and optimistic, inspired by the later writing of Belinsky rather than Herzen. There is not, even at the lowest point—during the “ seven year long night ” after 1848, that flatness

and apathy, which is so noticeable in France and Germany during these years. But this was bought at the price of a deep schism within the intelligentsia. The new men, Chernyshevsky and the left-wing populists, are divided by a much wider gap from the liberals, whether of the West or of their own country, than any of their predecessors. In the years of repression, 1848-1856, lines of demarcation grew much more real; frontiers between the Slavophiles and the Westerns, which had hitherto been easily crossed and re-crossed, became dividing walls; the framework of friendship and mutual respect between the two camps—"the Janus with two faces but one heart"—which had made it possible for radicals like Belinsky and Herzen to argue furiously but in an atmosphere of deep regard, in some cases even of affection, with Katkov or Khomyakov or the Aksakov brothers, no longer existed. The quarrel between the moderates of the *Kolokol* and the St. Petersburg radicals in the sixties was bitter. Chernyshevsky's meeting with Herzen in London was a stiff, awkward and almost formal affair. Despite the continued existence of a common enemy—the Imperial police state—the old solidarity was fatally broken. The gulf between what became the left- and the right-wing oppositions grew steadily wider; and this despite the fact that the left wing regarded western ideals far more critically than before, and like the right looked for salvation to native institutions and a specifically Russian solution, losing faith in universal remedies, compounded out of liberal or socialist doctrines imported from the West.

Thus it came about that, when at last direct western influence had again reasserted itself in the form of the orthodox Marxism of the Russian social democrats of the nineties, the revolutionary intelligentsia was unbroken by the collapse of liberal hopes in Europe in 1849-1851. Its beliefs and principles were preserved from contamination by the very hostility of the régime, and remained free from the danger, prevalent among their old allies in the West, of growing soft and blurred as a result of too much successful compromise, mingled with disillusion. Consequently, during the time of almost universal *malaise* among socialists, the Russian left-wing movement retained its ideals and its fighting spirit. It had broken with liberalism out of strength and not out of despair. It had created and nurtured its own tough-minded, radical, agrarian tradition, and it was an army ready to march. Some of the factors responsible for this trend—the independent development of Russian radicalism as it was born in the storms of 1848-1849—may be worth recalling.

Tsar Nicholas I remained all his life obsessed by the Decembrist rising. He saw himself as the ruler appointed by Providence to save his people from the horrors of atheism, liberalism and revolution ; and being an absolute autocrat in fact as well as in name, he made it the first aim of his government to eliminate every form of political heterodoxy or opposition. Nevertheless, even the severest censorship, the sharpest political police, will tend to relax its attention to some degree after twenty years of relative quiet ; in this case the long peace had been disturbed only by the Polish rebellion, with no signs of serious internal conspiracy anywhere, and no greater dangers to the régime, than a few radical-minded university students, a few westernising professors and writers, with here and there, an odd defender of the Roman Church like Chaadayev, or an actual convert to Rome like the eccentric ex-professor of Greek, the Redemptorist Father Pecherin. As a result of this, in the middle forties the liberal journals, such as *Otechestvennyye Zapiski* or *Sovremennik*, took courage and began to print, not indeed articles in open opposition to the government—with the existing censorship and under the sharp eye of General Dubbelt of the political police, this was out of the question—but articles ostensibly concerned with conditions in western Europe or in the Ottoman Empire, and written in an apparently dispassionate manner ; but containing for those who could read between the lines, vague hints and concealed allusions critical of the existing régime. The centre of attraction to all progressive spirits was, of course, Paris, the home of all that was most advanced and freedom-loving in the world, the home of socialists and utopians, of Leroux and Cabet, of George Sand and Proudhon—the centre of a revolutionary art and literature, which in the course of time were bound to lead humanity towards freedom and happiness.

Saltykov-Shchedrin, who belonged to a typical liberal circle of the forties, says in a famous passage of his memoirs : <sup>3</sup>

“ In Russia, everything seemed finished, sealed with five seals and consigned to the Post Office for delivery to an addressee whom it was beforehand decided not to find ; in France, everything seemed to be beginning . . . our (French) sympathies became particularly intense towards 1848. With unconcealed excitement we watched all the *peripeteias* of the drama provided by the last years of Louis Philippe's reign. With passionate enthusiasm we read *The History of Ten Years*,

<sup>3</sup> *Za Rubezhom*, Vol. 8, p 123 et foll

by Louis Blanc . . . : Louis Philippe and Guizot, Duchatel and Thiers—these men were almost personal enemies, perhaps more dangerous than even L. V. Dubbelt.<sup>4</sup> Their successes depressed, their failures delighted us ; contributors to our liberal journals might be writing about France, but the moral was quite clearly intended for their own country ; they might discuss the campaign to liberate negro slaves—the analogy with Russian serfs was only too obvious, but difficult for the censors to admit, and therefore to punish.”

The Russian censorship had evidently not at this period reached its maximum severity ; the censors were themselves at times inclined towards a timid kind of right-wing liberalism ; in any case they were often no match for the infinite ingenuity and, above all, unending persistence of the “ disloyal ” historians and journalists, and inevitably they let through a certain proportion of “ dangerous thought.” Those zealous watchdogs of autocracy, the editors Bulgarin and Gretschi, who virtually acted as agents of the political police, often denounced such oversights in private reports to their employers. But the Minister of Education, Count Oukharov, author of the celebrated patriotic triple watchword of “ orthodoxy, autocracy and the people ”—who could scarcely be accused of undue liberal leanings—was nevertheless anxious not to acquire the reputation of a bigoted reactionary, and turned a blind eye to the less blatant manifestations of independent writing. By western standards, the censorship was exceptionally efficient and severe ; Belinsky’s letters, for example, make quite plain the extent to which the censors managed to mutilate his articles ; nevertheless, liberal journals contrived to survive in St. Petersburg, and that in itself, to those who remembered the years immediately following 1825 and knew the temper of the Emperor, was remarkable enough. The limits of freedom were, of course, exceedingly narrow ; the most arresting Russian social document of this period, apart from the writings of the émigrés, was Belinsky’s letter to Gogol denouncing his book, *Selected Quotations from a Correspondence with Friends*, and that remained unpublished in Russia in its full version until 1917. And no wonder, for it was an exceptionally eloquent and savage onslaught on the existing régime, inveighing violently against the Church, the social system and the arbitrary authority of the Emperor and his officials, and accusing Gogol of traducing the cause of liberty and civilisation as well as the character and

<sup>4</sup> The effective head of the political police.

the needs of his enslaved and helpless country. This celebrated philippic, written in 1847, was secretly circulated in manuscript far beyond the confines of Moscow or St. Petersburg. Indeed, it was largely for reading this letter aloud at a private gathering of disaffected persons that Dostoevsky was condemned to death and so nearly executed two years later. In 1843 subversive French doctrines were, so Annenkov tells us, openly discussed in the capital : the police official, Liprandi, found forbidden western texts openly displayed in the bookshops. The year 1847, when Herzen and Turgenev met Bakunin and other revolutionary Russian émigrés in Paris, and sent enthusiastic, if cautiously worded, letters home about their new moral and political experiences (some echo of which found its way into the radical Russian journals), marks the highest point of relative toleration on the part of the censorship. The Revolution of 1848 put an end to all this for some years to come.

The story is familiar and may be found in Schilder.<sup>5</sup> Upon receipt of the news of the abdication of Louis Philippe and the declaration of a Republic in France, the Emperor Nicholas, feeling that his worst forebodings about the instability of European régimes were about to be fulfilled, decided to take immediate action. According to Grimm's probably apocryphal account, as soon as he heard the disastrous news from Paris, he drove to the palace of his son, the future Tsar Alexander II, where an eve-of-Lent ball was in progress. Bursting into the ballroom, he stopped the dancers with an imperious gesture, cried loudly, "Gentlemen, saddle your horses, a Republic has been proclaimed in France!" and with a group of courtiers swept out of the room. Whether or not this dramatic episode ever occurred—Schilder does not believe it—it conveys the general atmosphere accurately enough. Prince Peter Volkonski at about this time told V. I. Panayev that the Tsar seemed bent on declaring a preventive war in Europe and was only stopped by lack of money. As it was, large reinforcements were sent to guard the "western Provinces," i.e. Poland. That unhappy country, broken not only by the savage repression of the Rebellion of 1831, but by the measures taken after the Galician peasant rising in 1846, did not stir. But Polish liberty was being acclaimed, and Russian autocracy denounced, as a matter of course, at every liberal banquet in Paris and elsewhere; and, although this awoke no echo in Warsaw, then under the heel of Paskevich, the Tsar suspected treason everywhere. Indeed, one of the principal reasons

<sup>5</sup> N. K. Schilder, *Imperator Nikolai Pervy, Ego Zhizn i Tsarstvovaniye Prmechaniya Prilozheniya ko vtoromu tomu*. (Notes and Supplements to Vol. II).

why such importance was attached to the capture of Bakunin was the Tsar's belief that he was in close touch with Polish émigrés—which was true—and that they were plotting a new Polish mutiny in which Bakunin was involved—which was false—although Bakunin's extravagant public utterances may have lent some colour to such a supposition. Bakunin at the time of his imprisonment seems to have been entirely unaware of this obsession on the part of the Tsar and therefore ignorant throughout of what was expected of him. He failed to include the non-existent Polish plot in his otherwise imaginative and altogether too accommodating confession. Soon after the outbreak in Berlin, the Tsar published a manifesto, in which he declared that the wave of mutiny and chaos had fortunately not reached the impregnable frontiers of the Russian Empire, that he would do everything in his power to stop this spreading of the political plague, and that he felt certain that all his loyal subjects would, at such a moment, rally to him in order to avert the danger to the throne and to the Church. The Chancellor, Count Nesselrode, caused an inspired commentary on the Tsar's manifesto to appear in the *Journal de St Petersburg*, seeking to mitigate its bellicose tone. Whatever the effect on Europe, in Russia the commentary seems to have deceived no one: it was known that Nicholas had drafted the manifesto with his own hand, and had read it to Baron Korff with tears in his eyes. Korff too was apparently almost reduced to tears<sup>6</sup> and at once destroyed the draft, which he had been commissioned to prepare, as unworthy. The heir-apparent, Alexander, when he read it to a meeting of guards officers, was overcome by emotion; Prince Orlov, the head of the gendarmerie, was no less deeply moved. The document stimulated a genuine surge of patriotic feeling, although this does not appear to have lasted long. The Tsar's policy corresponded to some degree of popular feeling, at any rate among the upper and official classes. In 1849, Russian armies, commanded by Paskevich, crushed the Revolution in Hungary; Russian influence played a major part in the suppression of the Revolution in the other provinces of the Austrian Empire and in Prussia, the power of Russia in Europe, and the terror and hatred which it inspired in the breast of every liberal and constitutionalist beyond its borders, reached their zenith. Russia was to the democrats of this period very much what the fascist powers were in our own time: the arch-enemy of freedom and enlightenment, the reservoir of darkness, cruelty and oppression,

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Schilder, *op cit*, on which the account of this episode is based.

the land most frequently, most violently denounced by its own exiled sons, the sinister power, served by innumerable spies and informers, whose hidden hand was discovered in every political development unfavourable to the growth of national or individual liberty in Europe. This wave of liberal indignation confirmed Nicholas in his conviction that, by his example, no less than by his exertions, he had saved Europe from moral and political ruin : his duty had at all times been plain to him ; he carried it out methodically and ruthlessly, unmoved by either flattery or abuse.

The effect of the Revolution on internal affairs in Russia was immediate and powerful. All plans for agrarian reform, and in particular all proposals for the alleviation of the condition of the serfs both private and State-owned—not to speak of plans for their liberation—to which the Emperor had at one time given much sympathetic consideration, were abruptly dropped. For many years it had been a commonplace, and not in liberal circles alone, that agricultural slavery was an economic as well as a social evil. Count Kisselev, whom Nicholas trusted and had invited to be his “ Agrarian Chief of Staff ” held this view strongly, and even the landowners and the reactionary bureaucrats who did their best to put difficulties in the path of positive reform had not, for some years, thought it profitable to question the evil of the system itself. Now, however, the lead given by Gogol in his unfortunate *Correspondence with Friends*, was followed in one or two government-approved school textbooks which went further than the most extreme Slavophiles, and began to represent the institution of serfdom as divinely sanctioned, and resting on the same unshakable foundation as other patriarchal Russian institutions—as sacred in its own way as the divine right of the Tsar himself. Projected reforms of local government were likewise discontinued. The “ hydra of revolution ” was threatening the Empire, and internal enemies, as so often in the history of Russia, were therefore to be handled with exemplary severity. The first step taken was connected with censorship.

The steady stream of secret denunciation which issued from Bulgarn and Gretsck at last had its effect. Baron Korff and Prince Menshikov almost simultaneously, it appears, compiled memoranda giving instances of the laxity of the censorship and the dangerous liberal tone to be found in the periodical press. The Emperor declared himself shocked and indignant that this had not been detected earlier. A committee under Menshikov was immediately set up with instructions to look into the activities of the censors and tighten up existing regulations. This committee summoned the



editors of the *Sovremennik* and of *Otechestvonniiye Zapiski* and reproved them strongly for "general unsoundness." The latter changed its tone, and its editor-publisher Kravetsky produced in 1849 a *bien pensant* article denouncing western Europe and all its works, and offering the government a degree of sycophantic adulation at that time unknown even in Russia, and scarcely to be found in Bulgarin's *Severnaya Pchela* (*The Northern Bee*). As for the *Sovremennik*, its most effective contributor Belinsky, whom nothing could corrupt or silence, had died early in 1848.<sup>7</sup> Herzen and Bakunin were in Paris, Granovsky was too mild and too unhappy to protest. Nekrasov was left in Russia almost alone to continue the fight, by displaying his extraordinary agility and skill in dealing with officials, and by lying low for a good many months, he managed to survive and even publish, and so formed the living link between the proscribed radicals of the forties and the new and more fanatical generation, tried and hardened by persecution, which carried on the struggle in the fifties and sixties. The Menshikov Committee was duly superseded by a secret committee (the Emperor was in the habit of submitting critical issues to secret committees, which often worked at cross-purposes in ignorance of each other's existence) headed by Buturlin, and later by Annenkov—commonly known as the "Second of April Committee." Its duty was not that of pre-censorship (which continued to be performed by censors under the direction of the Ministry of Education) but the scrutiny of matter already published, with instructions to report any trace of "unsoundness" to the Emperor himself, who undertook to execute the necessary punitive measures. This committee was linked with the political police through the ubiquitous Dubbelt. It worked with blind and relentless zeal, ignoring all other departments and institutions, and at one point, in an excess of enthusiasm, actually denounced a satirical poem approved by the Tsar himself.<sup>8</sup> By going with a fine comb through every word published in the none too numerous periodical press, it succeeded in virtually stifling all forms of political and social criticism—indeed everything but the conventional expressions of unlimited loyalty to the autocracy and

<sup>7</sup> There is a legend still to be found in the latest Soviet lives of the great critic that at the time of his death a warrant had gone out for his arrest, and it is true that Dubbelt later said that he regretted his death as "otherwise we should have let him rot inside a fortress", but M. Lemke (*Nikolayevskie Zhandarmy*, St Petersburg, 1908) has conclusively shown that no such warrant had ever been signed and that the invitation to Belinsky to visit Dubbelt, which had largely inspired the story, was due mainly to a desire of the Third Department to get a specimen of his handwriting in order to compare it with that of a subversive anonymous letter circulating at the time.

<sup>8</sup> Schilder, *op. cit*

the orthodox Church. This proved too much even for Ouvaroff, and on the plea of ill-health, he resigned from the Ministry of Education. His successor was an obscure nobleman—Prince Shirinsky-Shikhmatov,<sup>9</sup> who had submitted a memorandum to the Tsar, pointing out that one of the mainsprings of disaffection was undoubtedly the freedom of philosophical speculation permitted in the Russian universities. The Emperor accepted this thesis and appointed him to his post with express instructions to reform university teaching by introducing stricter observance of the precepts of the orthodox faith, and in particular by the elimination of philosophical or other dangerous leanings. This mediæval mandate was carried out in the spirit and the letter and led to a “purge” of education which exceeded even the notorious “purification” of the University of Kazan ten years earlier by Magnitzky. 1848 to 1856 is the darkest hour in the night of Russian obscurantism in the 19th century. Even the craven and sycophantic Gretsck, torn by anxiety to please the authorities and, after Bulgarin, the most zealous of all the creatures of the political police—even Gretsck, whose letters from Paris in 1848 denounce the mildest liberal measures of the Second Republic with a degree of scorn hardly equalled by Benckendorff himself—even this poor creature in his autobiography<sup>10</sup> written in the fifties, complains with something approaching bitterness about the stupidities and iniquities of the new double censorship. Perhaps the most vivid description of this literary “White Terror” is the well-known passage in the memoirs of the populist writer Gleb Ouspensky.<sup>11</sup>

“One could not move, one could not even dream; it was dangerous to give any sign of thought—of the fact that you were not afraid; on the contrary, you were required to show that you were scared, trembling, even when there was no real ground for it—that is what those years have created in the Russian masses. Perpetual fear—that is the root of truth about life . . . panic was then in the air, and crushed the public consciousness and robbed it of all desire or capacity for thought . . . the atmosphere was full of terrors; ‘You are lost,’ cried heaven and earth, air and water, man and

<sup>9</sup> “Shikhmatov is Shakhmat (checkmate)—to all education” was a popular pun in St Petersburg

<sup>10</sup> N I Gretsck, *Zapiski o moyey zhizni*

<sup>11</sup> Gleb Ouspensky, *Polnoye Sobranie Sochineniy*, St Petersburg, 1889, T I, pp 175–76, partly quoted by A A Kizevetter, *Istoricheskoye Ochevkie*, Moscow, 1912.

beast—and everything shuddered and fled from disaster into the first available rabbit hole.”

Ouspensky's account is borne out by other evidence, perhaps most vividly by the behaviour of Chaadayev. In 1848, this remarkable man, no longer a “certified lunatic,” was still living in Moscow. The *Teleskop* débâcle of 1835 had spread his fame. He seemed unbroken by his misfortune. His pride, his originality, and his independence, the charm and wit of his conversation, but above all his reputation as a martyr in the cause of intellectual liberty, attracted and fascinated even his political opponents. His salon was visited by both Russian and eminent foreign visitors, who testify that until the blow fell in 1848, he continued to express his pro-western sympathies with an uncompromising and (considering the political atmosphere) astonishing degree of freedom. The more extreme members of the Slavophil brotherhood, especially the poet Yazykov,<sup>12</sup> attacked him from time to time, and on one occasion virtually denounced him to the political police. But his prestige and popularity were still so great that the Third Department did not touch him, and he continued to receive a variety of distinguished personalities both Russian and foreign in his weekly salon. In 1847 he expressed himself strongly against Gogol's *Correspondence with Friends* and in a letter to A. I. Turgenev damned it as a symptom of megalomania on the part of that unhappy genius. Chaadayev was not a liberal, still less a revolutionary: he was, if anything, a romantic conservative, an admirer of the Roman Church and the western tradition, and an aristocratic opponent of the Slavophil obsession with eastern orthodoxy and Byzantium; he was a figure of the right, not the left, but he was an avowed and fearless opponent of the régime. He was admired above all for his individualism, his unbreakable will, his incorruptible purity and strength of character, and his proud refusal to bend to authority. In 1848, this paladin of western civilisation suddenly wrote to Khomyakov that Europe was in chaos, and in deep need of Russian help, and spoke with much enthusiasm of the Emperor's bold initiative in crushing the Hungarian Revolution. While this might have been put down to the horror of popular risings felt by many intellectuals at this time, this is not the end of the story. In 1853, Herzen published a book abroad containing a passionate encomium of Chaadayev.<sup>13</sup> As soon as he heard of it, Chaadayev wrote to the

<sup>12</sup> M. Lemke, *Nikolaevskiy Zhandarmy*, St Petersburg, 1908, p. 451.

<sup>13</sup> *Du Développement des Idées Révolutionnaires en Russie*

head of the political police, saying that he had learnt with annoyance and indignation that he had been praised by so notorious a miscreant, and followed this with sentiments of the most abject loyalty to the Tsar as an instrument of the divine will sent to restore order in the world. To a shocked friend, he merely observed that, after all, "one must save one's skin." This act of apparently cynical self-abasement on the part of the proudest and most liberty-loving man in Russia of his time is tragic evidence of the effect of protracted repression upon those members of the older generation of aristocratic rebels who, by some miracle, had escaped Siberia or the gallows.

This was the atmosphere in which the famous Petrashevsky case was tried. Its main interest consists in the fact that it is the only serious conspiracy under the direct influence of western ideas to be found in Russia at that time. When Herzen heard the news, it was "like the olive branch, which the dove brought to Noah's Ark"—the first glimmering of hope after the flood.<sup>14</sup> A good deal has been written about this case by those involved in it—among them Dostoevsky, who\* was sent to Siberia for complicity in it. Dostoevsky, who in later years detested every form of radicalism and socialism (and indeed secularism in general) plainly tried to minimise his own part in it, and perpetrated a celebrated caricature of the revolutionary conspiracy of his day in *The Possessed*. Baron Korff, one of the committee of enquiry into the case, later said that the plot was not as serious or as widespread as had been alleged—that it was mainly "a conspiracy of ideas." In the light of later evidence, and in particular of the publication by the Soviet Government of two volumes of documents<sup>15</sup> this verdict may be doubted. There is, of course, a sense in which there was no formal conspiracy. All that had happened was that a certain number of disaffected young men gathered together at regular intervals in two or three houses and discussed the possibility of reform. It is also true that in spite of the devotion of Petrashevsky-Butashevich himself to the ideas of Fourier—he is said to have built a small Phalanstery on his estate for his peasants, who set fire to it almost immediately as an invention of the devil—these groups were not united by any clear body of principles accepted by them all. Mombelli went no further than the desire to create mutual aid institutions, not so much for the workers or peasants as for the bourgeois, like himself. Akhshazumov, Yevropeus, Pleshcheyev were Christian Socialists,

<sup>14</sup> A. I. Herzen, *Polnoye Sobraniye Sochineniy*, ed. Lemke, Vol. XIII, p. 591.

<sup>15</sup> *Dyelo Petrashevitshev*, It I and II, 1940-1941. The third volume has yet to appear.

A. P. Milioukov translated Lamennais. Balasoglo was a kindly and impressionable young man, oppressed by the horrors of the Russian social order—no more and no less than, for example, Gogol himself—who desired reform and improvement on mildly populist lines similar to the ideas of the more romantic Slavophiles, and indeed not too unlike the nostalgia of such English writers as Cobbett, or William Morris. Indeed, Petrashevsky's encyclopædic dictionary which contained "subversive" articles disguised as scientific information, resembles nothing so much as Cobbett's famous grammar. Nevertheless, these groups differed from the casual gatherings of such radicals as Panayev, Korsh, Nekrasov and even Belinsky. Some, at any rate, of the participants met for the specific purpose of considering concrete ideas of how to foment a rebellion against the existing régime.

These ideas may have been impracticable, and may have contained in them much that was fantastic drawn from the French Utopians and other "unscientific" sources, but their purpose was not the reform but the overthrow of the régime, and the establishment of a revolutionary government. Dostoevsky's descriptions in *A Writer's Diary* and elsewhere make it clear that Speshnev, for example, was by temperament and intention, a genuine revolutionary agitator, who believed in conspiracy at least as seriously as Bakunin (who disliked him) and attended these discussion groups with a practical purpose. The portrait of him as Stavrogin in *The Possessed* strongly stresses this aspect. Similarly, Durov and Grigoriev and one or two others certainly seem to have believed that the Revolution might break out at any moment; while they realised the impossibility of organising a mass movement, they put their faith, like Weitling and the groups of German communist workers, and perhaps Blanqui, at this period, in the organisation of small cells of trained revolutionaries, a professional élite which could act efficiently and ruthlessly and seize the leadership when the hour struck—when the oppressed elements would rise and crush the knock-kneed army of courtiers and bureaucrats who alone stood between the Russian people and its freedom. No doubt much of this was idle talk, since nothing remotely resembling a revolutionary situation existed in Russia at this time. Nevertheless, the intentions of these men were as concrete and as violent as those of Babeuf and his friends, and in the condition of a tightly controlled autocracy, the only possible means of practical conspiracy. Speshnev was quite definitely a Communist, influenced not merely by Dézamy but perhaps also by the early works of Marx—e.g., the anti-Proudhonist

*Misère de la Philosophie.* Balasoglo states that in his evidence <sup>16</sup> that one of the things which attracted him to Petrashevsky's discussion group was that, on the whole, it avoided liberal patter and aimless discussion and concerned itself with concrete issues, and conducted statistical studies with a view to direct action. Dostoevsky's contemptuous references to the tendency of his fellow conspirators *poliberalnichat*—to play at being liberal—looks mainly like an attempt to whitewash himself. In fact, the principal attraction of this circle for Dostoevsky probably consisted precisely in that which had also attracted Balasoglo—namely, that the atmosphere was not amiably liberal, gay, informal and intimate, and given to literary and intellectual gossip, like the lively evenings given by the Panayevs, Sollogub or Herzen, at which he seems to have been snubbed and had suffered acutely. Petrashevsky was a remorselessly earnest man, and the groups, both his own and the subsidiary, even more secret groups which sprang from it—as well as allied “circles,” e.g. that to which Chernyshevsky belonged as a university student—meant business. The conspiracy was broken up in April, 1849, and the Petrashevtsi were tried and sent into exile.

Between 1849 and the death of Nicholas I in the last months of the Crimean war, there is not a glimmering of liberal thought. Gogol died an unrepentant reactionary, but Turgenev, who ventured to praise him as a satirical genius in an obituary article, was promptly arrested for it. Bakunin was in prison, Herzen lived abroad, Belinsky was dead, Granovsky was silent, depressed and developing Slavophil sympathies. The centenary of Moscow University in 1855 proved a dismal affair. The Slavophiles themselves, although they rejected the liberal revolution and all its works, and continued a ceaseless campaign against western influences, felt the heavy hand of official repression; the Aksakov brothers, Khomyakov, Koshelev and Samarin, fell under official suspicion much as Ivan Kireyevsky had done in the previous decade. The secret police and the special committees considered all ideas to be dangerous as such, particularly that of a nationalism which took up the cause of the oppressed Slav nationalities of the Austrian Empire, and, by implication thereby placed itself in opposition to the dynastic principle and to multi-racial empires. The battle between the government and the various opposition parties was not an ideological war, like the long conflict fought out in the seventies and eighties between the Left and the Right, between liberals, early populists and socialists on one side, and such reactionary nationalists as, for instance,

<sup>16</sup> *Op cit*, T. 2.

Strakhov, Dostoevsky, Maikov, and above all Katkov and Leontiev on the other. During 1848-56, the government, and the party (as it was called) of "official patriotism," appeared to be hostile to thought as such, and therefore made no attempt to obtain intellectual supporters; when volunteers offered themselves, they were accepted somewhat disdainfully, made use of, and occasionally rewarded. If Nicholas I made no conscious effort to fight ideas with ideas, it was because he disliked all thought and speculation as such; he distrusted his own bureaucracy so deeply, perhaps because he felt that it presupposed the minimum of intellectual activity required by any form of rational organisation.

"To those who lived through it, it seemed that this dark tunnel was destined to lead nowhere," wrote Herzen in the sixties. "Nevertheless, the effect of these years was by no means wholly negative." And this is acute and true. The Revolution of 1848 by its failure, by discrediting the revolutionary intelligentsia of Europe which had been put down so easily by the forces of law and order, was followed by a mood of profound disillusionment, by a distrust of the very idea of progress, of the possibility of the peaceful attainment of liberty and equality by means of persuasion or indeed any civilised means open to men of liberal convictions. Herzen himself never wholly recovered from this collapse of his hopes and ideas. Bakunin was disoriented by it; the older generation of liberal intellectuals left in Moscow and St. Petersburg scattered, some to drift into the conservative camp, others to seek comfort in non-political fields. But the effect which the failure of 1848 had had on the stronger natures among the younger Russian radicals was to convince them firmly that no real accommodation with the Tsar's government was possible—with the result that during the Crimean War, a good many of the leading intellectuals were close to being defeatist: and this was by no means confined to the radicals and revolutionaries. Koshelev in his memoirs, published in Berlin in the eighties,<sup>17</sup> declares that he and his friends—nationalists and Slavophiles—thought that a defeat would serve Russia's best interests, and dwells on public indifference to the outcome of the war—an admission far more shocking at the time of its publication, during the full tide of pan-Slav agitation, than the facts themselves can have been during the Crimean war. The Tsar's uncompromising line precipitated a moral crisis which finally divided the tough core of the opposition from the opportunists: it caused the former to turn in more narrowly upon themselves. This applied to both camps. Whether they were

<sup>17</sup> A. I. Koshelev, *Zapiski*, pp 80-83, Berlin, 1884

Slavophiles and rejected the West like the Aksakovs and Samarin, or materialists, atheists and champions of western scientific ideas like Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev, they became increasingly absorbed in the specific national and social problems of Russia and, in particular, in the problem of the peasant—his ignorance, his misery, the forms of his social life, their historical origins, their economic future. The liberals of the forties may have been stirred to genuine compassion or indignation by the plight of the peasantry: the institution of serfdom had long been an acute public problem and indeed a great and recognised evil. Yet, excited as they were by the latest social and philosophical ideas which reached them from the West, they felt no inclination to spend their time upon detailed and tedious researches into the actual condition of the peasantry, upon the multitude of unexplored social and economic data which had been so superficially described by Custine, or later in greater detail by Haxthausen. Turgenev had done something to awaken interest in the day-to-day *byt* of the peasants by the realism of his *Sportsman's Sketches*. Grigorovich had moved both Belinsky and Dostoevsky by his tragic but, to a later taste, lifeless and overwrought descriptions of peasants in *The Village*, and *Anton Goremyka*, published in 1847. But these were ripples on the surface. During the period of enforced insulation after 1849, with Europe in the arms of reaction, and only Herzen's plaintive voice faintly audible from afar, those socially conscious Russian intellectuals who had survived the turmoil, directed their sharp and fearless analytical apparatus upon the actual conditions in which the vast majority of their countrymen were living. Russia, which a decade or two earlier was in considerable danger of becoming a permanent intellectual dependency of Berlin or of Paris, was forced by this insulation to develop a native social and political outlook of her own. A sharp change in tone is now noticeable, the harsh, materialistic and "nihilistic" criticism of the sixties and seventies is due not merely to the change in economic and social conditions, and the consequent emergence of a new class and a new tone in Russia as in Europe, but in at least equal measure to the prison walls within which Nicholas I had enclosed the lives of his thinking subjects. This led to a sharp break with the polite civilisation and the non-political interests of the past, to a general toughening of fibre and exacerbation of political and social differences. The gulf between the Right and the Left—between the disciples of Dostoevsky and Kathov and the followers of Chernyshevsky or Bakunin—equally typical radical intellectuals in 1848—had grown very wide and deep. In due course there



emerged a vast and growing army of practical revolutionaries, conscious—too sharply conscious—of the specifically Russian character of their problems, seeking specifically Russian solutions. They were forced away from the general current of European development (with which, in any case, their history seemed to have so little in common) by the bankruptcy in Europe of the libertarian movement of 1848: they drew strength from the very harshness of the discipline which the failure in the West had indirectly imposed upon them. Henceforth the Russian radicals accepted the view that ideas and agitation wholly unsupported by material force were necessarily doomed to impotence; and they adopted this truth and abandoned sentimental liberalism without being forced to pay for their liberation with that bitter, personal disillusionment and acute frustration which proved too much for so many idealistic radicals in the west. The Russian radicals learned this lesson by means of precept and example, indirectly as it were, without the destruction of their inner resources. The experience obtained by both sides in the struggle during these dark years determined the uncompromising character of the later revolutionary movement in Russia.

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## 1848 AND THE HOTEL LAMBERT

THE year 1848 gave promise of being stormy well in advance. From the previous autumn something peculiar was in the air. The aged chancellor Prince Metternich, watch-dog of the Holy Alliance, wrote in January to Lebzeltern, Austrian envoy in St. Petersburg: "The year 1848 will throw a lot of light, it will bring out of the mists about us many things which hamper the gaze, even of those most accustomed to follow the development of diverse issues."

The fears of those in charge of the Holy Alliance were realised earlier than they expected. After the troubles in Switzerland, in the first days of February came the turn of France. In January revolution had begun in Italy, and the throne of Louis-Philippe fell the next month. In March Metternich fled from Vienna, and the outbreak in Berlin set free the political prisoners in the Moabite, with Mierosławski at their head. King Frederic William IV, forced to watch their liberation with head uncovered, was induced by the pressure to pledge a constitution for Prussia. On 14th March Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, no longer in the name of his own kingdom but in that of all Italy, declared war on Austria; and amid general enthusiasm even the Papal armies joined in the struggle. Hope was born in the hearts of the submerged peoples: fear fell on the despots, tyrants and autocrats.

"How terrible is the year which has begun thus! How will it end? Events are surpassing all our expectations," wrote the Russian ambassador in Berlin, Baron Meyendorff, on hearing the news from Paris. Was he thinking of the ghost of the Polish question? Beyond doubt precisely this was in his mind, for its shadow fell from the start on the foundations of the Holy Alliance. The Polish problem lay at the roots of many of his troubles.

The February revolution shook Prince Czartoryski<sup>1</sup> out of a condition of depression and despair. He was already an old man, and the "massacres" in Galicia (1846) had been for him a shock from which he could not recover. The Anglo-Russian *entente* promised nothing good, and at home in Poland the winds of "compromise" (*ugoda*) were beginning to blow. In his *Letter to Prince Metternich*, the Marquis Wielopolski, formerly Polish envoy in London and a supporter of the same Prince, offered the Polish nation to Tsar Nicholas, using these words:

"We come to hand ourselves over to you, as the most unanimous of our adversaries. We were yours, as subjects, by the

right of partition, in our fear not weighing the oaths you compelled us to swear To-day you are winning a new title to authority. We submit to you as free men, voluntarily, and you become our Lord by the grace of God." 2

The tired and disillusioned Czartoryski intended to forsake all public service. "Let others take over, sturdier than I," he said. "It is time for me to retire into the shadow." But this taste of spring, which promised a mighty storm—one he had long foreseen and for which the whole body of *émigrés* were praying—gave him fresh hopes. He shook himself, realising that a great opportunity, one of historic dimensions, was at hand, and that whatever the future might bring, the chance could not be left unexploited. He saw that until the goal set before him was reached, no effort would be final, none too great: and in spite of his scepticism, born of age and experience, he let himself be carried on the wave of growing enthusiasm. The offices and corridors of the Hôtel Lambert again buzzed with activity. The famous "green despatch-cases," in which for years the work of his agents had been collected, were again set in circulation, furnishing the cabinets of France, England, Sardinia, the Vatican and the Porte with valuable information, figures and comparisons. Raw materials sent in by the Eastern and Western agencies, as well as from the Homeland, were turned into reports and confidential memoranda.

The Prince was again in his element. The "uncrowned *de facto* King" became again his own Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish Commonwealth—not to be found on the map, prostrate under an alien yoke, but assisting other subject peoples to recover both national independence and internal liberties.

"The fate of all subject and oppressed peoples," he wrote in March in an instruction to his agent in Rome, Orpiszewski, "depends only on themselves. Now the dawn of a better day is rising. They may hope for the support of France, if they show themselves firm, united, capable—in a word, mature."

The basis of the Hôtel Lambert policy from the start was the assumption that Franco-British collaboration ought to bring the reconstitution of a free Poland, and lead to the liberation of other peoples. At the height of the thirties, when the first *entente cordiale* was shaping as a reply to Russian pressure in the direction of Constantinople, everything seemed to prove that the growing conflict in the Near East would lead to the desired goal, viz., a war of the nations in which an anti-Russian coalition would be led by the constitutional monarchies of the West. Meanwhile, however,

the policy of Palmerston, unfriendly to a reborn France, thrust Louis-Philippe and Guizot of necessity into the embrace of Austria and Russia. As a consequence, in the years 1846-1847, the Prince *volens nolens* moved further and further from a French "orientation," and counted rather on the possibilities which English help to the Ottoman empire might conceal for Poland. The February revolution opened new prospects. The fall of the cowardly and corrupt régime of Louis-Philippe created the necessity of taking fresh stock of the situation. The French leaders were returning entirely to the slogans of 1792, openly proclaiming a war for the liberation of peoples. In the same way the rising in Berlin and the radical movements of the smaller German states were putting on their banners the watchwords of a European crusade, under the leadership of Prussia and France, against Tsarist Russia—the chief pillar and policeman of the Holy Alliance. Even the revolutionaries in the Habsburg monarchy wielded anti-Russian sabres. Alongside the idea of a united Germany and a united Italy, the call for a reconstructed Poland was the chief aim of "Young Europe," now awakening.

"I regard the reconstruction of Poland as a matter of justice—even more, of political wisdom," wrote the famous German historian, Gervinius, in *Allgemeine deutsche Zeitung*, the intellectual organ of the southern Germans. The same view was held by Baron Heinrich von Arnim, the Prussian Foreign Minister, a man who wished to push Europe into new paths, as a champion of freedom and an ally of France and Britain. In his view, Prussia should ensure Europe in the east by the reconstruction of Poland with a Prussian Prince on the throne. The same idea of a European crusade against Russia was proclaimed in his articles by Karl Marx. Only Austria remained . . . but even there, once the nations won their freedom, support seemed very probable.

Chancellor Nesselrode, reading in Moscow the reports of his ambassadors, cried in desperation. "The fury of Polish enthusiasm has shackled Europe." "What has remained right side up in Europe?" wrote the Tsar to Queen Victoria. "Only Great Britain and Russia."

The aged Czartoryski was well aware of this, and he knew how hated was the Russia that had lorded it over Europe for over thirty years. Now was the time for realising his Grand Design. A war of the peoples against the chief seat of tyranny was on, and it had the backing of the chief pillar of conservative freedom as well as of the home of revolutionary liberty. His task was to help to restore

Franco-British collaboration, and to support revolution in Germany, Austria and Italy. He had to secure the separation of Posnania, Pomerania, and Galicia, creating there units of a Polish army ; and to transfer part of the Polish officers, who were idling in France, to Italy and Turkey. The Italians were natural allies of Poland in the conflict with Austria. Unless Vienna were willing to give constitutional liberty to Galicia, Austria would have to be broken up by an internal Slav-Magyar conspiracy. As for Turkey, she was the age-long ally of Poland in the face of Muscovy. even Sweden had scores to settle with the Russians because of Finland. But the Prince counted chiefly on the Turks. The Eastern agency was at work in Istambul, founded in 1845 at his suggestion by Michael Czajkowski ; and it had branches in Belgrade, Bucharest, Trnova and Jassy. Its activities should be redoubled in order to win over the Porte by prospects of regaining lands, threatened by Russia, and of getting back the Caucasus. A useful instrument would be found in a Western Slav movement, based on Poland and having a double-edged blade, one against the Habsburgs, the other against the Romanovs, so that Slav moves for freedom would centre not in Moscow but in Warsaw and Prague. This plan was well thought out, consistent and logical. What could stand in the way of its realisation ?

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At the news of the March revolution in Berlin and the movements for freedom in the Grand Duchy of Poznań and Galicia, Prince Adam placed the work in Paris in the hands of his assistant, M. Barzykowski, and set out for the Polish frontier. He wanted to be nearer what was going on, and on 28th March he was in Berlin. With him were his "staff members," Wojciech Chrzanowski, Władysław Zamoyski and Teofil Moraczewski. His appearance in Berlin was a sensation for Europe and aroused wrath and fury in St. Petersburg. When he appeared in the streets his carriage was cheered by eager crowds : the Russian ambassador was alarmed and sent off a special report to Nesselrode. For the Prince was not idle. He used all his knowledge, experience, and every path of action open to him. His efforts were devoted to the single task of urging Prussia, backed by France, the German states and Austria, into war with Tsardom, which was not ready to fight and was undermined by unrest in the Congress Kingdom, in Lithuania and in Ukraine. Armed action by Prussia, with the Polish brigades in the Posnania as a vanguard, would rouse both Sweden and Turkey.

Prussia could then face the prospect of standing at the head of Young Europe, and of fulfilling the hopes of the nations straining to be free. These arguments had the support of almost all Prussian liberals, including General Willisen, who was in touch with the French Foreign Minister, Lamartine, in the matter of getting arms and of collaboration against Russia. Baron Meyendorff wrote from Berlin to Nesselrode that Prussia, so long a faithful ally, was not only withdrawing from the bonds of the Holy Alliance but even going over to the ranks of revolution, preparatory to war. The Tsar's reply was to concentrate troops in the Baltic provinces, in the Congress Kingdom and in Bessarabia. He even threatened an entry into East Prussia and Posnania.

The Polish nation, living since February in a state of excitement, was replying with military preparations, meant to provide a sizable armed force—the nucleus of a national army. The Austrian and Prussian military authorities were frightened and cowed, and at first offered no objections to this. The German elements in Posnania shared the general enthusiasm, towns and villages were for weeks the scene of fraternisation of the two neighbour peoples. For the time they forgot their age-long differences and united in the eagerness to prepare a reckoning with “the Eastern barbarism of Moscow,” against which Poland would then serve as a bastion. The Poles in Galicia organised home guards and demanded the return of Polish regiments stationed elsewhere in the monarchy. The Lwów and Cracow papers began to report messages from Vienna as “News from abroad.”

Meanwhile in Berlin a duel was being waged between two men, the Tsar's ambassador and the leader of the Polish *émigrés*. The latter sought to exploit the revolutionary temper, while the former, threatening war, strove to control the unrest, and to get Berlin back into the Holy Alliance.

The hundred days separating the revolution in Paris from the resignation of von Arnim as Foreign Minister were a time in which almost anything could happen in Europe. Prussian and German Liberalism experienced their brief but brisk heroic age. Berlin crowds cheered the prisoners set free from the Moabite, greeting them not only as champions of freedom but as future leaders of a general crusade against a Russia hated for her brutal interference in German affairs. Their feeling that Poland must be restored was shared by other European capitals. In official pronouncements von Arnim had called that country “the shield of the Western world against the onrush of Muscovite barbarism.” Even Metternich

took a similar view. More than once he stated his conviction that he would prefer as neighbour a peacefully minded Poland than a threatening Russia, whose actions were unpredictable. One of the slogans of the February revolution was the liberation of Polish lands, and the parliament called to meet in Frankfurt in May had put the point down on its agenda.

The Belgian envoy in Berlin, M. Nothomb, described the March turnover as the greatest event of the century; at the same time voicing the guess that, as a consequence, the Holy Alliance would cease to exist. Meanwhile, after the consternation called forth by the March upheaval among the Berlin adherents of absolutism and collaboration with Russia, the latter began to recover. Meyendorff did not stint money, promises or even threats of war, in order to check the ideas of Von Arnim and to get him out of the saddle. Prussia was in a dilemma: either to aim at power in Germany by the path of leadership in revolution with the overthrow of the Russian hegemony in central Europe, or reversely to slip into still more serious dependence on St Petersburg. Von Arnim had decided on the former choice and, on the advice of Czartoryski, he proposed in March to Lamartine military collaboration against Russia, starting with an offensive from Posnania directed at Warsaw. Lamartine did not say "No"; but he considered, hesitated, and sought to gain time.

Pro-Polish sentiments, which prevailed during four months in France, did indeed force the Foreign Minister to repeated asservations "of going to the aid of subject peoples," but when it came to action he was arch-cautious. To a concrete question from Berlin he finally replied almost coldly, promising only to provide arms and a passage for the Polish Legion to the front. The latter certainly had support of the French authorities and money for the journey, but no weapons. Thus France made a seemingly friendly gesture and at the same time got rid of restless elements from Paris, about which Lamartine himself made the nasty remark that they were "a ferment to Europe." The same thing happened to the legions in Belgium and Germany. When on 28th March, at the instance of the Hôtel Lambert, the radical M. Vavin called on the National Assembly "to declare the second Republic for the cause of subject peoples," Lamartine replied (as he did later to a Polish delegation) that the fate of Poland "depended on the good will of Nicholas I, with whom he intended to open negotiations." Thus did he play for the dispersion of revolutionary sentiments.

By this time a pro-Russian reaction had again come to the fore.

Thanks to Meyendorff's efforts Czartoryski's projected audience with the King of Prussia came to nought. The new French ambassador, Circourt, made trouble for the Poles whenever possible, sending to Paris lying reports, which breathed hatred of the "Posnanian rebels." Prince Adam was surrounded with spies wherever he went, and his conversations with Cabinet Ministers were often reported to Meyendorff. The soil of Berlin began to burn under his feet.

His counting on the support of England proved also vain. After the failure of the talks with Guizot, which had ended in December 1847, the Hôtel Lambert attempted an approach to London. Stanisław Koźmian, chief agent for Britain, was at work there, morally and financially supported by a tested friend of liberty, Lord Dudley Stuart. In addition, public opinion had been cultivated by the activities over a score of years of the "Literary Circle of Friends of Poland." The approach was made from the angle of the Italian question, in which both parties had the same point of view—seeking the creation of a kingdom of Northern Italy and an economic and political federation of the whole peninsula.

On the eve of the Spring of the Nations there existed in Italy two chief centres of striving toward unity: the Sardinian court of Charles Albert and Pope Pius IX, reformer and patriot—a great European and, if one could judge, a friend of Poland. In the spring of 1847 Prince Adam had counted on the goodwill of the Pope in his liberation activities; in general in his plans for reconstructing the Europe that should emerge from the "People's war" for which Mickiewicz had prayed. Czartoryski had foreseen it, even considered it inevitable, since 1833. In his estimate of the rôle the new Pope could play in international affairs, he was in agreement with the eminent Italian publicist, the *carbonarista*, Azeglio, who had written "Pius IX is becoming the moral leader of Europe; he will achieve what neither Bossuet nor Leibniz succeeded in achieving—the return of the unity of Christendom." But the Prince did not neglect Charles Albert, effecting an approach to him through his kinsman, the poet Zygmunt Krasinski, who had also for that matter direct access to the Papal See.

Czartoryski counted on both these monarchs, anxious to exploit the events which he expected to see happen on Italian soil the moment war with the Holy Alliance should break out. Italy, of course, could be depended on most as an anti-Habsburg factor; and in the years 1846-1847 when the Papal armies were being



remodelled, he provided a number of experienced Polish officers, sent from France. He did the same in Sardinia. His real aim was to prepare the way for Polish forces in Italy, composed of men now in foreign service who, when the time came, could go over to the Polish banner. In all contracts, consequently, a clause was inserted providing that other governments should not detain these men, if and when they were called elsewhere by duties which every Pole must feel toward his homeland. As leader of the future Legions he fancied General Chrzanowski, who was a British citizen and who enjoyed the confidence of Lord Minto—Palmerston's envoy and also a personal friend of his own right-hand man, Władysław Zamoyski.

Concrete possibilities appeared of establishing contact between England and the Holy See, as well as of placing *nuncios* in Istambul and Jerusalem; a step which would weaken the Austrian church influences in the Near East, where Vienna wanted to play the chief rôle. Thus from 1846 onwards the edge of Czartoryski's policy was against Austria. On the other hand, Russia's drive toward the Straits and her penetration of the Levant could be logically said to make of England the natural ally of all the elements which could stir up trouble behind the lines and weaken a Russian thrust outwards. Nevertheless the Prince's hopes were shown to be vain. In spite of growing suspicion of St. Petersburg, the peace-minded Palmerston would not risk, unless under stern necessity, a single man or a single ship. What is more the fast-growing power of France during the forties disturbed London, and at the critical moment Palmerston inclined to the view that Russia could be a factor for stability; that, as in Bonaparte's day, she could be a dam "against the flooding of Europe by France." "We feel," wrote Queen Victoria to Nicholas, "that a hearty and close understanding between England and Russia is a vital matter for the interests of both countries." Thus in the issue England stood on the side of the Tsar, and declared her *désintéressement* in regard to Poland. It was in the debate of May 1848 that Palmerston uttered his famous words:

"We have no everlasting union with this or that country—no identification of policy with another. We have no natural enemies, no perpetual friends. On the other hand we have eternal interests."<sup>3</sup>

It was in this spirit that English diplomacy worked abroad. The ambassador in Berlin, Lord Westmorland, a retired general, was a narrow-minded man and not a dangerous opponent. But it was a misfortune for Prince Adam that Stratford Canning,

ambassador in Istambul, was at that time on his way through the Prussian capital, a diplomat of real parts, who did so much later to provoke the Crimean War. He saw through the Polish design and the same man who, seven years later, in far less favourable circumstances, did not hesitate to push his country into war with Russia in the defence of Turkey, now used all his skill and influence to avoid an outbreak which seemed to everybody unavoidable.

Frederick William felt this. Carried by events in the direction of war with his brother-in-law, surrounded by the anti-Russian feelings of his Cabinet, he opened his soul to the British diplomats. During one audience he begged them to urge on his own Cabinet a retreat from the plan to create a Polish army in Posnania. When both his guests suggested that it was a good thing to do something for the Poles, in order to quiet public opinion, he promised that the Posnanians should have the liberties provided by autonomy: but on the quiet he prepared the dismissal of von Arnim and a return to the old policy of submission to St. Petersburg. Playing for time, the British stood their ground. By June the Revolutionary atmosphere had weakened and the wobbling king had recovered his self-confidence.

The German minority in Posnania went over to the offensive, exploiting the forces of German chauvinism. The Frankfurt parliament, in spite of Czartoryski's efforts, defeated by 331 votes to 101 the motion of Schaffrath in favour of German support for the Polish cause. In Vienna the post-Metternich reaction, with Fickelmont at its head, made itself articulate. The rising in Posnania was put down in blood. The Polish military camps in Książ and Miłosław were overwhelmed and disarmed. Windischgrätz bombarded Cracow, thus strangling the main centre of political activity in western Galicia. In the east the Austrian authorities capitalised the growing Polish-Ruthenian tension. The Frankfurt parliament had now to choose between war with Russia, difficult and full of risks, and support of the "pacification" of Posnania. After some hesitation and a few flaming speeches it finally resolved on the Prussian policy of the strong arm—in spite of the protests of enthusiasts. This was due in part to the line taken by the Slav Congress in Prague, whose delegates did indeed dissociate themselves from the despotism of Nicholas, but who also opposed the expansion of German influences on the western Slavs.

Baron Dircourt, French ambassador in Berlin, guessing the desires of his chiefs, kept sending to Paris reports in the spirit of

"L'ordre règne en Poznanie," at a time when Polish blood was flowing in that province. The noble Westmorland sent equally hypocritical and false reports about "the persecutions of the German and Jewish population." *The Times* was full of the cruelties inflicted [*sic*] by Polish rebels on Germans—which were said to be the reason for Prussian interference.

The Congress Kingdom, terrorised by deportations to Siberia and flooded with Russian troops, did not move a finger, in spite of revolutionary agents from emigrant circles, who once and again urged action. Czartoryski was all against this move, feeling that the country was still suffering from the blood-letting of 1830–1831 and was too exhausted to permit of fresh efforts. Such was the tenor of the instructions issued to his agents: he argued that a rising would only then be advisable if the Western powers came in, and this they did not contemplate.

Tsar Nicholas breathed more freely: Russia had mastered the danger without resort to war, and new arrests and deportations followed. At the same time the Prussians broke up the remains of the Polish Legion, formed in France, which had got through to Posnania. In Italy the other Legion, designed to be a gathering-place for deserters from the Austrian regiments, did not materialise. By July Czartoryski had lost the faith he shared with his opponent, Ludwik Mierosławski, in the possibility of a Franco-Prussian front against Tsardom. He returned to Paris, cured of his illusions; and he received a final blow when news came that the Pope, who seemed to be supporting the plans of Charles Albert for a federated Italy, had withdrawn from that enterprise and left the king to his fate.

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Nevertheless, in spite of the failures that seemed to come on him from all sides, the initial successes in Lombardy and the progress of revolution in Hungary justified continued action. Austria was (after Russia) the second enemy of Poland and the Western Slav world. Again Prince Adam reverted to his main idea of the brotherhood of free peoples, who would voluntarily come together in a federation. Poland and Hungary would lead the way; and all other peoples would join them, threatened either by Germandom or by the half-asiatic Russia, whose Slavophil watchwords sounded like a threat of extinction for smaller nations. To Poland would fall the rôle of initiator, and of mediator in case of differences between the members. He would say again and again to his colleagues:

we must free the Slavs of the West from Russian influences, offering leadership by active example and creative thinking ; we must reconcile the Magyars with the Slavs round about them, and explain to them the need for abandoning their attitude of superiority in order that they may work as brothers with Croats, Slovenes, Serbs and Slovaks

In August when, as usually after diplomatic disasters, the Polish question seemed to be again going underground, Czartoryski undertook to test his plans for federation. Barzykowski, one of his most active workers, was sent to Belgrade. To Istambul, Budapest and the Balkans went new instructions. Orpiszewski in Rome was told to hurry on the task of creating a military centre in Lombardy, designed to draw deserters from the Habsburg armies. Mixed regiments were to be formed, with banners showing the Eagle, the Rider (Lithuania) and the Archangel. The leadership here was to be taken over by the Prince's own son, Witold. From Paris meanwhile, Czartoryski through the Hungarian ambassador, Count Teleki, was persuading the government in Budapest that a *modus vivendi* should be sought with the Roumanians and the Slav peoples of the monarchy, in order to get a common front against the Germans. The ambassador was friendly, but Kossuth opposed this. Intoxicated by his first successes, Kossuth rated Magyar prospects too highly, and was notably suspicious of the Polish plan. Czartoryski he felt to be biased in favour of the Slavs. The Prince stood his ground, argued and warned, but the other would not yield.

There remained Italy, where, however, after early successes, rocks began to obstruct the way. The Pope ceased to be friendly, and made a concordat with Russia. He also withdrew his support from the Italian unification movement, and declined to bless the Polish unit setting out for Lombardy. The doings of the poet Mickiewicz, who collected some 200 people, only made the task of Prince Witold and Zamoyski harder. His extremely pan-Slavist, undigested slogans ran counter to the actions of Orpiszewski at every turn ; so that the latter had not only to battle with the Russian ambassador but also to correct the pronouncements and misleading reports put out by his own people. The Polish forces were split into two camps.

In spite of the defeats of Custoza and Novarra, and the failure of the plan for a Slavonic legion, the situation in the spring of 1849 still seemed fairly favourable. Bem and Dembinski were winning successes in Hungary, covering Kossuth himself by their authority,

and the Austrian army seemed demoralised. Even a march on Vienna was contemplated. So good did the scene look that even the Czechs, led by Rieger, placed themselves at the disposal of Czartoryski, whom they had not favoured at all heretofore. Everything seemed to depend on the magnanimity of the Magyars, in particular toward the Slovaks. "The upheaval in Vienna, coupled with the moves for liberation in Hungary and Italy," wrote Ziemiałkowski in his Memoirs, "seemed so fully to undermine the Habsburg power that one did not need to fear Austria's putting any brake on the efforts of Poland to rise again."

However, even when tottering, Austria could still hurl the Croats under Jelačić against the Magyars and, with a gesture of despair, call in the help of Russia! Nicholas was not likely to keep 300,000 troops in the Congress Kingdom, and at the same time put up with a Magyar rebellion, led by Polish generals. The expedition, led by Pashkievitch, put an end to all hopes; and the last fires of freedom were quenched in blood.

August 1849 saw the collapse of Czartoryski's plans. The Spring of the Nations had not brought to birth a war of the peoples for freedom. With remnants of his troops Bem withdrew to Turkey and, like Czajkowski, became a Muslim. Broken fragments began to reach Paris, of forces which a year earlier had shaken Europe. In Berlin, after a brief morning of liberalism, Prussian nationalism triumphed, together with surrender to Russia. France and England continued their hoary opportunism. As Montalembert said in the Chamber in the autumn of 1849: "the kings have returned to their thrones, but liberty has not recovered the throne it possessed in our hearts." On the Danube the spirit of the exiled Metternich prevailed. The Italians, as usual, were beaten by the Austrians. The Poles, in spite of their devotion and zeal, once more showed that they were neither prepared, nor foreseeing, nor persevering. The Magyars revealed the narrowness and blindness of nationalism, unable at a great moment to rise to a generous offer of reconciliation with their Slav neighbours. Such was the harvest of months which flowed turbulently by, and could have changed the course of history for centuries.

This mighty upheaval, though checked and finally crushed, did nevertheless leave traces behind it. Alongside a poetic legend it achieved a loosening up of the tyranny inflicted by the powers of the Holy Alliance. The one exception was Poland, over which a shroud of silence was cast for at least six years. "From the general shake-up," wrote Czartoryski, "all have profited: we alone can

gain nothing, for not even those people want to give us their hand, whom self-interest or a sense of duty would advise to do so."

M. H. DZIEWANOWSKI.

*Original Polish in*

"*KULTURA*," *Rome, June, 1947.*

<sup>1</sup> Adam Czartoryski, escaping from Poland in 1831, as leader of the right wing of the Polish *émigrés*, had set up in the Hôtel Lambert in Paris a sort of unofficial Foreign Office, which kept the chanceries of Europe informed on Polish affairs. For his earlier activities as an adviser of Tsar Alexander, see this *Review*, No 65, pp 405 sqq (Ed Note)

<sup>2</sup> Cf this *Review*, No 66, pp 90 sqq —ED NOTE

<sup>3</sup> This last sentence is not to be found in Hansard —ED NOTE.

# 1848 IN SILESIA

## I. PRUSSIAN SILESIA

IN the early forties of the 18th century the greater part of Silesia was acquired by force of arms by Frederic II of Prussia. Only two southern remnants, the Duchies of Teschen (Cieszyn) and Troppau (Opava) remained under Habsburg rule. When conquered by Frederic, the province had been severed from Poland for four hundred years, but had remained for the most part inhabited by Polish people. In the southern half, called Upper Silesia, they were an overwhelming majority, having a substantial percentage even in the towns. The Prussian Minister who travelled the land shortly after its conquest found in the countries of Pszczyna (Pless) and Bytom (Beuthen) only two priests who understood German.

The situation was somewhat other in the north, in Lower Silesia, where during the centuries there had settled many German colonists. In the cities, with Breslau (Wrocław) at their head, these had gained the preponderance. On the other hand the countryside was in large part still Polish. Proof of this is found in the Polish sermons and church services, prevailing in Catholic and even in Protestant parishes—including four in Breslau. It is found also in the huge production of devotional literature, of hymn-books and of other works in the Polish tongue. As late as 1804 the instructions for the village headmen of Silesia and Kladsko were published in Polish.

Frederic resolved to alter this state of things as fast as possible. He published a series of ordinances with a view to Germanisation, and then moved into Silesia 60,000 German colonists, chiefly into the most Polish counties. In consequence of this systematic policy, which was carried further by his successor, the language frontier was thrust further back, to the disadvantage of the Polish element. Upper Silesia suffered little, but Lower Silesia took the brunt of it. Even here however, the Polish writer, Wincenty Pol, observed in 1847 as follows :

“ The Polish language here is as close as the house to the street. All domestic matters are despatched in natural fashion in Polish, while all outside things are handled in German. Rarely does one meet a cabman who does not speak Polish. The service in the inns and the sales-people in the shops are Polish. All signs in the street are given in both tongues.

Even German landowners of the large estates learn of necessity the speech of the common people."

In Breslau, the capital, one could often hear Polish in the streets. In 1826 the services in three churches were still Polish. At the university many Poles studied, both from Silesia and from other Polish lands. In 1836 there was formed a Slavonic Literary Society, including for the most part Poles and interesting itself mainly in Polish themes. From 1841 there existed in the university a Chair of Slavonic Philology which, in view of the numbers attending, was from the outset devoted chiefly to studies of Polish culture.

In spite of some efforts at Germanisation, greatly reinforced with the rise of heavy industry at the turn of the 18th century, Upper Silesia remained overwhelmingly Polish. To that nation belonged almost all the villagers, working for the land-owners; and an ever growing percentage of Poles were to be found among the miners and foundrymen, working in industry under German engineers and directors. The Germans were mainly officials, teachers, owners of estates, mines and foundries, master-workmen, or (in great part) the clergy. In a word the upper stratum was German, the lower and more numerous Polish.

This social and economic structure made the task of the Silesian people in defending themselves against German pressure very difficult: and there followed the consequence that the struggle for the maintenance of their identity, for the acquisition of human rights, was closely bound up with their efforts to improve their economic and social position. On the other hand, the relation of the German owning class to the Silesian peasant or worker was influenced by the fact that the latter belonged to a different—despised and even hated—nationality. This fact would often entail a strengthening of the opposition maintained by the upper classes to any improving of conditions among the peasants and workers: it also made easier the gaining by the owners of decisions favourable to their interests from the German authorities, which were themselves unfriendly to everything Polish. An example of this was seen when the emancipation of the peasants was in process.

This reform, begun in Prussia in 1807, was carried out in Upper Silesia far less satisfactorily than elsewhere. The ordinances were changed in 1827, thanks to the pressure of the Silesian magnates, with Graf Henckel-Donnersmarck and the Prince of Pless at their head, so that the number of peasants affected was materially reduced. They were then carried out in such a way as to ruin the peasant



economically, leaving him hopelessly in debt to the owners ; and even serfdom itself by no means ceased to exist. The result was great bitterness, the greater since the courts were called in to compel the serfs to perform their duties as before. The protests and strikes which followed only served to make conditions worse.

To fill up the cup Upper Silesia was visited in 1847 by famine and pestilence. After heavy floods, which destroyed a large part of the crops, there came a spell of drought. The result was hunger and typhus fever. Here is what an eye-witness, the German medical doctor, Dr. Max Ring, had to say about it :

“ Look at Upper Silesia ! Throngs of beggars, starving old people and children drag themselves about the country and beg in a choked voice for a crust of bread, for kitchen leavings, or even the peelings of potatoes, which they eagerly devour. Here and there along the road, beside a wood or in a field, you will find the corpse of someone dead of hunger. The nightmare of famine hangs over the land. Brother robs brother of his last piece of bread, mothers in wild despair cast off their children or even murder them . . . Prudent men see the danger that threatens and demand help in time from the Prussian government ; but the majority of the magnates are indifferent to the misery, which is growing from day to day.” \*

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Silesia had been drawn into the whirlpool of revolution even before 1848. It happened in connection with the Polish preparations for revolution two years earlier in Posnania and Galicia. Breslau had been for a long time one of the chief centres of the illegal smuggling of literature from the west into Polish territory, and it became in 1845 and 1846 the place of meeting and deliberation for the Polish leaders. As early as November 1845 a meeting was held here of the leading personalities from Posnania, Silesia, Galicia and the Congress Kingdom ; and in all discussions taking place here or elsewhere an important rôle was assigned to Silesia and her people at the moment of revolution. Agitation among the industrial workers in Gleiwitz and Tarnowitz had been going on for some time, designed to pave the way for an outbreak, which would paralyse the Prussian forces and keep them from moving against the revolution, soon to break out in Cracow near by. A Silesian corps was

\* On all this, cf. *The Drama of Upper Silesia*, by W. J. Rose, London, 1936, Chapter VI. ED. NOTE

to be marshalled, and emissaries sent for the purpose of preparing gathering centres for the Polish *émigrés* in France and elsewhere, who would return home to join the rising.

The Prussian authorities, up to a point, were informed about these purposes; and when the outbreak came in February 1846 in Cracow they issued a series of ordinances in all the Silesian border counties. They feared three things: an incursion of insurrectionists from Galicia into Silesia, an infiltration of Silesians into the territories occupied by the revolutionaries, and the threat of a rising in Upper Silesia itself. Not long before this they had arrested a group of high-school boys from Lubluniets, who were trying to get through to visit Cracow. In the same way a certain number of persons were trying now to get across the frontier, while some of the more energetic people from Galicia were getting into Silesia. Finally, in this latter province, there were cases of outbreaks of the peasants against the manor houses. The question of emancipation was at stake, and all such protests were put down by force of arms.

"The Spring of the Nations" was heralded in Upper Silesia by street riotings. These happened very early, even before the troubles in Berlin. They began in Beuthen on 10th and 11th March. In them took part not only the citizens but the miners from near-by Szarley. Detachments of cavalry restored order in the town, but when the news came a few days later of the riots in Berlin, street demonstrations began in Breslau and other Silesian cities.

The outbreak of the revolution, which at first shook the absolute monarchies, compelled even the Prussian King to accede up to a point to the demands of his subjects for a share in the Government of the state. Elections were announced, and on the basis of a franchise admitting the broad masses to the ballot-box. This permitted elements to reveal their existence, which had never been recognised before: and when the vote was given to people who had enjoyed no privileges hitherto, the Silesian Germans were amazed to see that a substantial part of the population proclaimed themselves Polish. In a number of counties Polish deputies were chosen, the most eminent among them being the Vicar of Beuthen, Father Józef Szafranek—an honoured church leader, who published devotional books for his people in their own tongue.

With a view to discussing and settling what the Polish deputies were to demand from parliament in the name of the people of Upper Silesia, a big gathering was summoned on 13th June in Beuthen. Representatives from nearly all the Polish communities took part in it. The decisions taken at this meeting were presented

to the parliament in Berlin by Father Szafranek at its session on 21st July. They were these :—

1. The introduction of the Polish language into the schools.
2. The removal of the disability by which those who did not know German could not hold any office.
3. The publication of all official communications in Polish as well as German.
4. The use of Polish for teaching in the schools in all Polish communities, and the creation of Polish schools in districts where Poles were a minority.
5. The use of Polish alongside German in the administration of justice—in the court-room, in summonses, in verdicts.
6. The holding of office in solidly Polish districts only by people speaking Polish.
7. The introduction of a sound study of Polish in all secondary schools and in the university of Breslau to ensure the proper training of such officials, and the creation of Polish teacher-training seminaries.
8. The publishing in the Polish language of the debates of the National Assembly, which should then be placed in the hands of the deputies so that the voters might know what was going on.

These demands were one expression of the will of the people of Upper Silesia, set before the world. Another such was the fact that the Silesian deputies joined hands with the Polish representatives in Berlin coming from Posnania and elsewhere. The Germans saw clearly what this meant—witness the statement of Bismarck himself (one of the younger members of the House), that “ Father Szafranek has taught us that between Poles and Germans concord is impossible.”

The Prussian Diet postponed for a long time discussion of the Polish resolutions. When this became known a general movement was organised in Upper Silesia with the aim of lending support to the deputies in the House. A petition was prepared in Beuthen, signed by 2,500 people, representing half a million inhabitants. In it were set forth once more the Polish grievances and demands. This was placed before the Diet by Father Szafranek, who at the same time reminded the government of the necessity of carrying out to the full the emancipation of the peasants. These demands, as well as the fact that the Father had his seat in the House among delegates working for far-reaching reforms, brought upon him com-

plaints and even the intervention of his superiors in the Church. The Bishop of Breslau forbade Father Szafranek "to sit" among the people of the Left; and the stubborn deputy got round the difficulty by not taking his seat but by standing beside the benches of his colleagues. The sight of this broad-shouldered priest, standing from five to ten hours daily in the chamber, stuck deep in the memory (among others) of Bismarck, who a score or more years later recalled the deputy "who stood straight as a picket," and "didn't have to stand up to deliver anti-German speeches."

The Silesian demands were not considered by the House, which was dissolved by the King in December. In February, 1849, new elections were held, and the slogans in Silesia were these "Do not elect priests!" "Do not elect nobles!" "Do not elect officials!" This was taken in Upper Silesia to be a warning against electing Germans, so it did not hinder the re-election of Father Szafranek. He proceeded to repeat his demands in the new parliament, making his speech in his own tongue. But neither did House concede them, nor the King, who had by now strengthened his position and was restoring absolute government.

The year 1848 was notable for Upper Silesia not only because of the part taken in the elections, and of the demands put to the German nation, which (as for a time seemed possible) was taking public affairs into its own hands. An alleviation of the national oppression, which had prevailed hitherto in Prussia, permitted a remarkable revival of Polish life in the province. An important expression of this was the rise, and swift growth, of a Polish press. True, already in 1845, a *Polish Weekly* was appearing in Pless, but it had no wide outreach, and it fell a victim of the 1847 famine. Now, however, several papers appeared, of which the chief was the *Upper Silesian Daily*, published first in Piekary and then in Beuthen, under the hand of Józef Łepkowski and a colleague. One of the most zealous contributors to it was the village teacher, Józef Łompa, who had already been doing cultural work for his people for some years.\* Here is an extract from an article of his entitled "What Should we Demand from the Diet in Berlin?"

"If a man who can get something in a good, honest way, does nothing, but folds his hands and waits for the good thing to come of itself, such an one is worth nothing and undeserving that something good should happen to him. Brothers! Let us not be such people! Let us not sleep, like a pear-tree in

\* Cf. *The Drama of Upper Silesia*, pp 67 sqq ED NOTE

the ashes—as the saying is, for if we do not make an effort, we shall gain nothing. Peoples with a wish and will of their own will get ahead of us and we shall remain behind, decayed and lazy folk. We have in the Diet in Berlin our deputy, Father Szafranek. He is demanding for us our national identity, i.e. that people should regard us as Poles and not as Germans, and that our mother tongue should be appreciated and honoured on an equal footing with German. . . . You ought then to hold meetings and write thus to Frankfurt : ‘ We Silesian villagers in Upper Silesia, who have been here for centuries, regard ourselves as its lawful heirs, and we demand that in the elementary schools teaching be given only in Polish, and that German should be treated like any other language, e.g. French. Let them teach Polish history in our schools, as they used to years ago ; and let the priest, the teacher and the official speak with us and write to us in Polish ! ’ ”

Apart from *The Upper Silesian Daily* there began to appear *The Telegraph* in Olesno, and *The Catholic Weekly* and *Letters of the Virgin* in Piekary—the work of the honoured Father Aloisy Ficek. Finally, Chrystian Schimmel began to publish *The Upper Silesian Weekly* in Pless.

A further proof of the lively activity of the Polish population was the creation of Polish organisations. In Beuthen there was organised, thanks chiefly to Łompa, “ The Workers’ Association for Self-Improvement,” which made the provision of Polish books for the common people its chief aim. These were collected chiefly by public generosity, and were then placed in local libraries and reading rooms. Thanks to the efforts of the schoolmaster, Emanuel Smółka, there was formed in Beuthen a Polish Teachers’ Association. In the same city there arose a *National Club* and a *Democratic Club*, not to mention branches of *The Polish League*, an organisation of patriots from all Polish lands. An active part in these bodies was taken by the landowner Karol Kosicki, who had become Germanised and wrote his name Koschuetsky, but in whom clearly Polish blood began to assert itself. For some time he had been trying to get restored the older practice of issuing the provincial regulations in Polish. In 1848 he put in once more a request to the Governor in Oppeln (Opole) and followed it up with one to the King. This petition also included other requests, e.g. in regard to Polish schools, the use of Polish in the courts, etc.

Finally, the year 1848 was notable in Upper Silesia for one other event. In this year Father B. Bogedain became inspector of elementary schools in the province—a man of noble character, who introduced Polish as the language of instruction, saw to the publishing of textbooks and worked for the appointing of Polish teachers.

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We have then in Silesia to do with an awakening of the national life, and in this respect things moved on much the same lines as in Posnania or Galicia. But this does not at all mean that there was no appearance of the most characteristic feature of that time, the will to be free from the fetters of absolutism, and the abolition of economic and social inequalities. We have noted already that national and social demands were closely linked together because of the division of classes into the German *possidentes* and the masses of Polish workers. We noted also the demands put forward in parliament for equality of language, and for the improvement of the peasants lot. But disturbances took place both in Upper and Lower Silesia with eminently social aims in view. The peasants demanded an end of serfdom, the abolition of rents, and the right to hunt in the local forests. A whole series of clashes took place between the serfs, groaning under the *corvée* and the weight of lawsuits and debts, and their masters. In places manor-houses were burned, and assaults made on the more hated officials. Many lives were lost, chiefly those of peasants, against whom troops were used. The countries of Ratibor, Oppeln and Kreuzburg were the scenes of most of these disorders, but the press of those times gives concrete examples of many others. The lack of information as to outbreaks elsewhere, where the lot of the serfs was equally severe, may well be set down to the fact that these districts had recently suffered most from famine and plague, and were largely depopulated. The inhabitants had not yet recovered from their misery and depression.

In Lower Silesia we hear of peasants rioting in a number of places, chiefly where the Polish element was relatively strongest. We know that their lot under German landlords was the hardest, and it is not surprising if they were driven to revolt. But they paid the heaviest price, for the disorders were put down with ruthless severity. We know of riots also in the towns. *Schlesische Provinzialblätter* reported that "in different localities, particularly in Breslau, Gleiwitz, Hirschberg, Liegnitz and others, regrettable incidents took place in March, April and May 1848, and that the use of violence against people and property was a feature of them."

The capital city, Breslau, became in 1848 a weighty centre of Polish activities. Here took place a congress of eminent Polish political leaders from all Polish lands. Even before the revolution broke out and still more when it began in Poland, many Poles from Galicia and Posnania gathered here, finding backing in the resident Polish colony. It was to Breslau also that those Polish leaders turned who for a number of years, mostly since the collapse of the Rising of 1830-1831, had lived abroad in Western Europe. Many eminent people, with General Henryk Dembinski at the head, gathered now in Breslau, and the project was suggested in April of holding a congress with a view to setting up a central Polish government, to which would submit both the Poles in the homeland and those abroad. The said government was to have Breslau for its seat.

Many reasons combined to make the city the place for such a Congress. One was the being there, perhaps by chance, of so many leaders of note. Another was its convenient position on the map—centrally placed for Posnania, Galicia and the Kingdom, and convenient too for *émigrés* coming from the west through revolutionary Berlin towards Poland. There was a further reason: the Poles for some time counted firmly on a Prussian war with Russia, in which case Breslau was a fine basis for operations, whether political or military. Last but not least, Breslau was the most favoured Prussian city because of its Polish tradition, and of the residence here of a fairly large, cultured Polish community. It may be that some people thought of thus documenting the rights of Poland to Silesia, which had never been let to lapse. This was the more significant, since the subject for deliberation was the uniting of all Polish lands in a common battle for liberation.

The Congress took place from the 5th to 8th May, with all the Polish lands and the *émigrés* represented. But the main end in view was not realised. In the way of this stood regional dissonances, misunderstandings between the delegates from the homeland and those from abroad, as well as deep-lying differences of political views between the democratic and aristocratic elements. The hopes of the Poles had been nurtured in the early months of the year by prospects of help from France and Britain, by the sympathy of the nations rising against absolutism—including even the Germans, and of a war between Prussia and Russia. These hopes now began to fade. Prussia, counted on most, and even fancied to be willing to give up its Polish territories, began to seek an understanding with Tsar Nicholas. The German revolutionaries for the most part showed little understanding for the Polish urge to liberation. In

Galicia the Austrian army was getting the better of the Polish rising there ; and the western powers showed no eagerness to help. So the Congress ended with a Manifesto, addressed to the conscience of all peoples deprived of their freedom, demanding the calling of a Congress of European peoples, which would put an end to the lawlessness, injustice and exploitation prevailing in the world.

But this act by no means completed the chapter of Breslau's share in the Polish efforts at liberation. There remained on the spot not only many who had taken part but also many who had been eager onlookers. Some, because they could not return home under foreign domination, others in the hope that things might change and Breslau yet play the rôle which Polish plans designed it to play. The presence of these people contributed largely to the fact that the city became a major link in the chain of the smuggling of arms to Hungary, where the battle for liberation was going on against Austria, and in due course Russia. These weapons went from Breslau to Bielsko (Bielitz), and thence by the Carpathian passes to the fields of battle. This smuggling went on until the spring of 1849. But the revolution in Saxony also received help from Breslau. Only when the German movement had ceased, and the fighting in Hungary was over, did the city lose its importance for the Poles who remained there.

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The year 1848 brought disappointment to Polish Silesia just as it did to other lands and peoples, and of the high hopes and expectations little survived. The most real and lasting concession won was the introduction at last by the government of agrarian reform. A number of ordinances were issued in the next years, removing the worst burdens which German landlords had imposed on their Polish serfs. The lawsuits were quashed, the patrimonial administration of justice was abolished, the *corvée* ceased to exist ; and the issue of transfer of land to the peasants was regulated more justly, in that the latter were to pay not with part of the land but with money, having the help even of loan banks. All the same the consequences of the landlords doings during a generation could not be removed wholly. One result was an excessive parcellation of the land in Upper Silesia, where the average farm had only 23 acres, while in Posnania it had 65 acres and in Pomerania 77. A good part of peasant land had already been incorporated into the outlying farms of the landlords.

Conversely the year 1848 did not change at all either the system



or public policy toward the Poles. National oppression came back—a time of vengeance and reprisals. The most eminent leaders among the Poles, e.g. Józef Łompa, were either deprived of their occupation or, like Smolka, moved elsewhere, or finally, like Łepkowski, expelled from the province. Polish associations were soon dissolved, Polish periodicals ceased to appear. Only Kosicki, who as a nobleman escaped the reprisals, fought on for the use of Polish in announcing state ordinances. After long efforts he got the authorities in Oppela to publish a Polish supplement to the *Official Daily*. So too, until 1858, Father Bogedain worked on, ensuring for at least a couple of school generations of children the use of their mother tongue in the class-room.

What then did the “spring of the nations” mean for the Silesian people? For the capital it meant a reminder of its Polish past. For the Poles living there it meant an opportunity for contact with their compatriots from elsewhere, and for taking part in or hearing about the congress. Strangers from different Polish lands were reminded that Poles lived on the Oder.

For Upper Silesia the year 1848 provided a short breathing space in the battle for their speech and their nationality. Having stirred up the nation, it gave an impulse for the future, ensuring a decided step forward from the old defensive position to one of constructive action toward self-determination. This offensive was to go on, with the people hardening their muscles in the struggle, until seventy years later liberation was won. The year 1848 gave the masses a chance to show their dislike of their German masters, which served a warning both on them and on the government behind them. In a word Upper Silesia was suddenly revealed, both to Poles and Germans, as being the same as it had been centuries before, and ever remained through those centuries—a country overwhelmingly Polish. These experiences made the German rulers pay more attention than before to the Upper Silesian people: it brought a reinforcing of plans for Germanisation; but it could not quench the upsurge of the Poles toward liberation.

KAZIMIERZ POPIOŁEK.

*Katowice.*

## II. THE DUCHY OF TESCHEN

This tiny territory, cut off more than six hundred years ago from the Polish Kingdom, has through the ages been inhabited wholly by a Slav population, chiefly Polish but in part “Moravian”;

but since 1526 ruled by the Austrian Germans, of whom a few belonged here though most of them were aliens, sent in by a government which aimed purposefully at the Germanisation of the country. With this in view schools were founded at the end of the 18th century for the Polish-speaking but still unenlightened masses : and in order to detach these from their fellow-Poles across the Białka river in Galicia, Czech was made the language of instruction in spite of the protests of both educational leaders and officials.\* This state of things prevailed until 1848, when the revolutionary movement compelled Vienna to make some changes in the traditional system. During this same period the secondary schools, which were exclusively German, received boys from village homes and turned them into Germanised graduates : and the German element was gaining such an ascendancy in the law-courts and public offices that it seemed as if the Duchy of Teschen (Polish *Cieszyn*, Czech *Těšín*) would succumb to the fate of Lower Silesia and the Duchy of Troppau (Opava) and become wholly German in sentiment.

Among these educated people there were, nevertheless, individuals who did not break with the masses after leaving school—notably among the Protestants. Although trained in German theological faculties, these pastors realised that they had to preach chiefly to Poles ; and they recognised the need of self-education in their own tongue, if they were to use it properly. It is just from the acquaintance thus gained with Polish literature and thought, more precisely from the formation of a *Society for the Learning of Polish* by the students of the Protestant High School in Teschen, that we can date the stirring of national consciousness. At the start we have to do with the few individuals who were not attracted by the charm of German culture. Some Polish was taught in school, and this made the students feel the need of learning more. The initiative was taken by Paweł Stalmach, son of a simple labourer, who himself set about collecting books ; and when he could find nothing on the spot except devotional books, he sought for them among Poles in Galicia. Already in 1847, accompanied by a colleague, Andrzej Cinciała, he made the fifty-mile journey to Cracow on foot, and brought back in a haversack text-books for the use of the group. Cinciała even made a second journey alone, and with the same result.

Stalmach went on to higher studies in Bratislava, and here he met eminent Slovaks, among them the later famous Ludevit Štur.

\* *Note*.—The Duchy, with the rest of Silesia, had been under the Czech crown from 1335 to 1526, and then passed under Habsburg rule.—ED. NOTE.

Through Štur he got to know the Polish magnate, Jerzy Lubomirski. When he went further, to complete his theological studies in Vienna, the latter introduced him to Polish aristocratic circles living there. Already in Bratislava, Stalmach had conceived the idea of founding a newspaper in Teschen, and he tried to enlist the support of the mayor, Dr. Ludwik Klucki, who did indeed come from Moravia yet was a warm champion of the Polish tongue. When the revolution broke out in Vienna in March 1848, new liberties were won and the first Polish periodical, *The Teschen Weekly*, did begin to appear. Changed three years later to become *The Teschen Star*, this paper continued an unbroken career until 1939, and played a very notable rôle in the history of the national awakening in the Duchy.

From Vienna Stalmach, together with another Silesian, Andrzej Kotula, accompanied Lubomirski to the Slav Congress in Prague; and when that body divided itself into three sections—Czech-Moravian-Silesian, Polish-Ruthenian, and South Slav, Stalmach stated his position clearly: "as a Pole he could only belong to the Polish section," and with the consent of the Czechs he was registered there. This happened in part under the influence of Lubomirski, one of the leaders of the Congress, who properly appreciated both the activities of Stalmach and the latter's description of the lamentable conditions in which the people of the Duchy then lived. The unswerving devotion, the unbroken stoutness of spirit and the truly peasant perseverance of the young man undoubtedly impressed the magnate; while on the other hand Stalmach's acquaintance with Lubomirski had a great bearing on his own future. The aristocrat saw in him a representative of the "lowest estate," which had been nothing hitherto "but was soon destined to be everything"—as Lubomirski himself said of the peasant class during the Spring of the Nations.\*

The people of the Duchy were indeed in a bad plight. Because of bad harvests from 1846 and 1847 there was famine; and in its wake came typhus and dysentery, which claimed many victims, while the German authorities gave no adequate help. This made the inclination to bitterness and revolt only greater. On the outbreak in Vienna, which forced the Emperor to concede freedom of the press, the right to create national guards, and to call a parliament with a view to granting a constitution, unusual ferment prevailed. Local "guards" were formed in the towns, and that from Bielsko

\* The author of this paper was the first to draw attention to the great influence exerted by Lubomirski on the development of Stalmach's views

even set out for Vienna, under the leadership of Sułkowski, to help the insurrectionists—but was disarmed on the way.

Students coming home from the capital preached slogans of liberty to the masses. In Niebory Paweł Oszelda urged the villagers to resistance. These then moved in a body to the manor-house and demanded the abolition of serfdom, as well as the person of the overseer who had tortured those under him. Oszelda was arrested however and banished to the famous Spielberg prison at Brno. More serious peasant risings took place in Karvina and the surrounding centres, where the working people had complained for years of the brutal actions of the overseer on the Larisch estates. The immediate reason for this outbreak was the seizing, on 27th September, by one of Count Larisch's foresters, of a student named Michnik, who was hunting on his own land. He was the son of Jan Michnik, a farmer from near by, known for his hostility to the landlords. The overseer struck the student in the face and put him in prison in Teschen; but the militia, supported by local students, set him free. Michnik then, angered at the insult, roused the Karvina people to armed action against the hated masters. On 30th September some hundreds of peasants, armed with pitchforks, flails and clubs, surrounded the Larisch palace, whither all the officials of the estate had fled for safety. The overseer called in the troops, but the commander of the Frysztat militia, a certain Bayer, acted as mediator and prevented bloodshed. The demands of the peasants were granted, an announcement made ending serfdom, and the bench and cat-o-nine-tails used for corporal punishment were surrendered to the peasants.

These peasant activities hurried on the final abolition of serfdom, though only for the time being; after temporary concessions made through fear of revolution, reaction set in and a general return to existing conditions.

But it is the Slav Congress in Prague which concerns us most here. The declaration by Stalmach of his allegiance to the Polish nation—the first of its kind in modern times—was accepted by the Czech delegates without protest. In his *Memoirs* he wrote later that they were even in agreement with the linking-up of the Duchy to Galicia, in view of the common nationality. In any case there were no serious differences, the more so as the most distinguished Czech delegates, Palacký and Safařík had the same views as Stalmach. In his *Slovansky Narodopis* (Prague, 1842), as well as in his map published in the same year, Safařík showed the Duchy as Polish.

Stalmach and Kotula set out their position more in detail in two Memoranda presented to the Polish-Ruthenian section. In his address Stalmach made the following points :

1. That the Slavs, in particular the Poles, should take an interest in Silesia in the face of all Europe. He justified this suggestion thus :

“ Since our age is moving towards the realisation of the principle that nations should constitute states, the Silesians, being of the same nation as the Poles, should be reunited to their mother-stock. Seeing their country in this position, and wanting to defend it from harmful alien influences, they demand that the Duchy be restored to Poland as quickly as possible. In view of the partitioning both of Silesia and of Poland they therefore ask,

“ 2. That the Duchy of Teschen be united and brought under one administration with Galicia, and that Prussian Silesia be united in the same way with Poznanian.

“ 3. That guarantees be given for the Slavonic (Polish) people of the Duchy in the use of their own tongue in the public offices and schools.

“ 4. That the union mentioned above should provide constitutional rights, such as freedom of belief and of the press, equality before the law and an end of serfdom—a thing which the German landlords, having no sympathy with the Poles, were refusing with all their power to lighten. In all this, feeling that they belong to the Slavonic family, the Silesians call on the Slavs everywhere to lend their support.”

The other memorandum was the work of Kotula, and was more general in content. In regard to the language question, it showed that the common people spoke Polish, though official documents were written in German or Czech and the hymn-books were still Czech. The author demanded that Silesia be united with Poland ; and asked the Czechs “ to let us go free to our brothers, and with them enter into a federation uniting all the Slav peoples.”

Both documents threw general light on the existing state of affairs, and demanded a final solution of the matter, which (in their view) would come with the joining of the Duchy to Polish lands. They were resolutions designed to be incorporated in the Manifesto which the Congress was preparing for the nations of Europe, and they were presented to that body by Lubomirski and his colleagues. What came of it all, the reports of the Congress do not say. The fact is that in the manifesto finally agreed on, and designed for the Emperor in Vienna, the Czech demands passed over the matter of Silesia entirely and asked only for the union of Bohemia with

Moravia ; while in those of the Poles from Galicia there was also no mention made of the Duchy—which was again a concession from the Polish side. It seems probable that the matter was only raised in the Manifesto to the Slav Peoples ; and this document was never finished owing to the winding-up of the meeting.

In due course reaction set in in Austria and absolutism returned. Only the defeats suffered later in Italy, and from the side of Prussia in 1866, forced Austria to a change of administration which allowed the Slav peoples fresh rights and gave parliament a share in the government. In the Duchy the Germans ruled as before, but they met with increasing difficulties from year to year. This was due in part to the significant fact already mentioned : the founding of *The Teschen Weekly*, known after 1851 as *The Teschen Star*, to which Andrzej Cinciała was a contributor. Stalmach sent regular articles at first from Vienna, but later he became editor, and guided the paper until his death in 1891. This periodical was of enormous significance for the further history of the Duchy, since it fostered the national consciousness in those who spoke Polish and prepared the way for other things. These came in the form of libraries, agricultural societies, and the Schools Association, which founded the Polish gymnasium in 1895.

Stalmach knew very well in 1848 how far he had to go, and for that reason he was later to limit himself to the defence of Slav interests in general, and to immediate needs. At his suggestion a deputation from the Duchy was sent on 4th November to the Emperor, who was staying in Olomouc, which received an assurance of "the guarding and extending of constitutional rights and liberties," together with the promise of the Minister that all state ordinances in future will be published not only in German but also in Polish. The administration of the Habsburg estates in Teschen published in that tongue an "Explanation of the Supreme Rêscript," directed to the peasants of the whole province, with a view to the calming of their minds and a warning against "agitators." There had also appeared in September an order providing for the use of the mother tongue in teaching in the three upper classes of the village schools, and in the first class of the High School.

Such were the concessions won by the Polish population in 1848. The Spring of the Nations did not pass in the Duchy without leaving traces. It set in motion certain changes which were developed further, with the consequence that at least part of the area was united with Poland when it recovered independence after the first World War.

FRANCISZEK POPIOŁEK.

## 1848 AND ROUMANIAN UNIFICATION

IN Part One \* of this paper there was given a survey of the events of 1848 in the Roumanian countries—Moldavia, Bukovina and Wallachia, viewed from the angle of the Transylvanian revolutionary movement of that year. A century ago, the Roumanian Principalities, inhabited by more than half of the total number of Roumanians, were under a double foreign domination. On the one hand was the Turkish suzerainty; on the other the Russian protectorate, which was striving to eliminate not only its rival on the Bosphorus but also the national leaders who were fighting for liberty and independence. The reactionary Constitution imposed by the Russians in 1832, the so-called Organic Regulation, was an instrument of political subjection.

The attempt at a revolution by the enlightened liberal party led by M. Kogălniceanu and others was quelled in Moldavia by the cunning Prince Michael Sturdza, who himself first provoked their reaction.

In Wallachia the ruling Prince, George Bibescu, by leaving the country gave way to the national movement which on 11 June, 1848, had formed a revolutionary government headed by the Metropolitan. On 13 September the Turkish army put an end to this government by slaughtering the Roumanian garrison in Bucharest. The leaders fled abroad or were thrown into prison.

The revolutionary aims of the movements in both Principalities were identical. autonomy under Turkish suzerainty, elimination of the Russian protectorate, abolition of the Organic Regulation, equality of political rights for all citizens, equal taxation, a national representative assembly, liberty of press and speech, abolition of serfdom, distribution of land to the peasants, abolition of class privileges, abolition of the death penalty, emancipation of the Jews and Gypsies.

The Transylvanian Roumanians formulated their claims in the Proclamation of Blaj (3 May, 1848) which demanded equal rights for the Roumanians and political liberty for Transylvania. This provoked the dissatisfaction of the Hungarian ruling class as well as of the liberal Hungarian youth. Bessarabia, under the Tsarist régime since 1812, did not participate in this revolutionary movement.

The Roumanians of Bukovina fared best in the upheavals of 1848. Thanks to the enlightened leadership of patriots, led by E. Hurmuzache, and to a free peasantry, they obtained political and administrative autonomy for their province as well as a provincial diet. They sent a delegation to the parliament of Kremsier in February, 1849. The capital, Cernăuți, was the headquarters of the revolutionary movement for all Roumanian provinces.

\* Owing to lack of space only a summary of Part I of this valuable paper could be included in the Review.—ED. NOTE

## LITERATURE

R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians*, chapter "The Revolution of 1848"—N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale*, vol. IX, 1944, pp. 141-222.—P. P. Panaitescu, *Contribuție la o biografie a lui N. Bălcescu*, București, 1924.—G. Fotino, *Din vremea renașterii naționale a Țării Românești*: Boierii Golești, vol. I-IV, București, 1939.—Silviu Dragomir, *Studii și Documente privitoare la revoluția Românilor din Transilvania în anul 1848-9*, vol. I-III, V, Sibiu, 1944, Cluj, 1944-1947.—R. Căndea, *Un luptător bucovinean*: Alecu Hurmuzache, Sibiu, 1841.—T. Bălan, *Eudoxiu Hurmuzache și memoriul Românilor ardeleni din luna lui Februar 1849*, published in *Anuarul Muzeului Bucovinei*, Cernăuți, 1944, pp. 113-43.

## II

There can no longer be any doubt that a feeling of Roumanian solidarity existed in the year 1848 on both slopes of the Carpathian mountains. This feeling had been first revived by the Transylvanian historians at the beginning of the 19th century. It was further developed by the fanaticism of schoolteachers coming from Transylvania, by the press, and especially by literary works, which thanks to their inspired outbursts eluded the vigilance of the censorship and made their way across the mountains. Bălcescu<sup>1</sup> regarded the members of the Transylvanian school of thought as "the first apostles of a Roumanian national conscience." In the decade prior to the revolution, the link between Transylvania and the Principalities was maintained by two generations of teachers. Baritiu, the editor of the *Gazeta de Transilvania* strengthened the ties, exhorted the Roumanians to write, and promptly published all the works presented to him by these diligent and enthusiastic pioneers of a new era. But not only did their articles cross the frontier to seek hospitality in the columns of the Brașov periodicals. *Gazeta* and its literary supplement *Foaia* had gradually appealed to all outstanding writers and to all who nourished Roumanian thoughts. By meeting in the same columns of the press, the Roumanian writers from the West and those from the East of the Carpathians served the same literary ideal. The idea of the nation's organic unity took shape through collaboration, and especially through closer mutual acquaintanceship. Thus, most probably, the generation of the older teachers heard about Câmpineanu's programme, elaborated at a time when international circumstances seemed to



favour the creation of an united Roumanian State within its natural frontiers <sup>2</sup>

The movement led by Eftimie Murgul in the Banat had roots planted in ground not sufficiently prepared to germinate the necessary solidarity. From among the younger teachers, Constantin Romanul found this formula very much to his liking, turning it into the corner-stone of any political action. In the spring of 1848, Axente Severu was deeply charmed by the well-known article of the French writer, Hypolit Desprez, who sketched with the gift of a visionary the future contours of Greater Roumania. Published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* the article was brought home from Paris by N. Bălcescu. There can be little doubt that it was hotly commented, especially in the ranks of the Transylvanian youth.<sup>3</sup>

In Transylvania as yet, Roumanian thought was far from adopting a daring attitude and trying to clarify with the aid of programs the final goal of its political aspirations. Men of culture were still bearing the imprint of their people's multisecular serfdom and were therefore more careful in this respect than in the literary field. Lacking a wide European outlook, they conceived its achievements only as a supreme victory of immanent justice. But the struggle had not yet started in earnest, and the political force represented by their numbers and geographical extension, was still fettered. Though Metternich had fallen, the prestige of the once so powerful dynasty still remained unimpaired, while the tyranny of the local oligarchy was still in full swing. Thus is to be explained the moderation of the Roumanian ruling class in Transylvania in the midst of the revolutionary turmoil, and its refusal to put forward a courageous program, which clearly would have exceeded their powers. Even the somewhat neutral proposal, formulated by the Saxon priest, Daniel Roth, aiming at reuniting the three Roumanian provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania in a Daco-Roumanian monarchy, appended to the Austrian crown, did not meet with any response from the Roumanians of Transylvania. Although it was printed in May, 1848, in Sibiu, Baritiu does not mention Roth's book until late in the autumn. Its influence cannot be traced down to any of the people's leaders, who seem to be united in following their own program, without paying attention to the siren's music, no matter how alluring it might be.<sup>4</sup>

National solidarity constitutes a tenet of the 1848 generation, but the attempt to achieve it in the shape of a State of their own of an unitary character remained the task of future fighters. Therefore, no matter how justified we would be in seeing in the Blaj

program of Barnutiu the seeds of an all-Roumanian State, we shall be mistaken in attributing to his action an irredentist character.

When his younger friends invited him to place himself at the disposal of the Wallachian revolution,<sup>5</sup> he flatly refused to go there. The responsibility for action in Transylvania still weighed heavily upon his shoulders, and he could not leave a battlefield on which the main encounter was still to be fought. B. Arcescu<sup>6</sup> noted in the summer of 1848 the following characteristic information, while in Sibiu :

“ Here we are with Mr. Laurianu and other Rumanian brothers from Transylvania, with whom we never fail, when gathered together, to deliberate on the things required by the situation at the present moment. We have made the acquaintance of brother Barnutiu, who is by far too good a Roumanian. I know also various Roumanian leaders, who are burning with patriotic fire and wish to see us all reunited with them ; and they say that they are ‘ too heavily oppressed by the Hungarians and Saxons. ’ ”

The “ leaders ” were the young men closely connected with the Roumanian Committee ; they were burning with patriotic zeal ; in their ranks was perhaps to be counted Laurianu, a teacher who had recently arrived from Bucharest. But Barnutiu, although “ by far too good a Roumanian,” knew how to apply to himself the necessary restraint of the politician. When the Wallachian representative tried to “ inspire ” them with the true idea of what might spell happiness for all—in other words “ reunion ” with their brothers—the youth of Sibiu showed themselves “ full of desire ” and “ the least signal would ignite them.” Arcescu’s information discloses to us but a small part of the conversations which ought to have taken place between the patriots warmed by a revolutionary atmosphere. One could hardly imagine, that living in normal political conditions the young men of 1848 could have put a bridle on their aspirations, the achievement of which depended, in the first place, on the general political situation.

On 7 August 1848, in the very heat of the revolution, when glancing at a map printed in Vienna after 1820, which delineated the whole Roumanian ethnical territory (*les pays de race roumaine*), i.e. Wallachia, the whole of Moldavia, Bukovina, Transylvania, the Banat, a member of the Golescu family, Dimitrie, conveyed in writing to Ion Ghica the following remarks of astounding foresight :<sup>7</sup>

“ You know, they might make a handsome little kingdom, of a

nice round shape, with frontiers, which nature itself seems to have designed. The Black Sea, the Danube and the Tisa girdle it like a bridal belt and a powerful defensive wall against external aggression." He placed this kingdom's capital at Jassy or Roman, whence it could reverberate light towards the surrounding Slav peoples. "I do not know," continued Golescu, "why I believe that this idea, which last year would have seemed utopian, to-day so looks within our reach, that I could wager that some day it will be achieved. But when? This is the only uncertain point remaining to be solved." The brother of Alexandru Golescu, named "The Black" found inspiration in the idea of the French revolution, which proclaimed the liberation of all peoples, especially laying stress upon the principle of nationality. It stands proclaimed in terms which fully deserve to be definitely written down in the book of history:

"Every nation is entitled to its own political existence and all men speaking the same language must be looked upon as forming a single nation. This is considered a distinctive sign granted to them by God to separate them from each other. The boundaries formed by the configuration of the earth are but of secondary importance. If the national principle triumphs—and everything encourages us to think so—the Roumanians will become a nation eight million strong. But fierce battles will rage before that principle will find its application everywhere in Europe. It will constitute one of the last trials which our sick society will have to bear. The brotherhood of the peoples will be brought about only to add the final touch to the work of civilisation."

This is the explanation to bear in mind when trying to account for the way in which the idea of national unity acquired consistency. • The French revolution had caused the triumph of the national principle. Roumanian youth, imbued with generous ideals, disseminated them with unquenchable fervour. They realised the difficulties which barred the way to achieving such a bold ideal, which for these reasons remained <sup>8</sup> "a secret of the future, the great political ideal of national unity"—a thought cherished by all Roumanian patriots but expressed by very few for fear of disclosing it prematurely.

In fact only one of the revolutionary leaders, Ion Ghica, suggested <sup>9</sup> the preparation of an open struggle to achieve national unity. But Ghica was at that moment in Constantinople, from which vantage-point he closely surveyed the Slav movements and

the political game of the Great Powers. It did not occur to him either to think of an irridentist movement. He was of the opinion that national unity could be achieved "without severing the ties with the respective States."

It is possible that the secret agents of the Austrian Empire might have heard something about these dreams. The articles appearing in the columns of some big European periodicals<sup>10</sup> were attempting to resuscitate, more and more frequently, the ghost of Daco-Roumanian kingdom. Palace circles in Vienna were already growing more suspicious. Soon the matter would be brought to the attention of the Hungarian Government in Budapest.

As far back as 30 March 1848, General Puchner sent his report to Vienna, as well as to the Governor in Cluj, containing news of a very alarming character, received from the Austrian consular agent in Bucharest—the famous Timoni. The latest events in France, and even more those that had taken place in Vienna, he asserts, provoked in Bucharest and in the whole Principality a movement, led by the young boyars educated in Paris, which set itself the task of reuniting all the Roumanians in one State and thus creating "a new Dacian kingdom" to be ruled by Prince Bibescu. The latter, it is further reported, had already made declarations to Timoni, as well as to the Russian consul-general to the effect that he had refused the offer, and contemplated the arrest of those leaders who were personally known to him. Kotzebue would not approve such a solution, being of the opinion that the Hospodar ought on the contrary to invite the leaders to an exchange of views and to make clear to them "that he cannot give his consent to their project, its achievement being dependent on the approval of the Turks and Russians, which Powers will never tolerate such an open manifestation of hostility." It can be inferred from Timoni's communication that he was casting doubt even on the good faith of Prince Bibescu.

Disclosing this information, evidently of a very important character (the more so as he pretended to trust it completely)—it seems nevertheless to have been a perfidious counterfeit—General Puchner noted that a great part of Transylvania's population was composed of Roumanians, whom various foreign agents and proclamations from the outside would no doubt try to incite to rebellion. This aggravated the situation. Therefore he suggested mutual consultations in order to evolve ways and means for the protection of the numerous Roumanian population from rebellion and allurements, begging to be allowed to issue instructions to the Commander of the Frontier Guard Regiment as well as to the officers commanding

at Turnul-Roșu and Brașov, enjoining them to keep a close watch along the sanitary cordon as well as at the entry points from the neighbouring countries, on all travellers entering Transylvania, as well as to be very mindful of every event known in the country and to report at once any disquieting symptom.

Taking these worrying and critical circumstances into consideration, the General commanding the Army was of the opinion that the Roumanians from Transylvania must be treated everywhere, verbally and otherwise, with a certain precaution. According to information conveyed to him, the Roumanians were spreading, from their centre in Cluj, impossible news of a particularly dangerous character for the public order. The disseminators of alarming news and the instigators to rebellion must be arrested and punished, and a stricter police surveillance carried out. The consequences of such speeches and actions could not be foreseen, since very often they led to quite unexpected results. He had information from reliable sources that those of the noblemen wearing unionist badges, as well as those Roumanians who paraded under national flags had been pursuing other aims altogether. Quite contrary to what was generally thought, they considered such manifestations as showing resistance to the benevolent monarch. Such occurrences could pave the way for direct revolt on the part of the Roumanians. His informers were reporting that Roumanians had been seen more than once buying six to eight rifles each, together with the necessary ammunition. For these reasons the sale of arms and ammunition should be limited and supervised by police authorities.<sup>11</sup>

The following inference can be easily drawn from the important report of Transylvania's Commanding General: the agents of the two Big Powers in Bucharest had concerted their policies dating as far back as the spring, with regard to the political situation in the Principalities. The project for a Daco-Roumanian kingdom was one of their own inventions, a much sought-after pretext, in order to lend a cloak of legitimacy to their interference with political movements carried out in the spirit of the revolution in Europe. I believe it would not be wrong to attribute its paternity to the Tsarist Consul General, who betrayed himself through alleged magnanimity. If such an organised movement existed, it is inconceivable that it did not emerge until now; the more so as, at the period of the revolution in Wallachia, all the latent tendencies had come to fruition. The famous diplomatic note issued by the Czarist Government on 19 July is based <sup>12</sup> entirely on this intrigue hatched in the company of a diplomatic agent—the enemy of all

Roumanian aspirations—in his twofold capacity of reactionary Austrian and Hungarian.

The basis of this accusation, brought against the Roumanian policy, is not confirmed by ascertained facts, even with regard to the Roumanians of Transylvania. The link supposed to exist between the projects of the young boyars from Bucharest and the activity of the Transylvanians, an activity carried out independently, is a mere assumption. This injustice done to an entire people is all the more subject to censure as it is known that after five months of fruitless endeavours the police authorities failed to discover any serious proof verifying Puchner's suspicions. Nor did the foreign agents appear in Transylvania to distribute manifestos and to incite to rebellion.

Constantin Romanul constitutes an exception to a general rule. The young Transylvanian teacher banished for being Barnutiu's follower, from all schools in Blaj, after a short stay in Cluj, where he studied law, was finally offered a post in a Bucharest private school. A nationalist of strong convictions but of an exalted disposition, he fell a prey in the new surroundings to the idea of Roumanian unity to such an extent that he became and remained its apostle to the tragic end of his life. At the beginning of May, 1848, he returned to Transylvania in order to participate at the meeting held in Câmpia Libertății. His passage through Brașov was duly noticed by police agents, who accused him of propagating the idea of a Dacian Empire. The accusation was founded on unverifiable words. Even the Saxon judge, Albrichtsfield, who joined the chorus of denunciation, did not find any other basis for accusation than the police agents' whispers.<sup>13</sup> Some of them seemed to mix him up in their minds with Laurianu.<sup>14</sup> But the latter was much more cautious. In the period of the preparations for the setting up of the permanent committee, Romanul was in Sibiu, at Barnutiu's side. He represented the young nationalists' extreme wing, always ready to start revolution and to fight for the reunion of all the Roumanian provinces. Being commissioned to negotiate with the Saxons, he openly confessed his programme, without realising that he was thus surrendering to his enemies a formidable offensive weapon. The Saxons would be the first to denounce to the Viennese Court these secret thoughts of the Roumanians.<sup>15</sup>

The Transylvanian Government did not yet get wind of them. After the triumph of the revolution in Wallachia Romanul seemed even more convinced that the "salvation of the Roumanians depends on the union and on the well-being of the Principalities."

If a cruel destiny brings to nothing the efforts of the Transylvanian youth, they ought to seek refuge in Bucharest or in Bukovina. Overwhelmed by doubts but with a mind still aflame, he expressed in a letter to A. G. Golescu the following confessions worthy of an enlightened forerunner :

"I have so described our position that you may know exactly how we stand and how to mend your ways. You must also know that plans went wrong. Henceforward we must carefully mind our step, because if all Roumanians do not work for the common good we are lost. We should also realise that all elements pooled their strength against us and that all homogenous elements tend to-day to close their ranks. So the Italians are doing, so the Germans, so the Slovenes. Why should not we do that right now, when the time is ripe? Everybody is shouting that we want to recreate Dacia. Why should not we let the cat out of the bag? We must awaken Europe to the realisation that only by promoting Dacia could we prevent the spread of Panslavism, as we had prevented it for so many centuries."

These ideas of Romanul present a striking resemblance to the evolution of the political thought of Dimitrie Golescu. They have probably a common source of inspiration. the intimate conversations occasioned by the soaring spirit of the most progressive member of the Golescu family, called Negru or Arăpîlă, i.e., The Black. To him evidently the Transylvanian fighter appealed when he formulated so concisely his political creed : "I repeat once more that our slogan must be the creation of Dacia."

If we consider this programme,<sup>16</sup> completely detached from the political activity of a people having but recently shed the chains of serfdom, the clairvoyance of the author is amazing, and the enthusiasm of his hopes seems to be sustained by a prophetic power. Unfortunately Romanul overstepped those bounds of elementary prudence which ought to have guided the leaders of a people still under foreign domination. The premature disclosure of their future dreams did not further at all the cause of the Roumanians in Transylvania. On the contrary, it only brought them enemies, on the alert to nip in the bud the national movement. The promptness with which the Saxon judge of Braşov denounced the daring words of Romanul, is significant. They constitute moreover the only proof of guilt which could be ascribed to any Roumanian from Transylvania. The fact that the Government did not take serious

notice of the gravity of the proofs rendered it very open to suspicion. If an inquiry on the spot had been carried out, it might very probably have revealed something quite different. It must be admitted that the testimony of a police agent can be very inadequate for defining the meaning of the notion of national solidarity, the more so as such agents were generally ignorant officials, and mostly of a disposition quite contrary to the aspirations of the Roumanian people.

The identity of one of these police agents is now known to us by a report which he sent to the Government on 9 May. Mihail Maurer thereby conveyed certain news<sup>17</sup> of a character closely associated with the ghost of Old Dacia. "A short time ago," he wrote, "there arrived in Braşov several young boyars from Moldavia: Balş, Cantacuzino, Stoenescu and Ionescu. While making inquiries about the situation here, they broached the subject of the union of Transylvania with Hungary. During their conversation they expressed the desire to see Old Dacia restored."

It seems quite incredible that these exiled Moldavian patriots, should have openly expounded the opinions of the Transylvanian teacher, given the circumstances prevailing there. Their sojourn in Braşov is sufficiently known to us from the diary notes of George Sion and Alecu Russo. Warmly welcomed by their Roumanian brothers from Braşov and Săcele, their main preoccupation was the plight of their native land, Moldavia. The only plans they dared to elaborate jointly with the Transylvanians were associated only with the deplorable conditions prevalent in their small country after the quenching of the revolutionary movement. It cannot be denied, on the other hand, that their morale was completely restored by the heated atmosphere reigning on the eve of the national congress of the Transylvanian Roumanians. Many of them went to Blaj to witness a political act of overwhelming importance for the whole Roumanian people. During the meeting held on Câmpia Libertăţii their conduct was faultless. They sincerely admired the spontaneous impetus of the Roumanian youth; they watched with emotion the progress of the meeting; they discerned the implications contained in the political programme outlined by Barnutiu's declaration and Laurianu's proposals; they mingled with the people to test the reactions of the masses; some of them took part in the banquet given at the bishop's residence, while others withdrew to isolated corners to nurse their grief as "homeless exiles." They were good brothers to the people—now, on Freedom's Day, aroused from their long sleep—but they remained well-behaved observers,



fully conscious of their rôle.<sup>18</sup> "With our young hearts inspired by beautiful ideals," G. Sion was to write later, "we were sharing all the emotions of our Transylvanian brothers, and deep in our Roumanian hearts we embraced their aspirations and faith, interweaving our destiny with theirs." The same idea of a Roumanian brotherhood was deeply rooted in the generous heart of Alecu Russo, yet another Moldavian impressed by the magnificent temper of that meeting :<sup>19</sup>

"Those Moldavians and Wallachians forced to flee their country by serious upheavals were watching the meeting with heartfelt emotion. The masses of the people were arranged on the field according to the villages or counties whence they came. An entire people, wearing the same national dress and speaking the same language as our own people at home, stood there, magnificent, bathed in sunshine ; and among the peasant frocks one could notice, here and there, people clad in town clothes. These town clothes were worn by young intellectuals, the graduates of the school in Blaj and of other Transylvanian schools, a young generation of great courage and deep love for the Roumanian people."

This display of genuine brotherhood between peasant frocks and town clothes caused much wonderment. Russo wanted to stress not only the "blood brotherhood"—he thus described the feeling of an all-Roumanian solidarity—but, being also a fighter for equality of rights, he was watching "with eyes full of amazed wonder" this intermingling of the classes, which to us seems proof of a democratic attitude, and which was at the time commended as a desirable goal of "a brotherhood in the way of life, customs and every aspect of human relationship." "In a short moment of enthusiasm," he exclaims, "the exiles wished that they were not born sons of boyars." It is possible that together with Sion and Russo, the same feelings may have been shared by other Moldavian exiles attending the meeting: Lascar Rosetti, Petrachi Casimir, Nicolae Ionescu, Alexandru Cuza and especially by the young Wallachian Dimitrie Brătianu, whose heart, deeply imbued with patriotism, must have revelled to the full in this highly significant victory for the Roumanian national consciousness in Transylvania.<sup>20</sup>

We have no irrefutable proof concerning the presence in Blaj, on 3-15 May, of other young Moldavians whom the police authorities in Braşov reported to the government as having departed to attend the meeting. Some of them stopped in Sibiu, whence they returned

to Braşov in a few days. Among them may be counted the poet, Vasile Alecsandri. Infected by the enthusiastic atmosphere of the Roumanian intellectuals of that town, he published two poems in *Foara*,<sup>21</sup> which by their inspiration kindled the fire of freedom in Roumanian hearts and paved the way to Roumanian solidarity.

*Răsunetul* (The Echo) published by Andrei Mureşanu,<sup>22</sup> the Transylvanian poet of the revolution, had the same source of inspiration, treading the same path of unification but condemning with a sterner voice the tyranny and cursed serfdom of the past. The poem *Deşteaptă-te Române* (Awake, Roumanians !), which will certainly outlive all revolutions, was created in this atmosphere of enthusiasm and mutual confidence existing between the Moldavian exiles and the Roumanian youth from Braşov. The latest successes of the revolution in Wallachia strengthened the hopes of the exiles and permeated all hearts with a feeling of certain victory.

Alecu Russo, who in the meantime had travelled through other Roumanian regions of Transylvania and attended a congress of the Roumanian population from the Banat, addressed, in July, 1848, a letter to Bălcescu, which is fairly characteristic of the mentality of his entire generation, a generation which saw itself drifting towards the final goal. The pen is no longer capable of keeping pace with the daring projects conceived by their busy imagination : <sup>23</sup>

“ We shall be one powerful nation, with the sea as barricades, with two rivers as girdles, with Roman blood in our veins. There will be no longer Moldavia, nor Transylvania or the Banat, but only Roumania, with the capital to be named Roma, if you wish, with large public squares, named the People’s Square, Trajan’s Square, Ştefan’s Square, Mihai’s Square, Moldavia’s Square, the Banat’s Square, Transylvania’s Square. Then power, happiness, magnificence, glory ! ”

Such ambitious designs were discussed by Alecu Russo only in intimate, trustworthy company. Bălcescu, to be sure, would not betray him, but had he imparted the same feelings to the young people of Sibiu where he lived at the moment when putting them on paper ? Probably. One could certainly convict him of imprudence. It is known that his journey to Lugoj was not undertaken solely for his own pleasure in attending the congress of the Roumanians from the Banat. He had been commissioned to carry on negotiations with Eftimie Murgul, a future Roumanian member of Parliament in Budapest ; and to request him to provide a detachment of armed Frontier Guards for the creation of an incident on the

Moldavian frontier, which might draw the attention of Europe to the unhappy fate of his country. Murgul showed much comprehension and promised to form a detachment of 1,000 Guards. The fact that subsequently he could not make good his promise is due to various reasons. The Hungarian Government had got wind of the intentions of the Roumanian exiles from two main sources: through the German Foreign Office and through a report attributed to a Turkish Commissar in Wallachia, which had reached the Commanding General in Transylvania. On 12 July the latter instructed Baron Way to take the necessary measures for the prevention of a possible disturbance of the friendly relations existing between Moldavia and Hungary. At the same time he forbade the formation of volunteer armies, and transferred the exiled Moldavian boyars to the interior of the country.

The instructions were carried out to the letter and the fire built in Braşov and Sibiu by young enthusiasts was soon scattered. Alecu Russo had already left on 6 July for Bukovina, passing through Cluj and Dej. In the last-named town, after being pursued by the Hungarian police, he was arrested on 9 July. When he was searched nothing suspicious was found on him except some manifestos containing a summary of proceedings of the assembly held in Blaj. The depositions he afterwards made also do not reveal any aggravating facts. That is why Baron Way, Deputy Commissar, proposed to the Government that Russo should be released, which eventually took place after a detention of eight weeks, spent in not very comfortable conditions.

The Hungarian police, biassed against all emigrants, did not stop at this miscalculated step. They repeated the mistake later in the year by arresting Ion Maiorescu and they were the more angered at being unable to find sufficient proof concerning the true intentions of the Roumanians. Rightly or wrongly they looked with suspicion upon every Roumanian patriot seeking refuge in Transylvania. Even Prince Bibescu, who had retired to Braşov after his abdication, incurred their suspicion, together with the whole group of boyars who accompanied him. The Hungarian Government deemed it appropriate to remove them from the frontier area and on 12 August carried out measures to that effect, despite the repeated protests of the former Hospodar.<sup>24</sup> Bibescu, deeply hurt, left at once for Galaţi, unwilling to let himself be removed to the interior of the Monarchy. The distrust shown to the reactionary emigrants is also attributable to the conjuring up of the ghost of the Roumanian imperialism.

On the other hand, it is possible that Bibescu's men were not altogether passive. They might have continued to plot and intrigue against the revolutionary Government installed in Bucharest. They also mingled a good deal with the Roumanians in Braşov, undertook several trips to Săcele, and so became justly suspect. The Tsarist government's note of 19 July, 1848, in which the Roumanians are denounced as aiming at the formation of a big national State, reaching as far as the river Tisa, had by now reached the Hungarian Government. Before a categorical denial had time to come from the rulers of Bucharest, a note of warning was sounded which weighed heavily on the international relations of the Wallachian Principality. Information from the secret police,<sup>25</sup> stated that at the beginning of August a foreign agent had been apprehended on the point of launching propaganda in favour of another Daco-Roumanian formula, this time serving the interests of the government in St. Petersburg.

General Puchner's report, dated August, 1848, was addressed to the Hungarian Minister of War. It was based on "confidential" information and stated that the catechist of the Bucharest Academy, a priest by the name of Alexandru "Protonotar" had arrived in Braşov a few days previously. In reality he was a secret agent sent to Transylvania to investigate the state of public opinion of the Roumanians, and to win them over to a plan drawn up personally by the Tsar. This plan, according to the above-mentioned priest's testimony, was transmitted by a Russian colonel to Eliade, who had indignantly rejected it. Afterwards the Russian turned to the clergy, among whom he found some response. Later on, several clergymen converted to the plan were sent to Moldavia, Transylvania, Bukovina and the Banat. The plan was to grant a very liberal constitution to the Danubian Principalities, with the condition that a son of the Tsar, Constantin, should be proclaimed king. In such an eventuality, Bukovina, the Banat and Transylvania would all be incorporated into the new kingdom. The Russian colonel was also said to have issued threats to the effect that if the Moldavians and Wallachians did not obey this call of the Russian cabinet, the plan would nevertheless be carried out by 100,000 bayonets and without granting the promised liberal institutions! The boyar refugees, headed by Prince Bibescu (now in Braşov), were overwhelmed by this proposal. As the confidential report pointed out, there were serious fears that the gold of the Czarist agents and the promises of the refugees would contribute to a large extent to rousing to action the Roumanian population of Transylvania. Therefore it

was high time to remove immediately the refugees from the town of Braşov, which had become a hotbed of intrigue.

We do not know whether there is any grain of truth in the confidential report of General Puchner. He himself declared that he did not attach much importance to it, despite his previous statement that the report was perfectly trustworthy.

Nowhere is there any other mention of Alexandru the priest. Could he have been indeed a Tsarist agent ? <sup>26</sup> This does not seem quite out of the question, when we realise that the provisional Government of Bucharest was also acquainted with the intention of subordinating the idea of a Dacian kingdom to the expansionist policy of Tsarism. Nevertheless, Puchner, advised by an undisclosed personality, was trying to discredit the political action of the Roumanians of Transylvania. He played upon the old suspicion of the Hungarian Statesmen, although unable to adduce sufficient proof, even to a limited extent, of the complicity of the Roumanians of Transylvania. The Hungarian Government was, no doubt, profoundly disturbed. The Ministers, but recently installed in power, treated as reliable the information provided by the secret service, and based on this shaky foundation Hungarian policy towards the Roumanian people. The Presidency of the Council of Ministers took immediate measures for Prince Bibescu's departure from Transylvania within a short time. Only Baron Way displayed more tolerance : on his own responsibility, he allowed some of the exiled boyars, belonging formerly to Prince Bibescu's retinue, to continue to reside in Braşov. The episode was thus closed, after it had succeeded in casting a shadow of doubt on Prince Bibescu, his retinue, and on the Roumanians of Transylvania in general. Anyway, to continue to behold the ghost of a new Dacia not only in the young Moldavians' liberalism, but also in the reactionary trend of mind characteristic to the Wallachian boyars, evidently constituted an obsession and not a sober estimation of the facts peculiar to Roumanian policy.

The Wallachian revolutionary Government had, nevertheless, well-known ties with the Roumanians of Transylvania. They were simply accidental and did not result from a clearly defined programme of pan-Roumanian action. Back in their native country, the Transylvanian teachers continued to maintain, in a very natural way, their contacts with the movement's leaders in Bucharest. Laurianu exchanged letters with Bălcescu, Romanul with A. G. Golescu. The first of them had come home from across the mountains without the permission of the Government. Deep in

the hearts of these teachers devoted to the people, there were no frontiers and they were ready to serve the idea of the Roumanian national consciousness, anywhere, before or after revolution, on either side of the Carpathians.

The first to be entrusted with a specific mission in Transylvania was Ioan Maiorescu. He arrived in Sibiu on 10 July, to enlist the support of the Monarchy in case the Tsarist armies occupied the Principalities. While travelling between Braşov and Sibiu he had an opportunity of meeting Baron Way and of discussing with him the proposal of the provisional Government, with reference to relations between the two countries—freshly inspired by a new surge of freedom. He also discussed Hungarian policy towards the Roumanians of Transylvania.<sup>27</sup>

Particularly frank seemed to be—as reported by Maiorescu—the attitude of the factors responsible for Roumanian policy.

“ Any time the Principalities may wish to conclude a pact of alliance with Hungary ; the basis for such a pact could only be constituted by obtaining satisfactory assurances concerning a normal political life for the Roumanian population in Transylvania and Hungary.”

If driven to extremity the Roumanians could always resort, for the emancipation of their nation, to the proclamation as King of Roumania, in the broadest possible sense, of the Prince of Leuchtenberg or one of Emperor Nicholas's sons. “ The Roumanians wish to live at peace with the Hungarians, a peace based on respect for the principles of national independence, equality and fraternity.” This coincided with Barnutiu's view as well as with that of the whole nationalist generation of 1848. Maiorescu perhaps was more capable of summing it up in a more concise way, and he expounded it with sincerity to a representative of the Budapest Government. “ Way's reply could have been encouraging, if followed by deeds. Proofs of Hungarian comprehension were not only very slow to show up ; but their absence impelled the Roumanian leaders to detect quite different intentions in Hungarian policy, as applied in Transylvania.

Maiorescu communicated the provisional Government's note addressed to the Austrian official quarters, through the agency of the military commander in Sibiu, also admitting Treboniu Laurianu into the secret. When, on 18 August, the whole Committee was arrested, he was still in Sibiu. He accompanied Laurianu to the stage-coach, and there witnessed the apprehension of his friend by the police. In the ensuing confusion, the latter succeeded in

handing to Maiorescu secretly, a letter received by him from Alexandru Golescu "the Black"

Laurianu had been contemplating for a long time returning to Bucharest. The policy of terror prevailing in Transylvania rendered futile any action whatsoever. If he tarried at all, putting off his departure day by day, it could only be explained by the fact that he was charged by Maiorescu to represent, in his absence, the Roumanian Government. In this capacity he heard of Austria's refusal to give support to the Principalities, and to protect them from a Russian invasion. His reports to Bucharest became more and more frequent in these last days. On 10 July, together with Maiorescu, there had arrived in Sibiu A. G. Golescu, who had been sent to Budapest and Vienna on a similar mission. Laurianu agreed to serve as intermediary, and to facilitate Golescu's correspondence with the provisional Government of Bucharest.

But the intervention of Golescu "the Black" gave rise to complications, with repercussions for the whole cause. This fiery patriot, eager to ensure the victory of the Roumanian revolution, from the moment he got in touch with the Roumanians in Transylvania had requested them to contribute with all means at their disposal to the support of the Roumanian cause in the Principalities. After meeting a number of young men in Braşov, he selected eight, and sent them to Wallachia as propagandists. While in Sibiu he convinced three other young members of the Committee to join them. On the political side, his task was to establish contacts with the Hungarian Government with a view to securing their support in case of Russian intervention. He therefore left for Budapest, and tried to convert to his point of view influential Ministers, but without success. Running across Eftimie Murgul, he obtained assurances from him, e.g. that he would provide 10,000 armed men to be recruited among the Banat Frontier Guards. His conversations with Murgul deeply impressed him and he was entirely unaware of the customary exaggerations of the Banat leader—a man devoid of common sense. He imagined for a moment that he could start a pan-Roumanian movement with the help of the Roumanian deputies elected to the Hungarian Parliament.<sup>28</sup> He conveyed all these suggestions to Laurianu and, through him, to his friends in Bucharest; adding also the idea of secret propaganda, which ought to be launched for the benefit of the "Roumanian national cause." Two of these letters fell into the hands of the Hungarian police when Laurianu was arrested. They were immediately translated and sent to Budapest. Some passages out of them were to be used

by the Hungarian politicians as evidence of the offensive intentions of Roumanian policy. We are in possession of the whole original text.<sup>29</sup>

Both letters were written in Vienna, on 5 and 7 August, but only the first contained passages that could discredit the Roumanians of Transylvania. Golescu expressed his scorn for the Austrian generals, supporters of reaction, and suggests "propaganda for Roumaniadom" to be carried out by Frontier Guards, formed by Murgul. Until the intervention of France and Austria could be possible in the cause of the Principalities, the Roumanians must try to get all the satisfaction they could from "secret proselytism." For this very reason they were now endeavouring to convert the Austrian officials to the Roumanian view. To the Austrians nothing seemed more profitable than "the achievement of Roumanian unity, and inclusion in the confederation of Austrian nations," in order to counterbalance the influence of the Hungarian element. In other words a joining of forces with the enemies of the Hungarians—with the Saxons and the Croats. If Bukovina could be united with Transylvania the Roumanian idea would take a step forward, "and it will be much easier to overwhelm Hungarian feeling in Transylvania."

The line of Golescu's political thought cannot be construed as a design for an *irridenta*. Suggesting the reunion of all Roumanian lands under the Austrian crown, he flattered the rulers of Vienna and angered, very naturally, the imperialists of Greater Hungary. When Ioan Maiorescu was to pass through Budapest on his way to Vienna and Frankfurt, the Hungarians arrested and searched him thoroughly for documents. They were anxious, evidently, to get hold of more enlightening details concerning "the secret plan." But this capture proved to be a blunder. Maiorescu did not have on him any compromising papers. The deposition he made at the cross examination explained convincingly enough the muddle created by Golescu's imprudence. The Home Secretary, Szemere, present at the cross examination, thus related the facts:<sup>30</sup>

"Ordering his arrest, I instructed my subordinates to seize all his papers, but I could not find anything really suspicious among them. Golescu is portrayed as a man of exalted disposition, who for this very reason was sent away by the Roumanian Government. He wrote letters without anybody having asked for them. I read the newspaper he edited in Transylvania, and it does not contain anything suspicious.



Being, as we knew, sent by the Roumanian Government to Frankfurt, and fearing possible misunderstandings between the two Governments, especially now when, with the exception of the Roumanians, all our neighbours are hostile, he has merely been detained for a time in his own room under police surveillance and afterwards allowed to go."

The Roumanian Government heard only later of Maiorescu's arrest. Their protest was to reach Budapest at a time when the revolution was already suppressed in Bucharest, and when the Hungarian Government was struggling on the eve of a supreme decision.<sup>31</sup>

This is the whole story of the Golescu case, and that patriot was to be rebuked by Maiorescu for the levity, credulity and ignorance he displayed in the treatment of the Roumanian problem.<sup>32</sup> "You have very strange ways and you ignore the position of Transylvania and Hungary," on 6 September he was told.

"You set store on empty words and particularly upon Murgul's words . . . but if you will not listen to me, then go ahead according to your lights. Do not forget for one moment that you hold in your hands the destiny of the two Principalities, and it is highly improper to play with it. The promises for the recruitment of 10,000 Roumanians are empty. . . . To tell you frankly the Roumanians would be stark mad if they attempted to join hands with the pan-Slavs. The party which supports Jelačić in Vienna is a reactionary party in the pay of the Russians."

Baritiu's opinion is no less categorical against improvised solutions.<sup>33</sup> "I have seen also a copy of the letter you sent to your friends from Budapest. What you propose is quite impossible. It would bring all Roumanian intellectuals to the scaffold within three days. You, gentleman, know our political situation much less than we know yours." These incidents were to put a definite end to all efforts at an understanding between the Roumanian and Hungarian Governments.

### III

The autumn of 1848 brought about a complete change of scene, not only in the Principalities but also in Transylvania and Hungary. The rupture between the Hungarian Government and the Habsburg dynasty was the signal for a rising among the Roumanian masses,

who occupied a much greater territory than Transylvania proper. Here serious resistance was organised under the leadership of a committee, presided over by Simeon Bărnuțiu. An armed insurrection, headed by fifteen military commanders, and a large number of leaders, "tribuni" was to collaborate with the supporters of the Habsburgs under General Puchner.

When this alliance was formed a democratic parliament was still in existence in Austria and the monarchy was still endorsing the rights accorded to all nationalities.

In the northern counties of Transylvania the revolt took hold of the peasant masses, as in 1784. It was directed against Hungarian feudalism and the bureaucracy, and for that reason took refuge under the Imperial flag. The Hungarian authorities restored order, applying drastic measures, with the help of the recently-formed National Guards. In the counties of Bihor and Arad especially, repression took the form of executions on a large scale, though the revolting peasants were guilty neither of crime nor of theft. In November the Habsburg leaders, together with the Roumanians, were masters of the situation, at least in Transylvania and the Banat.

In the autumn a considerable number of emigrants from Wallachia, headed by Eliade and General Tell, former members of the Lord-Lieutenancy, met in Sibiu. Puchner did not receive them too eagerly,<sup>34</sup> because of information he had during the summer with regard to political tendencies beginning to manifest themselves in the Roumanian countries. Nor did they show themselves in the least pleased with the new rôle of the Austrian general or with the political orientation of the government in Vienna. In face of the chaotic state of affairs in Transylvania, most of them openly expressed their anti-Austrian sentiments. Some even lent themselves to republican propaganda, if we are to give credence to Saxon insinuations.<sup>35</sup> Hearing how they spoke, members of the Roumanian Committee in Sibiu "were alarmed." Naturally, the contact between them and their Transylvanian leaders, was broken. Even Laurianu avoided meeting them. As a leading member of the Committee, he could not allow himself to be suspected. Paleologu and Teulescu rebuked their Transylvanian friends, saying pathetically "you have built an eternal barrier between the Wallachian and Transylvanian Roumanians."

We get this information from Maiorescu. It is confirmed by Bălcescu, who arrived in Sibiu about the beginning of November, with the idea of studying the Roumanian movement in Transylvania

and the Banat. "I do not want to go ahead," he says, "until I see with my own eyes what is to be expected from the Roumaniâns there." At Sibiu he met Laurianu, his former collaborator. He had discussions with other members of the Committee, informing himself about the progress of the revolt and about the cause of the break with the Hungarians and about the manner in which collaboration was reached with General Puchner. He commented on the young men who "had become famous"—Iancu, Solomon and others.

Recognising the satisfactoriness of the beginnings of Roumanian administration and living through exalted moments of hope for the striving generation, he stated.<sup>36</sup> "Transylvania will become altogether a Roumanian province." But Bălcescu saw the political evolution in Transylvania in another light. He observed at once that the Roumanian Committee had rushed on blindfold "under the orders of the Commanding General who directed it for his own ends." In this way, the Roumanian movement<sup>37</sup> "assisted the Imperial reactionaries." In order to avoid such trouble, Bălcescu thought that a new National assembly should be called,<sup>38</sup> to begin to organise Transylvania as a Roumanian country, "and to proclaim it as such." The Committee approved his suggestion but "the cursed general Command, in order to frustrate them, had forced them to convoke two assemblies, one of Roumanian Uniates and one of Orthodox. The great patriot adds that he advised the Roumanians of the Banat to send delegates to both meetings in order (along with all Roumanians in the Austrian Empire) to seek union in an "indivisible body," with the same organisation and the same administration. The idea of formulating such a scheme was therefore discussed between Bălcescu and members of the Committee, before the meeting of 28 December. He also raised other problems with his friends in Sibiu: the enmity of the Transylvanian Roumanians towards the Saxons, "whom they hate like the Hungarians," and of the Banat Roumanians towards the Serbs, because they tried to trample on them and to draw them into the vortex of Panslavism. "O, how much misery has been caused in these parts by the feeling of Nationalism," he sighed. Then he showed that the war between Hungarians and Roumanians was a barbaric war, unequalled even in the Middle Ages. The advantage which the Roumanians had was that they rose to a man, that many highly popular young men were at the head of the nation, and that they had learned to fight and not to be afraid of war. "When the masses have risen so forcibly, they must be quieted

without being dissatisfied. For that reason, the Emperor will be forced to grant them much."

The following statement,<sup>39</sup> full of optimism, seemed to him almost a reality. He regretted that the Hungarians had not behaved otherwise. If they had not provoked the Roumanians, but had been friendly towards them, "things would have been quite different and the Austrian Empire dismembered." He believed, finally, that the Fate of the Roumanians would improve considerably and that, separated from Hungary, Transylvania and the Banat would unite with the Principalities.

The letters in which Bălcescu unfolds the impressions gathered in Transylvania were written after his departure for Constantinople. In Belgrade, in January, he received news that the Roumanians in Transylvania and the Banat were to have a Roumanian Prince, i.e., a kind of autonomous government. We reproduce in their entirety his comments on this prospect, because they set out with the clarity of prophetic vision the path to be followed by the Roumanian people :

"If it be true, then it is a great step forward for our people in those lands. For my part, the question of nationality is more important than liberty. Until a people can exist as a nation, it cannot make use of liberty. Liberty can easily be recovered when it is lost—but not nationality.<sup>40</sup> Therefore I believe that in the present position of our country we must aim more at the preservation of our nationality—so greatly menaced—and seek as much liberty as is necessary for the development of our nationality."

The Transylvanian leaders saw the justification of their policy in the light of the principles thus categorically expressed.

Presuming that the Committee would succeed in securing recognition of nationality. Bălcescu raised this time only vague objections to collaboration with the Imperial régime. National consciousness guarantees the existence of a people, even if it has been robbed temporarily of its liberty. On this belief the Roumanians of Transylvania based their national policy—instinctively at first and then more consciously. Golescu Arăpîlă (The Black) expressed the same opinion from Paris : <sup>41</sup> "If we succeed in getting Austria to adopt the principle of protecting the Roumanians of Transylvania, no one will have been betrayed." He went even further than Bălcescu, proclaiming emphatically that "if the Roumanian nation in Austria is reborn, the Roumanians in the

Principalities can never perish, even though Tsarist troops should remain in the country. Therefore I hold that the question of the Roumanian people in Austria is a question of life and death with us."

The generation of '48 regarded it as its duty to examine all the possibilities which opened ways towards the improvement of the political situation. Bălcescu, especially, strove like a hero to find a way out towards the light. Contact with the Transylvanian leaders strengthened his belief, although the exile which weighed on him did not contribute thereto.

But Sibiu was to shelter for several weeks another great patriot in exile. Alecu Golescu Albul (The White), passing through Transylvania to visit his mother, took advantage of the occasion to discuss the current political problems with the leaders. Unfortunately we do not know with whom he talked in Sibiu. Two years later, exiled in Brussa, he was to remember the doubts he had had regarding the line of conduct to be taken by the Transylvanian Roumanians. Too discreet to try to exercise his influence, he felt nevertheless the enormous responsibility his generation had undertaken.

He had complete understanding of the Roumanian cause in Austria, but he regretted that the revolutionary government of Wallachia did not give effective help to the Transylvanians. Thousands of armed men would have been needed to serve "the interests of the Roumanian nation" in Transylvania or in the Banat, and to prevent them from being uselessly scattered.<sup>42</sup> "Having studied their question, I have learned to know their complicated situation, their politics, towards both Austria and Hungary. I have learned why some Transylvanians cried: 'Long live the Emperor of Austria!' while the educated inhabitants of the Banat paid court to the Hungarians and slighted the Emperor." Golescu (The White) disapproved of Eliade and the emigrants who made the mistake of waiting with folded hands, singing the glory of the Hungarians and the shame of the Roumanians in Transylvania, thus estranging these people who had met them, a few days before, offering them heart, love and all the wisdom of their minds.

Before setting out for the Bukovina, Golescu paid a visit to the Apusenı Mountains. Here he met Iancu, Axente, Buteanu, Petru Dobra, Nicolae Vladuțiu, Vasile Moldovanu and many other leaders and intellectuals. All the flower of the fighting youth met in Zlatna to discuss the politics of the nation with the Wallachian nobleman. They examined the Roumanian problem together, and then discussed

the whole situation. At that moment, after the defeat of the revolution, the Wallachian emigrants were passing through a fearful crisis. Scattered—some in the West, others in the East—they had not yet succeeded in co-ordinating their political actions. They had not even found the funds necessary for the costly upkeep of their exile. A series of memoranda needed to be printed in Paris in order to inform the governments of the great powers and European public opinion about the true state of affairs in the two principalities.

We know about the ideas expounded by Golescu Albul at the meeting in the mountains from a letter addressed to Iancu on 30 January. The Wallachian emigrants had decided to support the policy of Turkey, whose interests were identical with their own. In 1840, he says, France had been preparing the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire and the founding of independent states for the small nations of which it was comprised. Those states would have been destined to constitute a buffer between the civilised world and Tsarism. Now, at the beginning of 1849, the Tsar fostered the same idea, advancing towards the realisation of Peter the Great's plans. This would have meant the annexation of the Principalities and the collapse of the Roumanian nation, together with the realisation of Panslavism. But the Great Powers, France and England, were allied with Turkey. They supported her, in order to persuade the Tsarist cabinet to evacuate the Principalities. The Porte now desired the emigrants to pursue the same policy. The Turks could secure collaboration with the Roumanians if they would agree to accord them a new constitution as well as approve their union. Therefore he (Golescu Albul) also decided to set out for Constantinople.

From Turkey, the émigrés could help the Transylvanian Roumanians with arms and munitions. "In this frightful upheaval," continued Golescu, "their duty is to save the Roumanian cause, and to assure the future of the Roumanians in the Principalities. Iancu's mission must be to organise the millions of Roumanians under the Austrian sceptre." Golescu saw in Magheru and Iancu the future protagonists of the Roumanian idea.

The moment for action was very favourable, but the Roumanians of Transylvania, even according to the opinion of the émigrés in Paris, "did not go far enough to meet Austria." They were placed under the guardianship of the Saxons, who were made their spokesmen. He does not say that one must beware of the Saxons. On the contrary, he is of the opinion that one should show them trust and sincere friendship in order to recommend the

Roumanian nation to everyone and to behave in such a way that the other nationalities will not be filled with fear and hatred. It is not good for the Roumanians to follow the example of the Hungarians but to try in every way to establish peaceful relations, even with the Saxons. In this way, the Roumanian cause would present itself to the world in pleasing colours and not darkly—like that of the Hungarians. On the other hand that did not mean the acceptance of tutelage. What a good thing it would have been if the Roumanians from Transylvania, the Banat, Oradea, and the Bukovina had each sent a delegate, with full powers to Frankfurt and Vienna, as the Saxons had done !

“ Brother Iancu,” says Goleescu, continuing his political lesson with astonishing clarity of vision, “ the Roumanians of Transylvania are sacrificing their lives for nationality and yet they do not try to send men to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Frankfurt, to gather the fruits which must result from the work done by the blood of thousands of Roumanians and at a cost of hundreds of devastated villages. A man sows in vain if he does not also think of the harvest. Providence has given favourable circumstances to the Roumanian cause. Let us see that the Roumanian, dying for the Emperor, dies also for his nation ! ”

Did Goleescu use this kind of language in the presence of the Committee ? It is probable that he did, since he seems to have had full information about the progress of the political action of the Transylvanian Roumanians, about the momentary set-backs, their concern for the future, and the means to be used to escape from their difficulties. He knew the men best suited to take up the rôle of diplomatic emissaries. But, what is more important, he also foresaw political failure if the Transylvanian leaders did not take measures to prevent it in time. His word was soon to be heeded. When he addressed the youth in the mountains, two members of committee, Lauriănu and Popazu, were on their way to Vienna.

The journey of Georghe Magheru through Transylvania deserves to be mentioned also for the sentiments of sincere friendship and patriotism which he showed to the people. As commandant of the brigade organised at his own instigation, he entered the country only after the military formation had been broken up, and he dispersed it about the end of September, 1848. He tried to cross with an armed brigade, in order to help the Roumanians at least with arms ; but the Austrian authorities refused him permission. The Saxons

were the first to be alarmed when they learned of Magheru's intentions. They persuaded the supreme Commander to refuse them permission to enter, accusing them of being republicans and of desiring to enter the army of Kossuth.<sup>43</sup> Therefore Magheru was closely watched all the time he was in Sibiu and Braşov, and in the end he was ordered to leave the country.

We possess a letter of his, of extreme importance for the politics of the Transylvanian Roumanians, with whose leaders he had always maintained close contacts, both during his time in Transylvania and later in Vienna where he stayed on his way from Trieste. The letter reproduces the opinions he held from the beginning of May, 1849, but contains also many of his personal experiences. Golescu (The Black) made the observation that the Roumanian Committee of Transylvania had not shown enough zeal in following one and the same political line : Magheru makes the following reply :

“ Taking into consideration all the obstacles, all the hatred and hidden envy, all the falsehoods and the intrigues of the Saxons, can anyone doubt the inability of the committee to accomplish anything ? From the very beginning and until our emigrants had reached Transylvania, the Saxons set out to slander the Roumanians and to lower them in the estimation of the Imperial government. Naturally, the Hungarians, who were scattered in Austria, were accomplices in this. The Saxons took this line because they feared that when Transylvania was cleared of Hungarians, they might fall under the yoke of the Roumanians, who were much more numerous. The Hungarians, faithful to the dynasty, collaborated with the Saxons in the conviction that the Roumanians were their enemies, especially on the field of battle. The Saxons and Hungarians thus united (though for different reasons), succeeded in placing the Roumanians under permanent suspicion from the side of the Austrian authorities. Thus the arms at the disposal of the Austrian government were invariably distributed among the Saxons. In any fight where the Roumanians put up a gallant show, the semi-official newspapers, as well as the bulletins of the government, attributed these feats of arms to the Saxons, and to the rôle which they played on the field of battle. When the Saxons turned tail at the first sight of the enemy, this was attributed shamelessly to the influence of the Roumanians, many of whom had met



their death on the battle-field. . . . In spite of all this <sup>44</sup> they remained faithful to the last to the foreign standard which they defended."

## IV

The political programme of the Transylvanian Roumanians at this stage sought therefore to ensure recognition within the Habsburg Monarchy. In Frankfurt, Ioan Maiorescu—a Transylvanian by birth—proposed in September a union with the Roumanian Principalities of Austria.\* The leaders in Transylvania also sought the reunion of all Roumanian provinces in the Austrian Empire so as to constitute an autonomous "Roumanian duchy" subject of course to the Habsburg crown. A memorandum on these lines was presented to the young Emperor on 25 February, 1849, by the delegates from Transylvania, the Banat and Bukovina. The Court in Vienna hesitated to give a decisive reply, so as not to be forced, after the collapse of the Hungarian revolution, to be under any obligation to the Roumanians. The motive for the Emperor's attitude must be sought in the first place in his fear of the founding of a "Daco-Roumania," the spectre of which the Saxons in Transylvania had been careful to paint in a document addressed to him on 2 October.<sup>45</sup> But in December political circles in Vienna were fully preoccupied with the organisation of autonomous national provinces. The realisation of this project was frustrated by the opposition of Prince Windischgrätz.

Towards the end of the Hungarian Revolution, a Roumanian patriot, Nicolae Bălcescu, former member of the Wallachian government, tried to carry out a plan to reconcile Roumanians in the Hungarian Kingdom with the ideas of the emigrants and the intentions of Kossuth to provoke a diversion destined to strike a blow at Tsarist policy. In the autumn of 1848, the delegate of the Hungarian Government in Paris, Count Ladislas Teleki, had met with so much distrust on the part of the authorities that in March, 1849, he was obliged to ask for a radical reform in the policy of Kossuth towards the nationalities.<sup>46</sup> In the declarations of 7 March, addressed to Prince Adam Czartoryski, Teleki also put forward the Roumanian problem in Transylvania as seen by the Kossuth government. Some days later another agent of the president, Frideric Szarvady, sketched an outline of common Slav-Hungarian-Italian-Roumanian action, which would be directed against Austria. Roumanian emigrants in Paris also associated themselves with this plan. Nicolae Golescu too, formerly Lord Lieutenant, believed

that some action was necessary to separate the Transylvanian Roumanians from Austria.<sup>47</sup>

These schemes made it necessary for Nicolae Bălcescu to leave the Bosphorus and to set out again for Transylvania, about the middle of April, 1849.<sup>48</sup> On 26 May, he arrived at Debrecen. The very next day he was received by Kossuth in a long audience and expounded the proposals he had brought. The Hungarian Governor listened with great satisfaction to the ideas put forward by his agents from abroad, regarding a Slav-Hungarian-Roumanian Confederation. He declared himself in favour of the plan to include a Roumanian Legion to carry out a raid on the territory of the Principalities. But the problem of the Roumanians in Transylvania gave rise to a lively discussion between these two politicians. Kossuth said: "The Roumanians have suffered much at the hands of Hungarian noblemen and Germans, but they have nevertheless kept silent. Now that they have gained their liberty, they are allying themselves with the Germans and the Tsar, the enemies of the Principalities. If they had risen in order to recover their national independence or Union with the Roumanian countries, then their action would have been justified. But that did not seem to be their aim."

Later on Kossuth was to show Bălcescu the proof he had of the real intentions of the Roumanian politicians, namely, a letter of 5 August addressed by Golescu (the Black) to Laurianu and confiscated by the police of Baron Way. Here is the reply of Bălcescu to Kossuth word for word: "I had no difficulty in proving to him and, I believe, in convincing him of the injustice of the accusation made against us; that, instead of separating Transylvania from Hungary, we wanted even more to unite it and do more for it; so that finally, the idea of a Dacian Kingdom is invented by the Tsarists in order to cause disruption and animosity between us and the Hungarians."

The letter of 5 August does indeed speak of "the creation of a Roumanian Union," but with the condition attached that it should be within the framework "of the confederation of Austrian nations." The author builds on the authentic, democratic elements of the Germans in Austria, detesting the reaction led by the Minister Latour; and so he desires that this confederation should be able to keep the balance between Hungarian and Croat influence in order to paralyse their eventual preponderance. The proposal of Bălcescu had, at bottom, the same objective; it was directed, nevertheless, at the Austria of that day. It was identical with the decision taken at

the Conference held in Paris on 18 May, 1849, by the representatives of the nations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, under the presidency of Czartoryski. This Conference envisaged the founding of a confederation of Danubian States, with Hungary at the head, but conceding autonomy to every nationality, each with a well-defined territory and its old traditions.

The talks between Kossuth and Bălcescu made scarcely any headway in the week that followed. Kossuth's mistrust of the political plans of the Roumanian leaders continued, nor was the Hungarian Government in agreement with the proposals regarding the freedom of the nationalities in Hungary. Bălcescu could not persuade Kossuth to grant the Roumanians a larger measure of freedom—even in the provinces where they were in the majority; while the Foreign Minister failed to see that the aim of the Hungarians was to assimilate all nationalities and create a uniform Hungary. When on 14 July he authorised Bălcescu to proceed with the formation of Roumanian legions, events on the battle-field had made the situation desperate. The Hungarian government had taken refuge in Szegedin, and was prepared to grant the Roumanians a very modest number of rights. Bălcescu left for Cluj, and from there went on to meet Avram Iancu in the Apuseni Mountains, to persuade that heroic leader of Roumanian resistance to be reconciled with the Hungarians and to collaborate in the common fight against the Austro-Russian armies. If this action had not been so belated, there would perhaps have been an understanding between these two peoples, which might have altered the course of their political future.<sup>49</sup>

On 23 April, 1849, Bălcescu had an interview in Cluj with John Paget, who, having married into an aristocratic family there, was holidaying in Transylvania. From their conversation, we gather that Bălcescu was optimistic about the chances of coming to an understanding, although he insisted that the Hungarians must accord the rights demanded by the Roumanians in the counties. The astute Englishman, having listened to Bălcescu's proposals, noted his opinion in these words: <sup>50</sup> "In any case, Transylvania is lost for us and for Hungary." By "us" he meant the Hungarian ruling class, who would lose the rôle they had hitherto played the moment elementary political rights were granted to the Roumanians. But Bălcescu's plan could make no further progress for the time being: in view of the successes of the Austro-Russian armies, it was too late. Avram Iancu confessed as much, not without some regret. On 3 August he pointed out the benevolent neutrality of

the Roumanians, a fact which made him suspect in the eyes of the Austrians. Soon, however, the Hungarian revolution collapsed, and along with the victory of reaction the most despotic absolutism was installed in the Roumanian provinces of the Monarchy. Dreams of liberty were at an end; the political movement was crushed. It is interesting, however, that the Court in Vienna continued its suspicion of the Roumanian leaders,<sup>51</sup> considering them to be obsessed with the idea of a "Daco-Roumania." Their political failure, after such close collaboration with the Hungarians during the whole course of the fight, cannot be explained otherwise.

These considerations, collected from the entire documentary material at my disposal, show to what extent such suspicions were justified. As far as the Roumanians in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were concerned, these suspicions had no foundation, because they were still far from the idea of organising "irredenta." A statement made by an intimate associate of the governor Kossuth,<sup>52</sup> sums up the true situation, with much good sense and fairness: "The Roumanian people," says Mészáros K, "were still at the stage when the idea of autonomy had not crystallised in their minds, except as a vague desire—a sweet illusion. This idea had not even spread among the lower classes, it was not even fully formed. At that time, the Roumanian race belonged to nobody and depended on the whims of the governor, as to whether it would be allied with the Hungarian nation or with the politics of Austria." Is it possible that Kossuth did not realise this? It is certain that he did, for otherwise he would never have concluded so easily a year later, at Vidin, his pact for a Hungaro-Roumanian confederation. The Roumanian patriots in Wallachia and Moldavia were on the other hand much more advanced. The efforts of Ioan Câmpineanu were bearing fruit. For that reason, leaders like A. G. Golescu, Nicolae Bălcescu, I. Ghica or Dimitrie Golescu of Wallachia and Alecu Russo of Moldavia, saw in the revolution of '48 an opportunity to sketch a plan for national unity and to discuss the possibilities of realising it. Although Bălcescu had held other opinions before, he came to the conclusion during his exile in Constantinople that the Roumanians could not represent a real power until they were united in one and the same political body. And so, continuing his talks with Hungarian emigrants in Paris, he claimed in 1851 all the Roumanian territory in Hungary, in order to integrate it with the United Principalities and form a federation with the rest of Hungary.

- <sup>1</sup> P. P. Panaitescu, *Contribuții la o biografie a lui N. Bălcescu*, București, 1924, p. 58.
- <sup>2</sup> Alex. Lapedatu, *Ioan Cămpineanu* (1798-1863), Bucharest, pp. 16 sqq., P. P. Panaitescu, *Planurile lui Ioan Cămpineanu pentru unitatea națională a Românilor. Legăturile lui cu emigrația polonă*, Cluj, 1924, N. Iorga, "Solidaritatea românească la începutul sec. XIX" in *Cugetul Românesc*, I, pp. 97-113.
- <sup>3</sup> *Omagiul lui I. Brănuș*, București, 1927, pp. 164-65.
- <sup>4</sup> Daniel Roth, *Von der Union und nebenher ein Wort über eine mögliche dachromäische Monarchie unter Österreichs Krone*, Sibiu, 1948. Gh. Baritau, *Părți alese*, II, pp. 577-79, and *Gazeta de Transilvania*, 1848, I, p. 277.
- <sup>5</sup> *Omagiul lui I. Brănuș*, p. 165.
- <sup>6</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, II, p. 649.
- <sup>7</sup> G. Fotino, *Din vremea renașterii naționale a Țării Românești*, Boierii Golești, București, 1939, vol. II, pp. 177-80.
- <sup>8</sup> This is how it is described by Hypolit Desprez in his pamphlet entitled: *La Révolution dans L'Europe Orientale*, Paris, Au bureau de la Revue des Deux Mondes, 1848, IV, p. 635.
- <sup>9</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, II, p. 193.
- <sup>10</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Augsburg, 23 July, 1848. *Le Siècle*, 16 July, 1848. *Le Constitutionnel*, 27 July, 1848. *Allgemeine Österreichische Zeitung*, 10 August, 1848, and *Le National*, 14 August, 1848. All are quoted in *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, II, 289-90, 421, 524, 553, III, p. 183.
- <sup>11</sup> Deák Imre, 1848, *A szabadságharc története levelekben a hogyarr a kortarsak látták*, Budapest, 1943.
- <sup>12</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, II, p. 612.
- <sup>13</sup> Aurel A. Mureșanu, *Planul "Regatului Daciei" Refugiații politici din Principate și Românii Brașoveni la 1848* (Volumul jubiliar al Casinei Române din Brașov 1835-1935), p. 4.
- <sup>14</sup> Jakab, *Szabadságharcunk történetéhez*, Budapest, 1881, p. 90.
- <sup>15</sup> *Die Presse*, Vienna, 1849, nr. 9 and 11 January.
- <sup>16</sup> S. Dragomir, *Un Precursor al unității naționale Prof. ardelean Const. Romanul* (Academia Română, *Discursul de recepție*, t. XII), București, 1929, pp. 17 sqq. On the conduct in Sibiu of Const. Romanul see *Siebenbürger Bote*, 1849, nr. 40 of April 13, and S. Dragomir, *Studii și Doc.* III, pp. 13-15.
- <sup>17</sup> Deák Imre, 1848, *A szabadságharc tört.*, pp. 77-78.
- <sup>18</sup> G. Sion, *Proză* (Suvénire contemporane), Ed. Petre V. Haneș, Bucharest, 1915, p. 248.
- <sup>19</sup> I. Breazu, "Alecru Russo în Ardealul revoluționar la 1848," *Transilvania*, Sibiu, 1941, pp. 126 sqq.
- <sup>20</sup> The attendance of all of them is certified by G. Sion, N. Iorga, *Istoria Literaturii Românești în veacul al XIX*, II, p. 260, asserts that Alex. Cuza also attended the meeting.
- <sup>21</sup> *Foaie pentru minte*, etc. The issue of May 24.
- <sup>22</sup> *Foaie pentru minte*, etc. The issue of June 21. Cf. N. Iorga, *Istoria Literaturii Românești în veacul al XIX*, II, pp. 259 sqq. (The chapter "Foaia și prevestirea revoluției dela 1848").
- <sup>23</sup> See art. I. Breazu, quoted above.
- <sup>24</sup> S. Dragomir, *Studii și Documente*, III, pp. 13-15.
- <sup>25</sup> General Puchner to the War Office, Mészáros L., 2 August, 1848, in S. Dragomir's *Studii și Documente*, III, pp. 19-20.
- <sup>26</sup> He might well have been an innocent visitor at the spa in Borsec.
- <sup>27</sup> N. Bănescu and V. Mihailescu, *Ioan Maiorescu (1811-1911)*, Bucharest, 1912, pp. 166 sqq.
- <sup>28</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, II, pp. 370-75, 614 sqq.
- <sup>29</sup> *Omagiul lui I. Brănuș*, pp. 166-69.
- <sup>30</sup> Deák Imre, 1848, *A szabadságharc tört.*, p. 190.
- <sup>31</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, IV, pp. 8-10. A report is also to be found in *Gazeta de Transilvania*, nr. 73 of Sept. 6, 1848.
- <sup>32</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, IV, pp. 229-30.
- <sup>33</sup> Bănescu and Mihailescu, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
- <sup>34</sup> George Fotino, *Din Vremea renașterii naționale a Țării Românești*, Boierii Golești, Buc., 1939, I, p. 74, II, p. 202, cf. S. Dragomir, *Nicolae Bălcescu în Ardeal*, Cluj, 1928, pp. 10-12.

- <sup>35</sup> I Lupaş, *Avram Iancu*, p 42. *Raportul primarului din Sibiu*, 29 Oct., 1848
- <sup>36</sup> I Ghica, *Amintiri din Pribegie*, Buc , 1889, p. 245.
- <sup>37</sup> I Ghica, *op. cit* , p 239
- <sup>38</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, IV, p. 75.
- <sup>39</sup> I Ghica, *op. cit* , p 240
- <sup>40</sup> I Ghica, *op cit* , p 246
- <sup>41</sup> *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române*, V, p 660, 1
- <sup>42</sup> Fotino, *op cit* , pp. 75-76, 169-74, and III, pp. 93-94.
- <sup>43</sup> I Lupaş, *Avram Iancu*, pp 41-42
- <sup>44</sup> *Op cit* , II, pp 291-92
- <sup>45</sup> Published in *Die Presse* of 9 and 11 January, 1849
- <sup>46</sup> Deák Imre, 1848, *A szabadságharc tört* , pp 324-26
- <sup>47</sup> Deák Imre, 1848, *op. cit* , pp 328-30.
- <sup>48</sup> v I Ghica, *Amintiri din Pribegie*, Buc , 1889, pp 270 sqq
- <sup>49</sup> S Dragomir, *N Bălcescu în Ardeal*, Cluj, 1938, pp 26-32
- <sup>50</sup> *The Slavonic Year Book (XIX)*, 1939-1940, p 254
- <sup>51</sup> *Anuarul Muzeului Bucovinei* (1943-1944), p 129, cf. *Bucovina*, 1849, No 8,
- 13 April
- <sup>52</sup> Mészáros K , *A magyar szabadságharc előjátéka*, Ungvar, 1862.

## STATES AND BOUNDARIES IN THE DANUBIAN LANDS

FEW regions in the world present more complexities to the student than the Danubian Lands. At the very outset of any analysis, there exists the difficulty of definition and nomenclature. The drainage area of the great river, that is, the physical Danube Basin, 817,000 square kilometres in extent, is not coincident with any grouping of political divisions and it may be argued that Hungary and Roumania are the only true Danubian States in so far as their drainage is entirely associated with this river. The surface waters of Czechoslovakia are divided between North European rivers (Elbe and Oder) and the Danube; those of Bulgaria are almost equally shared by Black Sea and Aegean river systems while those of Yugoslavia find outlets to three seas, the Adriatic, Black Sea and Aegean. The drainage pattern of Austria is entirely Danubian but there is a distinction to be drawn between those eastward-flowing tributaries which join the main river in its middle section (Leitha, Morava and Drava) and those which flow northwards to join the Upper Danube and only the upper parts of which lie completely in Austria (Isar, Inn, Salzach). Yet, in a very real sense, all of these countries are riparian States of the Danube and, although their interests in the river vary in degree of importance, they may justly be described as Danubian States. On the other hand, Southern Germany (Wurttemberg and Bavaria) although largely drained by the Upper Danube (above Passau), is a part of the Reich and looks northward rather than eastward.

The area thus defined by the political boundaries of these six States possesses a certain degree of geological unity in so far as its major land forms are primarily the result of a long series of earth movements, both vertical and tangential, the last of which, the Alpine Orogeny, determined its major lineaments. Within the general structural arrangement, however, there is a great variety of types of terrain ranging from the almost monotonous plains of Hungary to the Alpine lands of Austria and the Carpathian lands of Roumania. Diversity is the keynote of the physical geography of the Danubian Lands almost as much in climatic conditions as in surface features since temperatures, precipitation, length of growing season and of snow cover vary widely, mainly in relation to altitude. Here are none of the ameliorating factors associated, as in Western

Europe, with proximity to a great ocean. In the result, many types of human habitat have been and are available together with a considerable range of material resources, mineral, vegetable and animal. In short, the physical environments of the Danubian Lands suggest the possibility of conjoint economic development, the component parts of the area being in a position to make their individual contributions to the well-being of the whole. That the potentialities of this geographical background have not been exploited in this manner is all too evident, especially when it is recalled that the greater part of the region possessed a form of political unity under the Habsburg regime, from the expulsion of the Turks until 1918. Once that political overlordship was removed, the lands which had been under its sway fell a prey to the disintegrating forces associated with nationalism and the seal was set on their fragmentation by the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Rapallo. The new political order lasted for barely two decades and, given a recrudescence of the antagonistic particularisms of the inter-war years, the prospects of survival of the six States, as independent units, for another twenty years are not very good.

Every modern independent State, and it is worth noting that this is the form of political structure which mankind appears to regard as the most desirable, has a triune character, the pillars of the State are threefold. Territory is essential although its area and character vary within wide limits. This territorial extent must be inhabited, so that the second pillar is the people. Thirdly, the relationships between the people and their land and between themselves are organised under some form of governmental system which finds its expression in law. The criterion of the success or failure of a State as a "going concern" is the degree of adjustment achieved by its people to the environment in which they live. But every State, politically independent in theory as it may be, has neighbours, either in close contiguity or at varying distances so that the processes of adjustment are twofold. Internally the State's primary function is to facilitate the relationships between its territory and its people in such ways that the maximum benefits may be gained by the latter. In its external relations, the objective of the State is to come to terms with those other political entities which have common interests with it, while maintaining its own sovereignty and territorial integrity. Those States, in which adjustment, internally and externally, has been developed to a high level may be described as mature; they owe much usually to the possession of rich material resources and favourable geographical location. The fundamental problem



of the Danubian States is that they have been unable to achieve a stage of advanced adjustment, neither within the territorial framework of each nor between themselves. Since their boundaries were defined by the treaties which followed the first world war, it has become apparent that the small State is unable to withstand aggression from more powerful neighbours ; it must either combine with other Powers to resist attack or it must seek the protection of one of the major Powers. During the inter-war years, the Danubian States failed to achieve a common unity of purpose and their individual military weakness was enhanced all too frequently by internal dissension. The results were seen in the catastrophic events of the period from 1938 onwards.

It would be an error of the first magnitude to ascribe this political immaturity of the Danubian States to any one cause or indeed to any one particular group of causes. Undoubtedly, historical factors have played an important separatist role—no State can successfully regard its past history as a *tabula rasa*—and in 1948 particularly, it would be unwise not to take cognizance of the political and social movements which reached a milestone in 1848. Nevertheless, historical, political and economic events always have a *locus* and the physical conditions of that *locus* exert an influence on the events which take place in it. These conditions of place are too commonly overlooked in assessing the reasons for political stability or instability. They have contributed their share to the complicated history of the Danubian States. Man has no more “conquered nature” here than he has done elsewhere ; he has only been less successful in adjusting his activities to the conditions of Danubian terrain and largely because he has not enjoyed the favourable conditions of time which have been advantageous elsewhere.

Table 1 shows some of the fundamental geographical elements in the pre-war Danubian States.

West of the U.S.S.R., the 1939 population of Europe was 403 millions, of whom 73,367,000 (18·2 %) lived on the pre-war territory of the six Danubian States, which equalled 18·9 % of the area of the Continent (excluding the U.S.S.R.). The average density of the Danubian population was 80·1 per square kilometre, which was not far removed from the mean density of all Europe (excluding the U.S.S.R.), which was 75·8 but showed striking differences from the densities of certain West European countries such as England and Wales (275·7), Germany (147·9), Belgium (275·3) and Holland (267·7). Furthermore, the demographic structure of the Danubian population, as revealed in the proportions of urban and rural people, was

TABLE I SOME ESSENTIAL STATISTICS CONCERNING THE DANUBIAN STATES

State	Area <sup>1</sup>	Population			
		Last Census <sup>2</sup>	1939 Estimate <sup>3</sup>	Density <sup>4</sup>	% of Population of Europe <sup>5</sup>
Austria . . .	83.9	6,760 (1934)	6,672	79.5	1.6
Bulgaria . . .	103.0	6,078 (1934)	6,305	61.2	1.6
Czechoslovakia . . .	140.5	14,730 (1930)	15,513	110.4	3.8
Hungary . . .	93.1	9,319 (1941)	9,129	98.0	2.3
Yugoslavia . . .	247.5	13,934 (1931)	15,703	63.4	3.9
Roumania . . .	295.0	18,057 (1930)	20,045	67.9	5.0
Totals	963.0	68,878	73,367		18.2

<sup>1</sup> In thousands of square kilometres to nearest thousand as at 1 January, 1938

<sup>2</sup> To nearest thousand Date of last census in brackets

<sup>3</sup> To nearest thousand and for areas as at 1 January, 1938

<sup>4</sup> Per square kilometre in 1939 for areas as at 1 January, 1938.

<sup>5</sup> For 1939 populations for areas as at 1 January, 1938, but excluding the population of the U.S.S.R. in the total European population

SOURCES: Official Year Books of countries concerned, and D. Kirk, *Europe's Population in the Interwar Years*, League of Nations, Washington, 1946, for the 1939 estimates, densities and percentages of European population

markedly different from that of Western Europe, as the following table shows.

TABLE 2. PROPORTIONS OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS

	Rural	Urban (in percentages)
<i>Danubian States</i>		
Austria . . . . .	39.3	60.7
Bulgaria . . . . .	78.6	21.4
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	52.2	47.8
Hungary . . . . .	57.5	42.5
Yugoslavia . . . . .	77.7	22.3
Roumania . . . . .	79.8	20.2
<i>Selected W. European States:</i>		
England and Wales . . . . .	24.5	75.5
Germany . . . . .	30.1	69.9
Belgium . . . . .	19.5	80.5
Holland . . . . .	20.4	79.5

SOURCE: D. Kirk, *op cit.*

Even allowing for the statistically defective definitions of "rural" and "urban" employed by various States, it is clear that the

population of Danubian Europe was predominantly rural, whereas in Western Europe the reverse is the case. Austria alone of the Danubian States had decidedly more urban than rural people, but this was explained by the unbalanced concentration of people in one large city, Vienna, and did not reflect the true grouping of the Austrians as a whole. This difference in the demographic structures of Western Europe and the Danubian Lands, a difference largely of town-dwellers as against "countrymen," goes far to explain the differences in outlook between the inhabitants of the two regions and, furthermore, throws light on the failure of many West Europeans to understand Danubian problems.

European urbanisation may be regarded, among other things, as the visible expression of the degree of industrialisation in its component parts. With the single exception of Bohemia, Danubian Europe is industrially backward and the tendency in the recent past has been to regard its peoples as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in contrast with the factory- and office-workers of Western Europe. Nowhere was this view more clearly expressed than in the pre-war German attitude to the Danubian States, whose people were regarded not merely as culturally inferior but as destined to play an inferior role in the European economy. The French geographer, Professor de Martonne,<sup>1</sup> has postulated the theory of an economic gradient eastwards in Europe, and the standard of living certainly decreases in an easterly direction. This frequently unrecognised gradation in the economic conditions of one of the most densely inhabited regions of the earth's surface is closely related to the transition from a group of highly industrialised societies to one which is predominantly agricultural. The difference is understood and appreciated in the Danubian States as the emphasis laid on the necessity of increased industrialisation in the recently published plans shows. But such a stepping up of industrial production pre-supposes the control of adequate raw materials or the ability to acquire them, together with the manpower and mechanical energy to run the factories. Czechoslovakia alone of the six Danubian States possesses sufficient of these material bases for a highly developed industrial economy, but even it is not abundantly endowed although it has exploited its resources with great skill and initiative. Undoubtedly the remaining States can increase production with the resources at present available, but the geological structure of Danubia is such that the industrially useful mineral deposits tend to be

<sup>1</sup> Emm. de Martonne, *Europe Centrale*, Tome IV, Géographie Universelle, Paris., 1931.

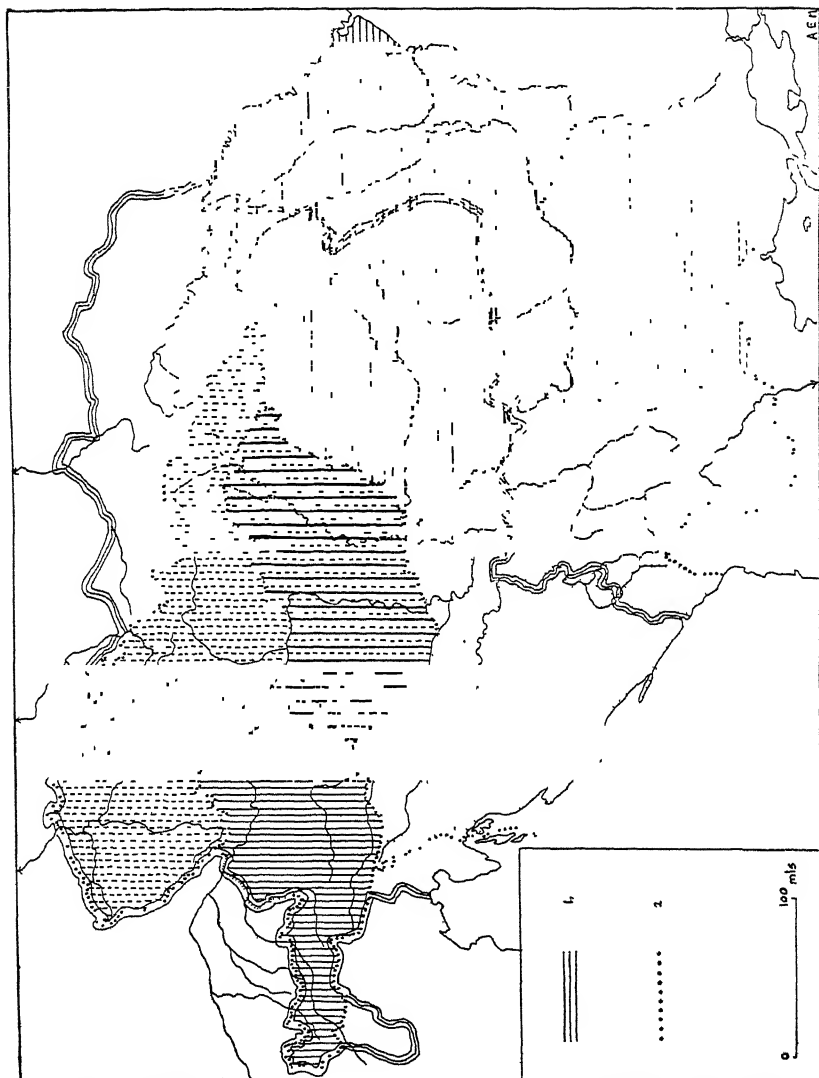
widely spread in relatively small deposits and often of inferior quality, so that individual State industrialisation must be expensive and will require, at least in its early stages, considerable protection from more richly endowed and more highly organised competitors. The essential prerequisite to the economic development of the Danubian States is a lengthy period of political stability in which to experiment with both agricultural and industrial development.

Attention has often been drawn to the existence of a kind of political unity in the former Austro-Hungarian domains but the separatist forces of incipient nationalism, delayed in their full expression until the inter-war years, were opposed to full political stability in spite of the deliberate centralising of communications facilities on Vienna and Budapest. In any case, the territories controlled by the Habsburgs were not coincident with those of the modern Danubian States as Figure 1 shows. Hence the latter inherited not only the political, economic and ethnic problems of Austria-Hungary but also those of adjacent areas which had developed outside the sphere of full Habsburg influence. After the first world war, Austria and Hungary were residual States, greatly reduced in area and associated resources, Czechoslovakia was a newly created "successor" State; Yugoslavia and Roumania represented, in a territorial sense, previously independent political entities which had succeeded to large areas which had been subject to Austria or to Hungary, while Bulgaria retained the independence which it had acquired outside the Habsburg orbit while losing its frontage on the Aegean Sea. Thus the peace treaties of 1919-1920 resulted in a series of major territorial and boundary changes in the Danubian Lands which, for a century or more, had been the locus of political, social and economic ferment.

The new States were established, therefore, in conditions which could not be described as auspicious for their future welfare.<sup>7</sup> Their mutual relationships were disturbed by their individual reactions to the new territorial arrangements. Austrian and Hungarian resentment at their losses of land, people, resources and prestige, Yugoslav and Roumanian fears of the results of Austrian and Hungarian irredentism and particularly the Yugoslav dread of a Habsburg restoration, effectively inhibited constructive co-operation in inter-State affairs. One of the most direct results of this particularism was seen in the development and maintenance of armed forces which, ineffective as they were against later German aggression, proved a serious drain on the revenues of each of the countries. In retrospect, it is clear that, however much the Danubian States

FIG. 1.—The Territories of the Pre-War Danubian States in Relation to those of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

1. Boundary of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to 1918
2. Boundaries of Danubian States as at 1 1938 (Boundaries thinned where coincident with rivers)



were designed to comply with the idealistic conception of "self-determination," the prospects of their survival as independent political entities in the testing times of the second quarter of the 20th century were certainly not good. The Little Entente and the Balkan Entente, in their initiation and in their short periods of existence, were at once symptoms and results of Danubian disunity and it is highly significant that, with the sole exception of Czechoslovakia, each of the Danubian States resorted to the political expedient of a more or less rigid dictatorship.

The events of the twenty years between 1920 and 1940 provide adequate evidence that the Danubian peoples failed in their efforts to organise successfully both their internal and external relations. This failure is sometimes attributed to lack of administrative skill and insufficient experience of the art of government. Such charges are open to question; less debatable explanations may be found in those environmental conditions which have exerted a powerful directive influence on their relations with neighbouring States and on their domestic affairs.

It is almost a truism that the Danubian Lands constitute one of the world's great crossways. They are part of the eastern marchlands of Europe and, throughout historic time, they have been invaded or traversed from East and West as well as from North and South, a process which has not yet ended. The sequence and character of events in their history are inexplicable without reference to this major geographical factor. The pre-war Danubian chanceries were necessarily extremely sensitive to the trend of developments to East and West. But more important perhaps than this was the mosaic of ethnic distribution which the six States inherited from the past. Every invasion of the region has left the descendants of its armies or homeseekers. Some have a vestigial character, of interest only to ethnographers, but the members of the numerically larger groups, linked by ties of common ancestry and of common language as well as by the intangible sentiment of belonging together because of shared experiences, are nowhere found in compact, homogeneous, clearly defined masses. In the days before passports and customs formalities had become a necessary concomitant of political boundaries and when nationalism had not developed into an obsession, movement within the area and from outside was not officially restricted; in certain cases it was actually encouraged and facilitated by the governing authorities. This freedom of movement, together with inter-marriage and cross-breeding, have invalidated the application of the term "race" in any scientific sense and yet,

on a territory roughly comparable with that of France and the British Isles together, there exist at least six major ethnic groups not one of which shows complete homogeneity.

This geographical distribution of peoples presented an acute dilemma to the treaty-makers of 1919-1920. Once the principle of self-determination was accepted by them—its application in Danubian Europe was largely based on ethnic considerations—the virtual impossibility of drawing satisfactory boundaries in these lands of mixed peoples soon became apparent. Overnight “national minorities” came into existence and they have not yet ceased to create and perpetuate difficulties. Short of wholesale and well-organised compulsory migrations of such minorities, there seems to be no solution to boundary problems in Danubia as long as nationalism continues to be a disruptive force. Even the drastic methods of compulsory transference of populations cannot be certain of success because there is no commonly accepted and reliable way of computing nationality. Language, frequently used as a test in this connection, is by no means satisfactory in all cases because political or economic pressure, or both, may give rise to inaccurate computations. Official census statistics are notoriously unreliable in disputed regions, and even plebiscites, such as that taken in the Klagenfurt Basin of Austria, may produce figures which do not conform accurately to the ethnic conditions. Twenty-eight years ago it was considered that the interests of minorities could be safeguarded by the insertion of provisions for their well-being in the peace treaties. Events have proved the inaccuracy of this judgment.

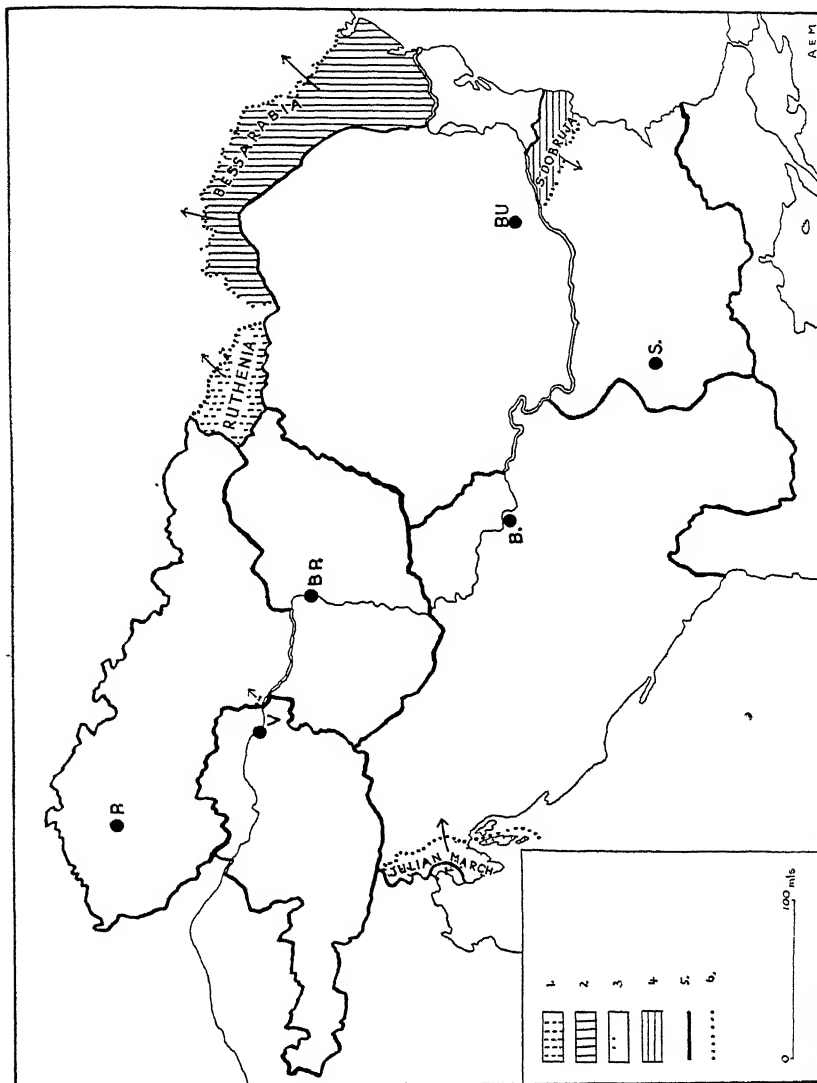
Yet the modern State, in Danubia as elsewhere, must have clearly defined and demarcated boundaries otherwise successful administration, more particularly in the peripheral areas, is impossible. When the State has reached maturity, that is, when its people have learned to live together in peace and tranquillity with a reasonable degree of loyalty and acceptance of the obligations incurred by dwelling on its territory, the rigidly fixed boundary may cause no great hardships. But where, as in Danubia, such legal and political homogeneity are not found within political boundaries, the inevitable result among the dissident elements is a sense of injustice, of injury and of discontent. Where coercion, often brutal in its effects, is employed as a means of imposing a spurious unity, there tension develops and gives rise to internal dissension as well as to strain with those neighbouring States which consider that they have a right to protect the interests of the minorities. Hence boundary disputes, always possible in ethnic frontier

Fig. 2 — Post-War Boundary Changes in the Danubian Lands.

- 1 Territory acquired by USSR from Czechoslovakia by Treaty of 26.9.45
- 2 Territory acquired by USSR from Rumania by Treaty of 10.2.47
- 3 Territory acquired by Yugoslavia from Italy by Treaty of 10.2.47.
- 4 Territory acquired by Bulgaria from Rumania by Treaty of 10.2.47
- 5 Boundaries of 1947 (thinned where coincident with rivers)
- 6 International boundaries at 1.1.1938

T, Free State of Trieste

The territorial fragmentation of the Danubian Lands has been increased as a result of the second world war because the number of riparian Powers has been increased by one by the acquisitions of the USSR





zones, are liable to grow into major international conflicts. That is one of the main reasons why the German invasion of the Danubian Lands was followed by the large-scale redistribution of territories indicated on Figure 2.

The territorial fragmentation of the Danubian Lands after the first world war was necessarily accompanied by the establishment of new boundaries. These amounted to 18,055 kilometres in the aggregate or 15,729 kilometres if the coasts of Yugoslavia, Roumania and Bulgaria are omitted. Now mere lengths of the territorial limits of States, when not related to other aspects of the countries concerned, may have little or no significance, but when they are considered together with the areas and populations which they enclose, they give some indication of what has been called the "interruptive factor" <sup>2</sup> in the affairs of adjacent political units. The following table, compiled from the official Year Books of the six States, gives some useful information.

TABLE 3 AREAS, BOUNDARIES AND POPULATIONS IN THE DANUBIAN LANDS

	Area <sup>1</sup>	Length of Boundaries <sup>2</sup>	Population Density <sup>3</sup>
Austria . . . . .	83.9	2,629	79.5
Bulgaria. . . . .	103.0	2,158	61.2
Czechoslovakia . . . .	140.5	4,120	110.4
Hungary . . . . .	93.1	1,450	98.0
Yugoslavia . . . . .	247.5	4,298	63.4
Roumania . . . . .	295.0	3,400	67.9
Totals	963.0	18 055	Average 80.1

<sup>1</sup> In thousands of square kilometres.

<sup>2</sup> In kilometres.

<sup>3</sup> Per square kilometre in 1939 on inter-war territory.

Indices of the interruptive factor of international boundaries may be determined by multiplying the number of kilometres of boundary per thousand square kilometres of area by the density of population per square kilometre. The results for the Danubian States and for the continents, for comparison, are as follows :

<sup>2</sup> The term was first used in this connection by S. W. Boggs in *International Frontiers*, New York, 1940.

TABLE 4. SOME INDICES OF THE INTERRUPTIVE FACTOR OF INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES

Austria . . . . .	2,488	Danubia . . . . .	1,507
Bulgaria . . . . .	1,282	Europe (excluding U S S R )	1,400
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	3,245	Asia . . . . .	190
Hungary . . . . .	1,519	S America . . . . .	33
Yugoslavia . . . . .	1,097	Africa . . . . .	30
Roumania . . . . .	782	N America . . . . .	23

Europe is outstanding among the continents in the degree of its fragmentation; the Danubian Lands conform to its general pattern and, in fact, exceed the Continental average. This was the outcome of the attempt to give territorial expression to the desires of the disparate nationalities in the region and, given the conditions of the time, it is difficult to see what other general arrangement could have been devised. Nevertheless, it was unwise to expect the Danubian peoples to adjust their activities to this particular territorial framework. Pressure on the boundaries, both from within and from without, was inevitable. Then, when the world economic depression came in the early 1930's, these predominantly agricultural countries were affected more disastrously than States which had greater and more diversified resources. Increasing economic difficulties, enhanced by the strengthening of tariff barriers and exacerbated by claims for boundary revision and the fears they inspired among the "successors," made government by parliamentary methods almost impossible. One by one the dictators assumed power and came to terms with Germany, first in economic affairs and later on the political level. The Danubian Powers were faced, after 1918, with a dilemma from which there was no easy escape. Each was too small in area and too poorly endowed in material resources to maintain its territorial integrity against the aggressive economic policies of powerful non-Danubian countries. Each had its boundary disputes with one or more of its neighbours. Each sought to stem the rising tide of peasant discontent by means of agrarian reform during a period when competition from other agricultural regions was pointing the way in favour of capitalised farming on large units of land. It was no matter for surprise that the treaty settlement of 1919-1920 remained in operation for less than twenty years.

With some modifications, the territorial *status quo* has now been restored after a period of warfare which, however unevenly spread in its effects, has nowhere improved the general standard of living nor increased the productivity of the Danubian Lands. Figure 3 shows the post-war boundaries. Czechoslovakia has ceded Sub-

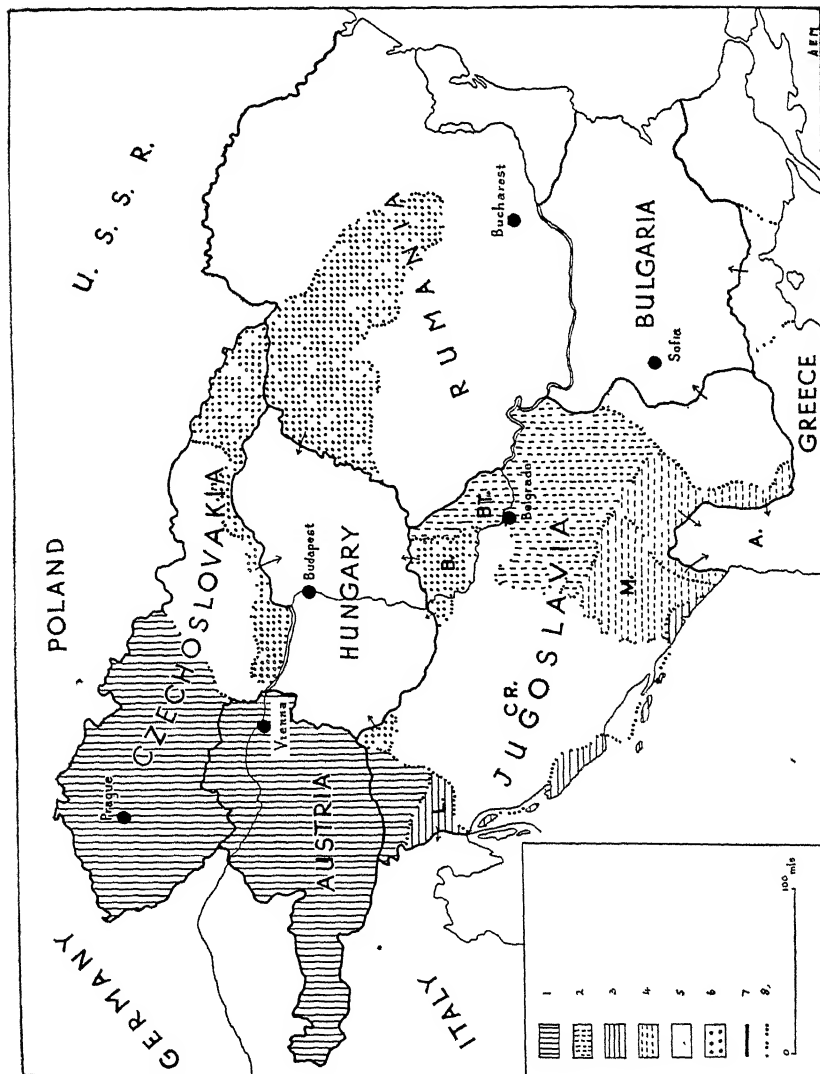


FIG. 3—The Danubian Lands. Territorial and Boundary Changes between Munich, 1938, and the end of the second world war

1. Territory annexed by Germany
2. Territory controlled by Germany
3. Territory annexed by Italy
4. Territory controlled by Italy
5. Territory annexed by Bulgaria
6. Territory annexed by Hungary
7. International boundaries as at 1.1.1938
8. New boundaries during the period 1938-1945. CR, The "Independent State" of Croatia which was inaugurated on 16 April, 1941, A, Albania

Carpathian Ruthenia to the U.S.S.R., which has also acquired Bessarabia from Roumania; Yugoslavia has been successful in obtaining most of its territorial claims from Italy but has failed in its desire to possess Trieste; the Southern Dobrudja has passed from Roumania to Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia has been partly successful in its demand for territory on the right bank of the Danube opposite Bratislava. The Austria boundaries remain undecided but the indications are that they will be little changed. In effect, Danubian area and resources have been reduced. The Yugoslav gains in Istria, the Julian March and the Adriatic islands have brought little to compensate for the loss of Ruthenia and Bessarabia. There has been some modification in the ethnic mosaic by reason of the compulsory transfers between Hungary and Czechoslovakia but the pre-war disposition of peoples and resources remains largely unaltered and he would be a bold man who would suggest any further major boundary changes. No treaties will ever change the geological structure of the Danubian States nor regularise the variations in incidence of summer rainfall which often play havoc with crop yields on the Alföld and in Wallachia.

If the pre-war boundaries have been restored and the ethnic conditions have been somewhat modified, at the same time the strategic and political aspects of the Danubian Lands have assumed a new orientation with surprising rapidity. There can be no doubt regarding their marchland function and character which, shared with Poland, may be briefly described as the result of the policy of the "cordon sanitaire" in reverse. Strategically, the six Danubian States and Poland, but excluding Alpine Austria, may be regarded as *marks*, but not of West and Central Europe against the East. Together they now constitute a great strategic "cushion," reaching from the Baltic to the Aegean right across the larger of the two European isthmuses, and behind which Russian reconstruction proceeds unmolested. With similar realism, the U.S.S.R. appears to be linking the political patterns and economic structures of Danubia ever more closely with its own. For many people in Western Europe and across the Atlantic, the present situation has qualities of grimness which do not augur well for the future; but that it possesses potential material advantages for the Danubian States is beyond question.

Bearing in mind the disruption caused by the war and its aftermath, the paucity of reliable statistical information and the impossibility of making accurate forecasts concerning future relationships, there does appear to be a lessening of the barrier

function of State boundaries in Danubian Europe. In other words, the States concerned are learning the value of closer adjustment in their international relations. Yugoslavia, Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria have already completed treaties of friendship, linking each of these States to its neighbours. Negotiations for trade agreements are proceeding rapidly and cultural ties are being developed and strengthened. Time alone will tell whether these arrangements will bear permanent fruits ; but at least a beginning has been made in the reduction of the interruptive force which such a great length of boundaries previously entailed. Czechoslovakia and Hungary are still at variance over the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, but a measure of agreement between Hungary and Roumania and between Hungary and Yugoslavia marks a considerable step forward in Danubian relations.

Apart from the effects which this new order may inspire in Western Europe and beyond, there are many questions still to be answered and many problems to be solved before the disunity of the inter-war period is replaced by post-war harmony. To what extent the present arrangements have been imposed by Russia is a matter for conjecture, but there is abundant evidence of the directive influence which the Soviet Government is exerting. On the other hand, there has been little or no suggestion of a political federation of the Danubian States. The degree of incompatibility is still too great for such a sweeping reform which, in all probability, would not agree with Russian policy. What appears to be taking place is the initiation of a period of what has been called " functional federalism " both between the States themselves and with the Soviet Union. This means closer integration in economic and cultural activities without political union and may lead to a more efficient utilisation of resources. Obvious possibilities are the distribution of electricity generated from the coal of Silesia and Bohemia and from the oil of Roumania to those regions where fuel is lacking but which require mechanical energy for industrial progress. The further development of river traffic by improvements in the regulation of the Danube combined with the implementation of extensive irrigation projects, more especially on the Alföld, would not only increase agricultural production but would also make possible a greater diversity of cropping and would facilitate the distribution of the commodities produced.

Such schemes are clearly beyond the scope of plans designed to meet the requirements of the next two, three or five years. They are long-term projects, calling for initiative and great capital expendi-

ture as well as the co-operation of the six States. They would undoubtedly increase both industrial and agricultural productivity, they would lead to an increase in standards of living and they would provide channels for that process of learning to live together which was conspicuously absent before the second world war. But their practicability depends, in the first place, on good relations in Danubia as a whole. It may be suggested that the first step has been taken in this direction by the reduction of the separating function of its State boundaries. Any considerable revival of the pre-war antagonisms will automatically strengthen these barriers to the detriment of the economy of the whole region.

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## PRESENT-DAY TRENDS IN SOVIET LINGUISTICS

SOVIET proletarian linguistics will always have a certain fascination for both expert and layman in the field of European linguistic theory. If, that is, we understand by Russian proletarian linguistics the new phase of language-study opened up as an analogy to the scheme of socialist proletarian science as a whole. It will prove interesting for its relationship both to Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism and to modern linguistic trends.

In this paper I wish to express my opinion on modern Soviet linguistics, and to show how this very field, in so far as it contains anything typically Soviet without parallel elsewhere in Europe, is bound up with the theses and theories propounded by Nikolai Jakovlevič Marr.

Marr's linguistic teaching is now regarded throughout Russia as *the* Soviet theory, and its representatives are the linguistic theorists, since the rest are specialists, either in Russian or in non-Russian fields, i.e., people who do not dare to aspire to broader linguistic conceptions, or, if they do, follow in Marr's footsteps. This they do even if at times they fail to understand Marr, or do not want to do so.

Marr, then, is so utterly the representative of Russian linguistic theory by reason of his doctrine that we must give him our first attention, and thus discover the key to Russia's present attitude to linguistics. Without Marr, we cannot appreciate subsequent generations of linguists.

Marr's teaching, in its latest phase at least, is a sharp reaction against all traditional theory, against the "bourgeois" tradition of pre-revolutionary days as carried on unbrokenly elsewhere on the foundations of neogrammarian doctrine—unless we except the recent structuralist formulæ of the Prague-Copenhagen schools. This is so even when Marr's theories originate in, and build upon, neogrammarian principles, as I shall show.

In his attitude to language development he attempts a new solution of fundamental neogrammarian problems as a whole, and by a radical redirection of his own linguistic aims he shows, or attempts to show, that this clearly arises out of similar or analogous basic reactions as new linguistic trends, whether they be the sociological trend of the Meillet-De Saussure type or the idealistic

linguistics of Vossler, quite apart from the peculiar attitude adopted by Bloomfield and Sapir based on materialistic monism and standing close to the Soviet notion of linguistic processes in its theoretical basis.<sup>1</sup> The attempt to subject to criticism the results of the positivist and naturalistic trends of the neogrammarians and to ground itself on philosophical premises is the thing that links Soviet linguistics with all these trends in its interpretation of linguistic processes and the way it sets out linguistic facts. Recent Russian linguistics has been developing within the frontiers set by the philosophy of dialectic materialism and the Marxist-Leninist conception of language and linguistic history. This runs counter to the synchronistic school which stresses the logic of grammatical structure, like the school of De Saussure and all analogous trends<sup>2</sup> that disregard the parallel aspect of language as a system of differentiated and co-ordinated signals based on Bloomfield's theory of materialistic monism.<sup>3</sup>

The theoretical face of Soviet linguistics changed radically after the Revolution, and its new programme was formulated most eloquently of all by N. J. Marr<sup>4</sup> in my opinion when, referring to the setting up of the socialist State, he emphasised on behalf of Soviet linguistics as a whole that the Régime stood for cultural autonomy and the free evolution of all Soviet nationalities and their languages as embodied in Soviet government policy. This takes into the field of specialist linguistic study all the languages of the Soviet Union, languages which were studied under the Tsars rather for their folklore interest than as the substance of linguistic interpretation, e.g., the Caucasian and the Palæo-asianic languages. This is what the new Soviet linguistics regards as its aim both in theory and plan, as this, like other scientific disciplines, bases itself on the single philosophic ground-plan of Marx-Leninist dialectic materialism.

In this way Soviet linguistics has placed itself on an entirely different theoretical plane from anything previously known. The motley linguistic pattern of the Soviet Union is tending more than in other countries to encourage the comparative study of the most heterogeneous language-types and structures. The narcissistic concentration on the significance of one language-type as fostered in non-Soviet European linguistics is steadily falling out of favour, and is being replaced by the synchronistic study of the motley Soviet pattern of languages. The study of Russian and other Indo-European languages is losing its hold, whereas the Mongolian, Palæo-asianic, Caucasian and other groups are coming into their own



Along with problems related to the framing of spelling systems for languages without literary traditions, as well as practical problems of other kinds, linguistic phenomena of special importance are being studied, as, for example, the passive structure of the verb, etc.<sup>5</sup>

The year 1931 witnessed a debate on the intentions and the tasks facing Marxist linguistics—Marr's theory of relationship between language and society; language and thought; the uniformity of language-formative processes as evidenced in Marr's theory of stadiality in language evolution; yet it cannot be said that this debate cleared up the problems fundamental to Soviet linguistics, as its political colouring was discredited. To some, e.g., Danilov, Marr was not Left enough nor drastic enough; to others, e.g., Polivanov and even Bubrikhov, the objection was that Marr did not keep strictly to linguistic problems.

It is true to say that the polemical attacks served to popularise Marr's theories, but failed to make Marr's doctrine more easily understood, especially outside the Soviet Union. Even when Marr finally succeeded in refuting all the charges made against him, whether from Right or Left, his teaching did not become the official doctrine of Soviet linguistics as has often been assumed. Nor is it true to say, as Europe had said before the Second World War, and as it may still be assumed elsewhere, that the last word had been said on Marxist linguistics in the true sense of the word when the said debate ended. The leading Soviet linguists like Meshchaninov share the credit, too. The latter declare Marr to be their preceptor even if they frequently interpret Marr in their own way. But the younger generations down to the youngest share in it, too. To them the bold picture of language evolution in its bearings on dialectic materialism and the growth of society is impressive by reason of its sheer boldness of perspective and its amazing breadth of vision.

Together with this new trend of modern Russian linguistics headed by Marr there emerges a sociological plan based on class stratification. "Japhetidology" seeks a solution of the problem of linguistic history in relation to this. There is nothing typically Russian in this idea, unless it is the element of class antagonism implied in it, since the sociological interpretation of the essence of language merges with the theoretical complex of modern linguistics, and unlike neogrammarian and idealistic doctrine, sociology is the essence of the new linguistics, which is subjected to far more searching tests by theory and philosophy than ever before.<sup>6</sup>

If non-Russian linguistics co-operates rather more in theory

than in fact with sociology to explain phenomena, though a relationship between the community and its institutions and the hierarchical linguistic pattern—collateral as well as historical—has been common knowledge for a long time, it would seem that Marr<sup>7</sup> was the first to emphasise the sociological aspect on definite programmatic lines, basing it on historical materialism in Russia. The evolution of Russian linguistics on purely revolutionary lines is likewise immanent in the Japhetic Doctrine,<sup>8</sup> which in the hands of Meshchaninov after Marr's death in 1934 became the "new" language doctrine reflecting Marr's latest doctrinal phase known as stadiality, a theory which Meshchaninov conceived on different lines from Marr.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile the Japhetic Doctrine stands in much the same relationship to the theoretical premises of historical materialism as, say, Meillet's conception of language (especially in his *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*) regarded diachronistically stands to Durkheim's broad sociological theses in his *Règles de la méthode historique*.

Among parallel linguistic trends the Japhetic Doctrine is outstanding by its departure from the general beliefs of the neogrammarians, and, in part, from those of Meillet and De Saussure, by its greater emphasis on speculation in face of linguistic facts, which it not merely describes and classifies but also tries to explain. The procedure of Japhetic Theory depends in a large measure on the application of the results of speculation to concretelinguistic material, e.g., in the case of structuralism. But herein lies a certain danger of dogmatism, the shadier side of which stands out characteristically in several of Marr's interpretations.

Marr's Japhetic Theory, then, is based on the premises of Marx-Leninism in its interpretation of the historical evolution of society. In its daring application to the historical evolution of language, monistic and diachronistic, it seeks a way out of the crisis into which historical linguistics has landed by dealing rather with problems of language formation than with sets of laws applicable to semantic change as is done in contemporary European linguistics, and this is an aspect which traditional linguistics, even when grounded in the old comparative method, has always cautiously, and wisely, avoided.

Nor is this the only point. In the personal interpretation of historical materialism as applied to linguistic evolution Marr's teaching has aroused lively controversy in Russia at times.<sup>10</sup> It was clear that the identical theoretical premises of historical materialism were capable of various interpretations as applied to concrete pro-

blems of living speech. This is where the "new" science of language emerges, I believe, in its attempt to get closer to the official Marxist doctrine. I have already dealt with this and the manner in which it was worked out by Meshchaninov, who used Marr's adaptation of Marxist doctrine on stadial evolution in class stratification as his point of departure, and tried to evolve a theory of language of his own, avoiding Marr's language typology, and replacing Japhetic historical interpretation by a general grammatical system—not uninfluenced by contemporary European linguistics and the synchronistic approach—as applied to the problems of syntax and verbal expression in the sentence.<sup>11</sup>

In this way Meshchaninov links the activity of contemporary European linguistics with the partial isolation of Russian linguistics, as is seen in the recent formulation by J. Vendryes,<sup>12</sup> and the broad character of outstanding linguistic works by well-known linguists like N. S. Trubetsky, R. Jakobson, Bröndal, Hjelmslev, etc., though each of these have an individuality of their own.

As to the monistic perspective and its bearing on linguistic evolution, Marr sets out by broadening the field of Japhetic research to include mainly non-Indo-European languages, all of which he attempts to co-ordinate under one interpretative formula. It should not, however, be forgotten that by his Japhetic theory he was a pioneer in constructing the semantic edifices of the Caucasian lexical systems on a basis of mere theory, and it was with these languages that Marr began, being both a native Georgian and an outstanding expert on the Kharthveli (Gruzinian) group of languages and others within the same area. Neither should we forget how he resolved these languages in terms of the Semitic, Hamitic and Basque systems at the very outset of his linguistic career.

Starting from neogrammarian ideology and progressing to linguistic history, Marr attempts to establish their relationship to the ancient languages of Asia Minor, Sumeria, Akkadia, Lydia, and the language of the Vannic cuneiform inscriptions. From now on he builds upon a Caucasian theory based on linguistic substrata, and, following his thesis about the Semitic typology of Caucasian-type languages, he formulates a theory that these languages are in genetic relationship to the substrate languages of the Mediterranean,<sup>13</sup> including among the latter such well-known languages as Etruscan and modern Basque. In its broad outlines this theory represents nothing new; it was put forward by European linguists before Marr's day, and is almost universally recognised by linguists, including the Italian Trombetti, who is Marr's equal in breadth of

vision and interest, and the representatives of traditional linguistic movements, particularly in so far as the theory applies to the striking parallels, both lexical and toponymical, to be found in these languages. Critical voices still warn against this so-called "Caucasian" method of linguistic study.

This substratic group of languages, made up of Caucasian, Etruscan, Basque and a whole series of unknown languages, is called by Marr "Japhetic" in contra-distinction to the "Prometheid" languages, by which he means Indo-European. It would be interesting at this point to ascertain the connections of the Mediterranean Japhetic substrate as presumed by Marr with the so-called Alarodian substrate formulated in outline by Oshtir. We should recognise how Marr and Oshtir both reacted similarly at this period to the incentives arising out of the crisis in Indo-European studies and their relation to the substratic Mediterranean problem. It would be of further interest to compare how far Marr and Oshtir resemble each other in the general formulation of their respective theses, and how far they differ. I think that, unlike Marr, Oshtir does at least pay lip-service to the laws of phonology, though his adherence is at times very arbitrary, and that he does not deliberately brush aside—as Marr does—the theoretical results achieved by the traditional Indo-European linguists.

It was not until the declining phase of his scientific career, about 1925–1926, that Marr reassessed his Japhetic doctrine in the light of historic materialism. It was a period, as I have already emphasised, when theoretical basic doctrine was undergoing revaluation on the basis of dialectical materialism. The Japhetic languages were to him, and in defiance of the traditional view, not an independent linguistic group in "substratic" relation—if we may use the term—with the existing languages of Europe, i.e., the Prometheid languages as Marr calls them, but rather a group of languages at a particular stage of development, i.e., the Japhetic stage, and Marr regards it as the immediate task of Japhetic studies to find traces of this stage of evolution in the Prometheid (Indo-European) languages. Marr's new theoretical attitude arises as a matter of course out of his earlier views on the Semitic lexical stratum present in several Caucasian languages. In the latest phase of Marr's highly chequered linguistic career he reformed himself somewhat rapidly, but only, as I have emphasised, towards the end of his life, as he was doubtless under the pressure of Marxist-Leninist sociology, then under reassessment in an all-round attempt to reduce new Soviet science to a uniform Marxist level, i.e., evolution by stages, and

the crystallisation of the class structure of society. According to this new hypothesis, the Japhetic languages, or rather the languages in the Japhetic stage of evolution, are the key to the understanding of the lexical structure of the languages of Europe, their semantic connections being characteristic of language systems of whole areas, not even excluding those of the Far East, America and Africa.

To state the point concisely, the theory is one which is by its very nature a glottogonic (language-evolutionary) theory, resting on premises which have not been explored sufficiently, nor interpreted properly. Thus, in spite of the number of existing possibilities of interpretation.

Hence Marr sets out by assuming that speech, i.e., the so-called phonic stage of language, is a derivative of gesture and mimicry. This seems to imply a language of arbitrary signs used semantically as a means of communication and understanding. This stage, which is alleged to evolve out of amorphic phenomena into agglutinating or inflected forms is called by Marr the Japhetic stage. The content of speech thus broadened out into a pre-logical phase. This phase then falls under the domination of certain laws of semantic change towards the formation of a lexical system in close combination with social phenomena, i.e., the evolution of a language system. This is the transitional phase through which every language must go before reaching the present stage represented by languages contemporary with Indo-European, whose structure is regarded by Marr as the final, and highest, stage ever achieved by language. On the face of it the thesis seems to come somewhat dangerously near to German theories of comparative linguistics, which presumed a sort of superiority in Indo-European languages and in the Indo-European ethnic whole. Though it is not the aim of the present study to determine how far the gesture-and-mimic theory as a primary factor in language evolution was derived by Marr from the teachings of positivist neogrammarians and psychologists (as, for example, Wundt, whom he seems to have known), and though it is not our purpose to ascertain connections between prelogical linguistic phases and the views of contemporary French linguists (as Lévy-Bruhl), it should nevertheless be pointed out that Marr may be accepted and interpreted as being heir to the neogrammarian theory in this sense. It should be remembered that Marr's personality was being formed in the heyday of neogrammarianism, and that Marr took his scientific beginnings from the neogrammarians, proceeding thence to linguistic dynamism, though he differed from his preceptors in many respects towards the end of

his career. Language evolution is to him, as to the neogrammarians, the specific and crucial problem of language research. That this view was alien to emergent Soviet linguistics is clear from the fact that it became the focus of debate on the tasks and purpose of Marxist linguistics. It has been pointed out that the purpose of Russian linguistics is not necessarily to be sought in the study of the prehistoric period of language, as Marr claims, but that Soviet linguistics should rather take stock of present-day language problems in all their scope and breadth, to discover how it bears on specific practical considerations.

If it was the neogrammarians that came forward with their theory of divergency from a primitive language core, a theory that is generally held for Indo-European and to a lesser degree for Uralian, Semitic, etc., it was Marr who came forward with his notion of primeval variety which is continually shrinking. After observing that small linguistic units tend to disappear after a lapse of time, whereas larger linguistic units tend to come into being, he emphasised the point that linguistic evolution gravitates towards the formation of one language as an instrument of understanding in a classless society. This is a form of evolutionary convergence. It should be remembered that Meillet himself had already come forward with a convergent theory of his own, and that N. S. Trubetskoy and R. O. Jakobson, with their formulation of the convergence of languages within a given unifying linguistic framework, are also parallel with Marr. This means that Marr is by no means alone in his hypotheses as a casual observer might imagine. He is at all times part and parcel of European linguistics in the way he develops. All he does is to solve the problems of contemporary linguistic science by over-elaborating the existing techniques, and it is in this that Western European linguistics fails to understand him, or understands him imperfectly. A few more general remarks should be added to Marr's fundamental glottogonic theory.

It is not clear, for instance, on what basis Marr formulates his hypothesis, i.e., that gesture language is older than a structural system of articulate sounds.<sup>14</sup> The probability is stronger if we accept the hypothesis of parallel evolution, if, that is, we are determined to grapple with this problem of language creation without necessarily settling it once and for all.<sup>15</sup> The apparent fact that gesture is resorted to in certain circumstances during cult practices as aids to understanding in Caucasia can in no way justify the dogmatic claim of greater age for this form of speech.

In devising his theory of language evolution Marr markedly

deviates from tradition. He does not understand languages as related systems even in terms of the traditional theory of genetic kinship and divergent evolution from a primitive core, a theory held by linguistics ever since the days of Bopp and Rask, nor does he regard them in the achronistic light of many modern linguists who, by taking a synchronistic cross-section of a language group, aim at the correlation of secondary tendencies therein. Rather does he study the relationships of language systems as wholes in monistic perspective as Hegelian elements of dialectical materialism applied to the various stages of human evolution.<sup>16</sup> Here Marr concentrates to an unusual degree on the possibilities of "mixed" languages. He was led to such interpretations by the linguistic pattern of Caucasia, where the languages appear to be much more the result of compromise within the group than elsewhere. This is due to the varied language pattern within a small area where multiple convergence is in evidence.

By breaking down the rigidity of the problem-complex in dealing with genetic relationships on traditional lines and substituting free association on a horizontal plane with neighbouring language systems and a historical perspective linked with social hierarchy, Marr opened up a vista, uncritically in the eyes of other linguists, which was capable of the most multifarious interpretation, though one in which his lack of scientific training was strikingly obvious.

The logical consequence of his theorising about the effect of pre-logical phenomena on semantic change and the evolution of lexical systems is also evident. Nobody is likely to deny that there is something in the idea, but the problem will always be how to determine such changes. It will be difficult to devise general principles for explaining semantic changes and transitions in primitive languages. It is no use proceeding dogmatically, as Marr does, from *a priori* theories, even if, as may be admitted, we do know something about the semantic structure of primitive languages; no use, at any rate, if the hypothesis is assumed that, for example, the name of a national unit can be linked with that of some totemistic animal. According to his dogma the two are identified, citing other *a priori* remarks of his in other studies, and quoting even the name of a god as being that of some eponymic hero.

Equally unintelligible and inadequately founded in fact by normal linguistic methods are the semantic mutation-series linking, for example, the name for "cereal" not merely with the name for "bread," but also with the term for "tree" and "acorn." Similarly the term for "horse" is linked with names for "water-

course." Yet the fact is overlooked that terms for watercourses may contain names of animal demons or totems even in European place-names.

Marr often puts forward an etymological idea—highly intuitively, it would seem—which turns up later in Western European linguistics in a somewhat different guise. Thus, some time ago <sup>17</sup> he connected Georgian *tha-v* (*tha-m*, "head") as a de-sibillated form of an original *sa-m* with Russian *samŭ*, etc. Van Ginneken also <sup>18</sup> explains Slavonic *samŭ*, together with Gk. *'autós*, Alb *vete* and Rum. *îns(u)* from Georgian *thavi*, "head."

All this does not mean that I am seeking to replace the seriously-thought-out comparative work of most European linguists by Marr's etymological intuitions. In spite of the improbability of some of his etymologisings, however, and disregarding their frequently amateurish slickness, the basic principle of many of Marr's hypotheses cannot be denied, at any rate so long as they are based on his own linguistic material. Thus it is highly probable, though the idea is not Marr's own, that in the problem-complex of semantic change in linguistic evolution the pressure of cult and pre-logical thought played, or may have played, a part. The problem, however, remains unsettled, and it is by no means certain how far he was able to prove his point from concrete language material, nor what he was able to extract from it in order to facilitate the evaluation of linguistic facts. In other words: how far has a theoretically and logically sound argument been made out for the linguistic material under review?

It cannot be claimed, and this justifies Marr though the fact is well known, that language changes of any kind, including semantics which is the exclusive field in which Marr worked, have taken place according to some theoretical predevised scheme, or indeed according to any general trends or laws. There is always something to upset hard-and-fast laws of meaning, and this is characteristic of any evolution of spiritual values as distinct from the law-like rigour of natural phenomena.

Marr sees in these deviations from common and often logically rationalised tendencies the residue of a pre-logical phase in language evolution. It is problematical, of course, how far he is right in this. He sees the confirmation of his hypotheses, and to prove his point within the framework of unrelated languages he is forced to frame a further Japhetic classification and a linguistic typology. This is surprising in view of Marr's repeated emphasis on the sociological aspect of language, and on a class hierarchy in its mechanical



formalistic evolution by a combination of morphemes (sound-patterns) and semantemes (sense-patterns). He contrasts spirant with sibilant, combining the former with e-, o- and a- variants and setting up etymologies in such a way that he has an unending fund of linguistic material with which to justify his hypotheses. Thus he frequently fails to study the semantic stratification of the lexical plan in its relation to the bizarreness of his word-types such as his own classification renders them.

As I see it, this point would be made clear by a comparison with the semantic structure of the lexical system in a genuinely "primitive" language such as that of the Australian aborigines or certain of the Indonesian languages,<sup>19</sup> provided we admit of the possibility of comparison of such heterogeneous groupings. The semantic system of lexical co-ordination reveals a linguistic structure which is clearly foreign to the logic of present-day language, or, to use Marr's own terms, the contemporary stage of evolution, but it is sharply distinct from the hierarchy of semantic differentiation for the pre-logical Japhetic stage, as Marr dogmatically states it, so that in the end any common problem features are lost. Like most of Marr's theories, they bear on historical folklore, or, for that matter, anything but linguistics.

Marr may have been aware of the structural complexity of linguistic phenomena when facing this problem-complex. He nevertheless failed to include this in his Japhetology in all the inclusiveness of its later phase. This may have been because of a defective comprehension of language systems.

Though Marr may have been right here and there, his theoretical attitude to the problem-complex of semantic change in the older stages of evolution fails, it seems, in his unfortunate choice of material—in so far as one can call the material ill-chosen, for it is very hard to justify most of Marr's hypotheses by linguistic facts of a range required by the sweeping terms of his theories. All objections to Marr's Japhetology do in fact come from this direction, whether they are the casual comments of Meillet in *Bulletin de la société de linguistique*, or those of Hermann, H. Sköld and others.<sup>20</sup> This is quite apart from the discussion aroused in Russia by Marr's attitude to historical materialism as expressed in his *New Doctrine of Language*.

At the same time a very important point, underlined even by some contemporary Russian linguists, is that Marr avoids problems of morphological and phonetic relationship. In his Japhetology he has built almost exclusively upon relationships arising out of

semantic analogy, but has failed to settle the question of semantic movement by any revision of his attitude. It is dangerous to found a new theory of linguistic evolution and assume a peculiar brand of kinship which might almost be called genetic purely on semantic analogy, since the greater part of lexical vocabulary is a civilised superstructure capable of cutting across genetic kinship. The validity of Marr's Japhetic theory should be ascertained in its bearing on the problems of kinship arising out of analogy and morphology as being one of the dominant criteria of kinship, in synchronic and diachronic perspective, whether kinship implies divergency from a primal core, or convergency towards union. Phenomena, in other words, which in their synchronistic guise cannot always be easily differentiated.<sup>21</sup>

Marr's Japhetology may be summarised as follows :

It is a trend which calls for a broad treatment of linguistic questions of kinship, the re-examination of old theories, and the bold statement of new ideas. This is to be done within the broad framework of linguistic and non-linguistic fact based on a uniform philosophy—in the Russian case Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism. This holds good, of course, so long as we pursue the problem in terms of linguistic diachronism and regard it as a crucial problem of Marr's doctrine and of Soviet linguistics as a whole.

This does not, of course, mean that we could exhaust all the problems of general linguistics solved by Marr. Yet I do not consider that questions of kinship between language and society, or of language and thought, are sufficiently typical of Marr's doctrine in all its originality. By this I do not mean that the solution proposed by Marr is devoid of interest. It is, however, closely bound up with the theories of dialectical materialism and in his hypothesis of uniformity in the process of language formation we do not discover in these relationships any solution that deviates from results obtained by modern European linguistics. Even so we find some interesting departures worthy of special study. Marr and his new language doctrine deserve further study in this connection for the set of problems brought forward by him; for surely a modicum of his fanaticism and dogmatism might be retrieved for European linguistics, even if I am convinced, and say so in so many words, that he overstated the demands of the historical point of view and the historical interpretation in terms of materialism, and thereby entered a field that was alien to his own linguistic problems.

In a bold scheme he outlined rather than elaborated a brilliant fresco of historical linguistic evolution and of human society, doing

so with such zest that a great deal of fanaticism and dogma entered into his interpretations which were sociological and materialistic in trend, and this reacted to the detriment of the whole doctrine

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*English version by*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf N J Marr, *Language and Thought*, Selected Works, vol III, pp 104 ff, *Present-day Questions and Successive problems of the Japhetic Theory*, *ibid*, III, p 70, M I Meshchamnov, *The Process of Language Evolution and the Problem of Stadiality*, Reports of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Lit & Lang Dept, 1941, pp 8-25

<sup>2</sup> I am thinking of, for example, structuralism as formulated by the Prague Linguistic School

<sup>3</sup> I quote the following from a fairly impressive array of literature on the subject S. Bikovskij, *K Marx and Linguistics*, Report of the State Academy of Material Cultures, Issue No 82, 1934, Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin on Problems of Language and Thought, Report of the State Academy of Material Cultures, Issue No 75, N J Marr, *Marx and Language Problems* Report of the S A M C, Issue No 82, N J Marr, *On the 50th Anniversary of the Death of Marx, a Symposium*, K Marx and the problems of the history of precapitalistic formations 1934, pp 3-21; S Katsnel'son, *Linguistic Questions in the "German Ideology" of Marx-Engels*, Report of S A M C, Issue No 82, 1934, Ivan Hryshchenko, *Marx and Engels. On comparative historical method in linguistics* *Linguistics*, Issue No 7, 1936, pp. 11-23, and similar works

<sup>4</sup> *Language and Thought*, Leningrad, 1931, *Selected Works*, III, pl 93

<sup>5</sup> Cf S L Bykhovskaia, *Passive Construction in the Japhetic Languages* *Language and Thought*, II, M I Meshchamnov, *New Doctrine of Language*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936, *The Glottogonic (language-formation) Process*, *loc cit*, *General Linguistics*, Moscow, 1940, p 172, etc

<sup>6</sup> Cf Sechehaye, *L'école genevoise de linguistique générale* *Indg. Forschungen*, 44, pp 217 ff, A S (Alf Sommerfelt), *La linguistique-science sociologique* *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskab*, 5, 1932, pp 316 ff, B A Terracini, *L'héritage de la méthode comparative* *Acta linguistica*, 2, 1940-1941, pp 1-22, 69-89.

<sup>7</sup> For life of Marr, see Monograph by V A Mikhalkov, *N J Marr. Outline of his Life and Scholarship*, Moscow, 1935, further V N Alekseev, *N J Marr Problems of the History of Pre-capitalist Societies*, Nos 3 and 4, 1935, pp 60-69, I G Frank-kamenetskii and V I Abaiev, *Academician N J Marr*, Report of the USSR Acad of Sciences, 1934, pp 653-660, I J Krachkovskii, *From Recollections of Marr*, Report of U.S.S.R. Acad of Sciences, Lit and Lang Section, 1941, 3, pp 1-7

<sup>8</sup> My chief sources for this study, apart from the monographs on Marr already cited, are the essays and articles of N J Marr himself as reproduced in various symposiums and periodicals:—N J Marr, *Selected Works*, the Ukrainian Committee's "*N J Marr, Selected Works*," Vol I, Kiev, 1936 Cf also M I Meshchamnov, *On the Scientific Heritage of Academician N J Marr*, *Linguistics*, No 10, 1936, pp 3-6, F I Filin, *N J Marr and the Teaching of Russian*, *ibid*, No 7, 1936, pp 25-37, I G Frank-Kamenetskii and V I Abaiev, *Academician N J Marr*, Report of the USSR Acad of Sciences, 1934, pp 653-60, R Shor (in V Tomsen's translation), *History of Linguistics to the end of the 19th century*, Moscow, 1938, p. 151, in addition to synthetic articles in our own and foreign encyclopædias On the general character of the doctrine, see work and articles by Marr's pupils and printed under Marr's direction, esp I I Meshchamnov, V I Abaiev; K D Dondua and others in various Russian symposiums and periodicals, of which, in addition to the Reports of the Academy, the Report of the State Acad of Sciences on Material Culture founded by Marr deserves special mention, likewise Japhetic Compendium, Language and Thought, Language and Literature, etc

<sup>9</sup> On the "new" doctrine of language, cf I I Meshchaninov, *New Doctrine of Language* Reports of the USSR Acad of Sciences, 1933, pp 445-72, *New Doctrine of Language*, Leningrad, 1936, *The Glottogonic Process* in Reports, *loc cit*; *The Problem of Stadiality in the Evolution of Language*, Reports of the USSR Acad of Sciences, Lit and Lang Section 6, 1947, No 3, pp 174-88 Cf also Reports, *loc cit*, pp 258-62

<sup>10</sup> Cf for example M G Khudiakov's *Essence and Significance of the Japhetic Doctrine*, Leningrad, 1931, I I Meshchaninov, *Helpful Hints for the Utilization of Japhetological Works*, Leningrad, 1931, R O Shor, *The Way to Marxist Linguistics*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1931, etc *Indg Jahrbuch* 17, pp 7-9, has reproduced a partial bibliography of this debate

<sup>11</sup> Cf Meshchaninov, *New Linguistic Doctrine*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936, *General Linguistics*, Moscow, 1940, *Components of the Proposition and Parts of Speech*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1945, etc

<sup>12</sup> *La comparaison en linguistique*, BSL 42, 1946, pp 1-18.

<sup>13</sup> *Japhetic Caucasia and the Third Ethnic Element in the Structure of Mediterranean Culture*, *Japhetic Studies in Eurasian Language and Culture*, Vol II, 1923

<sup>14</sup> Apart from the questionable validity of all such speculations, it is interesting to note that this theory of Marr's has been dropped by contemporary Soviet linguistics so far as I can gather from the work of V K Nikol'skoï and N F Jakovlev, *How People Learnt to Talk*, Moscow, 1945

<sup>15</sup> Cf J Vendryes, *Le Langage*, Paris, 1921, p 9 "Le langage visuel est probablement aussi ancien que le langage auditif Nous n'avons aucune raison de croire, et surtout aucun moyen de prouver que l'un soit antérieur à l'autre" Cf also Jespersen *Language*, London, 1923, pp 413 ff, K Heřman, *Die Anfänge der menschlichen Sprache*, 1st edn, Prague, 1936, 2nd edn, Prague, 1938 The view on the priority of gesture speech has been stressed by F Oberpfalzer in *Linguistics*, Prague, 1932, p 7, as follows—in the matter of evolution, gesture language may have preceded the spoken word Similarly Wundt, *Sprache* (in *Volkerpsychologie*) (Vol I), 1st and 3rd edns, Leipzig, 1911, pp 143 ff J van Gunneken has recently stressed the problem-complex of parallel evolution in his *Réconstruction typologique des langues archaïques de l'humanité*, Amsterdam, 1939 Cf *TCLP*, Vol 8, 1939, pp 233-61

<sup>16</sup> Linguistic landmarks in the evolution of man, and their relationship to the history of materialist culture *Selected Works*, III, pp 35 ff

<sup>17</sup> *On the Stratification of Different Typological Epochs in the Promethoid (IE) system of languages*, Reports of Acad. of Sciences of the USSR, 1927, pp 333-44

<sup>18</sup> *Das Pronomen reflexivum der Balkansprachen*, Symposium in honour of A Belić, Belgrade, 1937, pp 279-84, cf V Polák, *On the Problem of Lexical Coincidences between the Caucasian and Slavonic Languages* *Listy Filologické*, No 70, 1946, p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> A Sommerfelt gives a partial rendering of this in *La Langue et la Société*, Oslo, 1938, further, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *L'expérience mystique et les symboles chez les primitifs*, Paris, 1938

<sup>20</sup> E Herman, in a review of Braun's study on the Primitive Populations of Europe and the Provenience of the Germans in *Literaturblatt für germ u romanische Philologie*, 46, 1925, pp 145-48, and Marr's study *The Japhetic Caucasus* in *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 44, 1924, pp 978 ff, E Novotný, *Homer in the Light of Japhetology*, *Listy filologické*, 58, 1931, pp 101-14, G Deeters, *Linguistics in the Soviet Union* in Richthoven's book *Bolschewistische Wissenschaft u Kulturpolitik*, Königsberg & Berlin, pp 236-51

<sup>21</sup> F P Filin writes in similar terms in *Movoznavstvo* (Linguistics), Issue No 7, 1936, p 25

## GENESIS OF DOSTOEVSKY'S *UNCLE'S DREAM*

THE first direct reference to the short novel *Uncle's Dream* is to be found in a letter of Dostoevsky's to his brother Michael dated 14 March, 1859. In it he speaks of the forthcoming publication of his novel in the periodical *Russkoe Slovo*, founded in the previous year by Count Kushelev-Bezborodko: "You tell me," wrote Dostoevsky to his brother, "that Kushelev intends printing *Uncle's Dream* in March. That is excellent. The sooner the better. But for Heaven's sake find out exactly, and in as much detail as you can, whether Kushelev and the editorial board liked it. That, my dear fellow, is a matter of the highest importance to me." The second reference, likewise direct, is contained in a letter to his brother dated 9 May of the same year. In it he speaks of *The Village of Stepanchikovo* and incidentally of *Uncle's Dream*: "Listen, Misha! Of course this novel has very serious defects, and principally, perhaps, that of prolixity; but I am convinced as of an axiom that it also has very great qualities and that it is the best thing I have done. I have been two years writing it (with a break in the middle for *Uncle's Dream*). The beginning and middle are properly finished off but the end was written in haste. But I have put my heart, my own flesh and blood into it. I do not mean that I have said in it all I have to say; that would be nonsense! There remains a great deal more to be said. Besides, there is in this novel little feeling (i.e. little of the passionate element such as you have for instance in the *Nest of Gentlefolk*)—but it does contain two great character types which I have spent five years creating and roughing out and which I think are here presented faultlessly; fully Russian characters but so far hardly dealt with in Russian literature."

Since the first of these letters also included an indirect but unambiguous reference to *The Village of Stepanchikovo*, the fact is established that these two short tales were written synchronously. This is confirmed, moreover, by the memoirs of A. E. Vrangél,<sup>1</sup> Dostoevsky's closest friend during the years which, after serving his prison sentence, he spent at Semipalatinsk, where the two stories were written. The establishment of this fact would, however, be

<sup>1</sup> A. E. Vrangél, *Vospominaniya o F. M. Dostoyevskom v Sibiri*, S P., 1912, pp. 30-31

of importance only for the chronology of Dostoevsky's works, were it not that the references to these two stories in other letters of his enable us to trace the origin of both, and to ascertain Dostoevsky's opinion of *Uncle's Dream*. In other words there is involved a real problem of artistic exegesis which has engaged the interest of critics to a considerable extent and whose elements it is thus worth examining.

We must begin by turning to a letter addressed by Dostoevsky more than three years earlier to his friend, the poet A. N. Maikov. In this letter of 18 January, 1856, he wrote: "I began for fun to write a comedy and amuse myself by the creation of such a comic setting and so many comic characters, and ended by taking such a fancy to my hero, that I abandoned the form of a comedy, although it was shaping nicely, just for the pleasure of following my new hero's adventures and laughing over him for as long as possible. This hero has certain affinities with me. In short, I am writing a comic novel, but till now I have written only separate episodes. Now I have written enough and am piecing it all together into a single whole." This comic story, which was in progress in 1856, is mentioned by Dostoevsky in other letters also, but its title is never given. What story was in question? The critic A. S. Dolinin, who in 1928 and the following years edited the *corpus* of Dostoevsky's letters,<sup>2</sup> is of opinion that the references are to *The Village of Stepanchikovo*. The letter of 9 May, 1859, already quoted, in which *The Village of Stepanchikovo* is referred to as a story the idea for which had been ripening in Dostoevsky over a period of five years (that is, at a time anterior to the very first mention of the comic story), would seem at first glance to prove him right. It is true that Dostoevsky does not continue to call *The Village of Stepanchikovo* a comic story; but that it is comic in the Dostoevskian sense, which we shall examine presently, is unquestionable; so that nothing here would prevent us from identifying the two, if it were not for other factors which give us pause. The first of these factors is a passage in a somewhat later letter from Dostoevsky to his brother, dated 9 November, 1856, in which he stresses the fragmentary character of his comic novel: "My novel has claimed me entirely. It is a very big work: the comic novel, begun in fun, and now developing into a thing which satisfies me. There will be some really excellent things in it. For Heaven's sake don't think me a braggart. There is no man juster and severer to himself in this connection than I. If only my former critics had realised that!

<sup>2</sup> F. M. Dostoyevsky, *Pis'ma*, ed. A. S. Dolinin, M., 1928, Vol. I, p. 538

It is certain fragments, completely rounded-off episodes, of this big novel that I would like to publish now."

Now, from the collation of this letter with the preceding one, the late-lamented P. N. Sakulin inferred that it was not *The Village of Stepanchikovo* but *Uncle's Dream* in which we should seek the nucleus of the big comic novel.<sup>3</sup> According to Sakulin the phrase in the first letter: "My hero has some affinities with me," which seems very odd in view of the remoteness of Dostoevsky from Prince K., the hero of *Uncle's Dream*—is to be understood as irony, bearing in mind that it was just at that time that Dostoevsky was wholly absorbed in his plans for marrying Marya Dmitrievna Isaeva. By way of confirming his hypothesis, Sakulin recalls inter alia that Vrangeli in his Memoirs (referred to above) says that Dostoevsky, while he was writing the work in question, "was in a mood of infectious gaiety; he would roar with laughter and relate to me adventures of the Uncle, humming snatches of operatic airs the while." This hypothesis of Sakulin also appears both possible and plausible. But can we justify his interpretation of the phrase: "My hero has affinities with me" as ironical? Dolinin is explicitly of opinion that the phrase is to be understood positively, which would of course rule out any reference to Prince K. "These words concerning the principal character," he writes, "seem entirely to rule out any supposition that the comic story *Uncle's Dream*, which was finished in 1859, represents one of the episodes of this novel. Such a description seems more easily applicable to *The Village of Stepanchikovo*, which is also a comic story and in which two characters, Foma Opiskin and Col. Rostanev, both of whom play a leading part in the story, do in fact show 'some affinities' with Dostoevsky."

In this remark Dolinin is commenting on another reference by Dostoevsky to a "big novel" (without any more determinate description) contained in a letter of 1 June, 1857, addressed to E. I. Yakushkin. That letter runs: "I will explain to you just what I am writing, though of course without detailing the matter. It is a long novel, the adventures of a single personage, integrally linked together in a general way, but consisting of episodes which are yet quite separate from one another and complete in themselves. Each episode constitutes a part [of the novel]."

If there were anything in common between *The Village of Stepanchikovo* and *Uncle's Dream*, it would be easy to cut the knot by treating both of them as episodes detached from the big novel.

<sup>3</sup> P. N. Sakulin, *Vtoroye nachalo* (in Vol II of the above edition of the Letters)

Indeed we might even conjecture that an original bond of community may have been eliminated in the course of the later elaboration of the two episodes, if it were not for certain further references by Dostoevsky to works conceived and planned by him in this very period, which combine to complicate matters still further. Sakulin makes use of these references as direct or indirect corroborations of his own hypothesis.

On 3 November, 1857, Dostoevsky wrote to his brother Michael : " As for my novel, both it and I have suffered from an awkward turn of events. This is how matters stand · I had determined and vowed that henceforward I would never publish anything half-thought-out or half-matured or indeed anything by a fixed date as I used, for financial reasons ; that I must not treat any work of art lightly but must work conscientiously, so that if I do write badly, as no doubt I often shall, it will be for lack of talent and not through carelessness or thoughtlessness. And so, when I saw that my novel was assuming enormous proportions and shaping splendidly, and yet it was necessary, absolutely necessary—for financial reasons—to finish it quickly, I wavered. There is nothing wretchered than such hesitation in the middle of work. It extinguishes zest, will-power, energy. I saw myself faced with the necessity of spoiling an idea which I had pondered for three years, for which I had gathered a vast mass of material (such quantities in fact that I could never make use of them all) and which I had already begun to body forth, jotting down a great number of separate scenes and chapters. More than half the work had been roughed out. But I saw that I could not finish even half by the date when my need of money would have become desperate. I tried to think, and to persuade myself, that I might write and publish it in instalments, for each part appeared to be separate. But I was more and more tormented by uncertainty. I have long made it a rule that when uncertainty creeps in, work must be abandoned, for work done in a state of uncertainty is no use. But I was still reluctant to give it up. Your letter, in which you say that nobody would accept it in instalments, made me put it by definitively . . . and so the whole novel and all the materials have now been put away in the drawer. I have started writing a story, not a very big one (about six sheets of print anyhow). When I finish that, I shall write a novel of Petersburg life, something like *Poor Folk* (but on an idea even better than that of *Poor Folk*)."

Leaving aside the " novel of Petersburg life," to which we find no further allusions, but which may have been *The Humiliated and*



*Oppressed* published later in 1861, we have to note that by the end of 1857 the big novel had been put aside and Dostoevsky was at work on a comparatively short story in the style of *Poor Folk*. The letter of 18 January, 1858, likewise addressed to his brother Michael, confirmed this putting aside of the big novel and added new comments on other works in hand: "My novel (the big one) I am leaving for the time being. I cannot write it to a fixed schedule. It would only wear me out; as it is, it had pretty well worn me out. I am leaving it till such time as my life becomes calm and settled. I set such store by that novel, it has grown to be a part of me to such a degree, that I could not on any account give it up for good. On the contrary I intend to make it my masterpiece. The idea is too good a one and has cost me too much for me to jettison the story. But now this is how things are: eight years ago I conceived an idea for a not very considerable novel, about as long as *Poor Folk*. Recently it came back to me and I have refashioned the plan of it. It has all come in handy just now. I have settled down to write this novel and hope to finish it in a couple of months. Furthermore—in my big novel there is an episode, quite rounded off and excellent on its own, but damaging to the whole. I intend to cut it out of the novel. It, too, is about the length of *Poor Folk* but comic in subject; it contains fresh characters."

Sakulin is quite certain that the episode thus specifically referred to is *Uncle's Dream*. "The hero," he says, "does indeed have a series of comic 'adventures,' and by its structure *Uncle's Dream* does in fact suggest 'an episode' which may well have been 'damaging to the whole.'"

This interpretation, however, would still leave with us the problem of *The Village of Stepanchikovo*, which, as has been said, was definitely written in the same period as *Uncle's Dream*. It can be solved, according to Sakulin, simply on the assumption that *The Village of Stepanchikovo* was precisely the story whose plan Dostoevsky said he had refashioned and which he intended to write in a couple of months. The "couple of months" turned out to be much more, as often happened to Dostoevsky on later occasions too; but *The Village of Stepanchikovo* is indeed a novel complete in itself, not an episode like *Uncle's Dream*, and the essence of the story (unlike *Uncle's Dream*) consists, not in comic adventures, but in the psychology "of two great character types entirely Russian but hitherto hardly dealt with in Russian literature," as Dostoevsky himself says.

Such, roughly speaking, are the conclusions of Dolinin and Sakulin, to which, for the sake of historical completeness, we may add the opinion of the critic M. P. Alekseev<sup>4</sup> who, as far back as 1921, in a study of Dostoevsky's attempts to write plays, had related *The Village of Stepanchikovo* to that comic novel of 1856-1857 which originated as a play. He did so in virtue of the theatrical character of many of its episodes; but this is hardly a cogent argument, in view of the theatrical character of many of the episodes of *Uncle's Dream*. We may further adduce the view of the German critic D. Gerhardt who has recently studied the relations between Gogol' and Dostoevsky. He considers it impossible to decide whether any connection exists between the original novel planned in 1856 and the two stories of the following year.<sup>5</sup>

We are of the opinion that Sakulin's conclusion seems fairly well founded, at any rate in so far as concerns the separate episode represented by *Uncle's Dream*, and we take this view not only for the reasons which he adduces but also on the strength of certain other factors, which we think may be combined with his. Indeed, if the episode which in 1858 Dostoevsky said he intended to detach from the big novel (which he had put away in his drawer), and to publish as a separate work had been not *Uncle's Dream* but *The Village of Stepanchikovo*, how could we explain the already quoted account of Vrangél', who, speaking of Dostoevsky's mood while he was writing the comic novel (which had originated as a comedy) tells us that the author "would laugh as he related" Uncle's adventures? It is clear that the "Uncle's adventures" comprised, if not the novel itself, at least part of it, or, as Dostoevsky himself expressed it, one episode among the many of which the novel itself consisted. Sakulin has rightly pointed out that this particular mood of Dostoevsky was characteristic of the period preceding his marriage. Indeed from this point of view the testimony of Vrangél' is seen to be of considerable importance when collated with testimony, which might be called analogous, bearing on a period ten years later—viz. the testimony of Dostoevsky's second wife Anna Grigoryevna,<sup>6</sup> for she tells us in her memoirs that, in the period of their engagement, Dostoevsky had the strange whim of acting the part of an old man pretending to be young. "For hours together," writes Anna Grigoryevna, "he would talk and think like his hero,

<sup>4</sup> M. P. Alekseev, *O dramaticheskikh opytakh Dostoyevskogo* (in the symposium *Tvorchestvo Dostoyevskogo*, ed. L. P. Grossman, Odessa, 1921).

<sup>5</sup> D. Gerhardt, *Gogol' und Dostoyevskij in ihren kunstlerschen Verhältnissen*, Leipzig, 1941, pp. 107 seqq.

<sup>6</sup> A. G. Dostoyevskaya, *Vospominaniya*, ed. L. P. Grossman, M., 1925.

the old prince in *Uncle's Dream*, and give utterance in this connection to all kinds of extraordinary ideas, funny, unexpected, amusing and profound." It is certainly a strange coincidence that Dostoevsky should show such infectious gaiety when relating Uncle's adventures to his friend Vrangél' on the eve of his first marriage, and that later, after the death of his first wife, in the very period of his engagement to Anna Grigoryevna, he should recall *Uncle's Dream*, imitating the ways of its hero and recreating in a sense its atmosphere.

This factor appears to us to be decisive, even though it still leaves some uncertainty about Sakulin's other hypothesis concerning the origin of *The Village of Stepanchikovo* (although there is no doubt that it was written definitely in the same period, whether as a new novel based on an old idea or as another episode of the comic novel conceived in 1856). In either case there would at any rate be no contradiction with Dostoevsky's statement in his letter of 9 May that it contains two typical Russian characters conceived by him five years earlier. In this connection we would, however, note a slight error on Sakulin's part, where he states that *The Village of Stepanchikovo* is mentioned by Dostoevsky by its title for the first time in a letter of 9 October, 1859, whereas the title in fact appears already in the latter part of the already quoted letter of 9 May in a passage dealing with a plan to republish some of his works in two volumes. As part of the contents of the second volume Dostoevsky mentions *Uncle's Dream* and *The Village of Stepanchikovo*: the latter obviously identical with the novel referred to in the first part of the letter, since in reference to both he speaks of a novel destined for M. N. Katkov, editor of *Russky Vestnik*.

The foregoing considerations seem to me to throw into relief two exceptionally important "moments" not only of the chronology but also of the interpretation of the development of Dostoevsky's whole work: namely, on the one hand his inclination to write comic novels and on the other the originally theatrical conception of some of his works. *Uncle's Dream* is unquestionably a very noteworthy document from both these points of view. Interpreters of Dostoevsky have often studied *Uncle's Dream* in relation to *The Village of Stepanchikovo*, to which it is artistically much inferior, and it has at times been dismissed as a work of quite secondary importance. Thus, for instance, E. H. Carr, who has written some very fine pages on Dostoevsky, characterised by both insight and learning, nevertheless describes *Uncle's Dream* as "a farce of no particular merit," thus making in a sense the same mistake as Belinsky, who, after having greeted *Poor Folk* with enthusiasm, dismissed *The*

*Double* as a farce, whereas it is to-day rightly considered a work of deep significance for the understanding of a great many problems connected with Dostoevsky. In the period following his imprisonment which Sakulin calls Dostoevsky's "second début," *Uncle's Dream*, no less than *The Village of Stepanchikovo* or than the plans for other works, reveals to us a phase of the writer's search for an artistic centre, which, by way of his major works of those years: *Memoirs of the House of the Dead* and *Humiliated and Oppressed*, was to issue in *Memoirs of the Underworld*, which forms the ideological, psychological and artistic starting-point for the great masterpieces from *Crime and Punishment* to *The Brothers Karamazov*.

As has been said, the first problem raised by *Uncle's Dream* and *The Village of Stepanchikovo* is that of Dostoevsky as a "comic" writer. Let us begin by recalling the negative reactions to Dostoevsky's attempts at humour of A. A. Kraevsky, editor of the periodical *Otechestvennye Zapiski* in which *The Village of Stepanchikovo* was ultimately published. Kraevsky's judgment, which was passed on to Dostoevsky by his brother Michael, refers particularly to that story but may be applied to *Uncle's Dream* and more generally to the problem of the comic elements in Dostoevsky. "About your novel [*The Village of Stepanchikovo*] he [Kraevsky] said that a great deal of it is magnificent: he likes Foma very much indeed. It reminded him of N. V. Gogol' in the melancholy period of his life. And so too the characters. He dwelt particularly on the mad girl: he said she was a charming creature . . . he said, too, that the end is magnificent and all the second part . . . but the beginning is prolix and, generally speaking, it is a pity that you should yield to the influence of humour and try to evoke laughter. 'Fyodor Mikhailovich's strong point' he added, 'is passion, pathos; in these he has perhaps no rival and therefore it is a pity for him to neglect that line.' And he ended by saying: 'I was unable to read *Uncle's Dream* through.' " What exactly it may have been that prevented Kraevsky from reading through *Uncle's Dream* cannot easily be determined, but the point that deserves notice is his disapproval of Dostoevsky's tendency to yield to the influence of humour. No one will dispute his statement that Dostoevsky's strong suit is passion and pathos, but it is striking that Kraevsky should have pointed it out at that time.

Nevertheless Kraevsky failed to draw from his reading of the two stories the conclusion which to-day seems to us obvious, namely, that Dostoevsky always saw the comic against a background of tragedy. He seems to be approaching some such conclusion when in

his comments on *The Village of Stepanchikovo* he brings up the name of Gogol', a name which at once evokes the famous Gogolian principle of "laughter through tears"; but that the reference is quite fortuitous on his part is underlined by his decided view of the tendency to comedy as something that could be eliminated from the real essence of Dostoevsky, which he identified with "pathos". The reference to Gogol' in connection with *The Village of Stepanchikovo* has a further significance—whether or not that was recognised by Kraevsky—which has since given much food for thought to students of Dostoevsky, some of whom have seen in this novel a veritable polemic against Gogol', a parody of his well-known *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends*. A polemical parody is of course not the same thing as humour, and whereas in Dostoevsky the bump of parody was very highly developed (one need only recall the scathing parody of I. Turgenev as Karmazinov in *The Demons* and perhaps the rather more disputable one of Chernyshevsky in *The Crocodile*), real humour appears only exceptionally. André Gide<sup>7</sup> has quite rightly observed that humour is almost entirely absent from Dostoevsky's *Correspondence*; and the philosopher I. I. Lapshin<sup>8</sup> has added, also quite rightly, that if in his literary battles Dostoevsky did use laughter as a weapon, it was almost always the bitter and malicious laughter of the satirist and parodist. Moreover Lapshin also notes that Dostoevsky, like Cervantes, Gogol', Griboyedov, Voltaire, Saltykov-Shchedrin and Balzac, had a wise perception of tragedy as at the base of comedy. In the course of his novels laughter is never a sign of spiritual serenity. This goes without saying for Stavrogin (in *The Demons*) laughing as he urges the convict Fed'ka to the murder of Marya Timofeevna, but it is equally true of Alyosha Karamazov and of Prince Myshkin and of the children who appear here and there in his works.

How then are we to explain the statement of Dostoevsky himself about how much he enjoyed conceiving and developing his comedy, or writing his comic novel; how explain Vrangél's description of his infectious gaiety in this very period? In this connection it is extremely interesting to recall a letter of Dostoevsky's to his second wife, written just ten years after Vrangél's account. "You usually see me, Anya, morose, gloomy, and cranky, but that is only appearance and such I have always seemed—racked and warped as I have been by destiny. But inside I am quite different, believe me!"

<sup>7</sup> A. Gide, *Dostoevsky d'après sa correspondance* (in: *Dostoevsky, Articles et Causeries*, Paris, 1923)

<sup>8</sup> I. I. Lapshin, *Komicheskoye v proizvedeniyakh Dostoyevskogo* (in: *O Dostoyevskom* II, ed. A. Bem, Prag, 1933)

Dostoevsky's readers will have difficulty in recognising the two-fold image of an author outwardly gloomy but at peace in the depths of his soul. Yet we cannot reject it when faced, not only with so explicit a declaration of the writer himself, but also with the fact, pointed out by Lapshin, that beside figures such as those of the "man underground" or his descendants such as Ivan Karamazov and Stavrogin, Dostoevsky has created the figures of Zosima, of Alyosha (in *The Brothers Karamazov*), of Makar Dolgoruky (in *The Raw Youth*) and of Prince Myshkin (in *The Idiot*).

For all the differences in scale and scope, it is certain that this problem is reflected also in *Uncle's Dream*. Among the complex interpretations of the ideological, psychological and artistic personality of Dostoevsky one may distinguish two main currents, one deriving from the famous study of N. Mikhailovsky<sup>9</sup> and another comprising all the interpretations opposed to it (from whatever point of view: religious, ethical, social or artistic) which may, we think, be summed up in the conception of Lapshin, attributing to Dostoevsky serenity of temperament and optimism of outlook driven to "ferocity" only by the heavy visitations of fate, by sickness, by conviction of the inevitability of universal evil: that is, making of Dostoevsky a metaphysical pessimist in his own despite. This latter conception would exactly correspond to what Dostoevsky wrote to his wife Anna Grigoryevna in 1867

But is there in fact such opposition between the two conceptions that we must consider them mutually exclusive, or do not the elements of the one rather interpenetrate those of the other, so as to combine, in the interpretations of his various works? Let us confine ourselves to mentioning here a few of these elements, without losing sight of the relation between *Uncle's Dream* and each of the two conceptions.

Mikhailovsky indeed does not speak of either comedy or humour, but confines himself to a study of something intermediate between them which he calls jesting. "Dostoevsky," he says, "was definitely no good at jesting. That was because he was too cruel, or, if that expression seems offensive, because the dominant note in his talent was that of tragedy. He attempted to write in a lighter vein more than once. But either his jest was aimed at something which could not in any way admit of jesting (as in *The Double*) or else his jesting reminds one, if I may be allowed the simile, of a cat at play: the cat by imperceptible degrees gets

<sup>9</sup> N. Mikhailovsky, *O Prsemshom i Dostoyevskom, Zhestokiy talant* (in Vol V of his Collected Works, ed E. E. Kolosov, S P., 1909-13)

irritated by the process of play and passes from playing to real and furious scratching and biting. There is, however, this difference, that Dostoevsky lacked the grace of a cat, he was always introducing into his jests the harshest and most graceless strains (as in *Uncle's Dream*, *The Crocodile*, etc.)."

Lapshin, on the other hand, with reference more particularly to *Uncle's Dream*, says: "Whereas Tolstoy often pokes good-natured fun at human stupidity, Dostoevsky mocks with biting sarcasm at human meanness and human malice. But in him also we can find many examples of the humorous delineation of a stupid course of thought in which the ideas are either confused or incoherent. Such are certain ratiocinations of General Pralinsky and Prince K. in *Uncle's Dream*." In effect humorous delineation appears rather adventitious than essential; and if we consider that he himself admits that even certain intentionally comic situations, for instance, certain attitudes of Fyodor Pavlovich Karamazov or the conversation of the dead in *Bobok* (in the *Diary of the Writer*), assume in the course of being worked out "an unpleasant nuance of cynicism," it is not impossible to find real points of contact between the two extreme conceptions which we have attributed to Mikhailovsky and Lapshin respectively. Indeed Mikhailovsky himself, while emphasising in the general course of his work the conception of a cruelty inherent in the character of Dostoevsky, was yet not unwilling, as we have seen, to substitute for the idea of cruelty that of "a note of tragedy" as predominating in Dostoevsky's genius. In Lapshin's eyes cynicism represents a culminating point—one form among others. "Often," he writes, "Dostoevsky's comedy is tragi-comedy and sometimes he rounds off tragic scenes with a spiteful satirical outburst." In other words, comedy and tragedy co-exist in him. But the main difference between the older and the more recent conception lie in their ultimate conclusions; for according to Mikhailovsky the comic element does not in any case go beyond the cruelty or the note of tragedy inherent in the very character of Dostoevsky, whereas according to Lapshin and to the majority of more recent critics of Dostoevsky—especially those who postulate a fundamental natural serenity in his temperament—the comic element issues in a peculiar attitude to the problem of universal evil. "In his artistic creation," says Lapshin, "in his delineation of the destroyers of the principle of the good, he is fighting others but at the same time himself also, and in this æsthetic catharsis the malicious laugh, the cynical mockery, the cynical returning to God of his entrance ticket into the harmony of the

universe, all these are for him artistic means to the purification of his own soul from the products of spiritual decomposition." And elsewhere: "To Tolstoy and other writers like him, such as Goncharov, A. Tolstoy and Ostrovsky, whose work is characterised by comedy but who are optimists in metaphysics and dogmatists in ethics, such mockery is alien: the bitter, malevolent, terrible mockery, the satirical derision of God, of a moral order in the universe, of human nature and human destiny, and the comical emphasis on the phenomenon of disharmony in the world. Beginning with the duality of Golyadkin and ending with the duality of Ivan Karamazov, Dostoevsky's work reveals the terrible spiritual schism against which he struggles desperately, very often making use in this struggle of the weapon of laughter, but not in the form of that gentle humour which characterises the metaphysical optimist and the ethical dogmatist. In Dostoevsky's spirit the disharmony can appear only in the form: '*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.*'"

We need not follow Lapshin in his further deductions nor in the comparison he draws between Dostoevsky and Maupassant. Our quotations from him as the most recent analyst of the comic element in Dostoevsky should, we think, suffice to make clear the aspect of it embodied in *Uncle's Dream*, as well as in *The Village of Stepanchikovo* and other stories in the same key, and to justify on more general grounds Sakulin's hypothesis that Dostoevsky's words "my hero has some affinities with me" may be ironical. The comparison, which at first sight seems so unlikely, of Dostoevsky with his Prince K. would appear, in the light of the above, perfectly Dostoevskian, and no less so the juxtaposition of the comic situation of the Prince, who is made to believe that he had only dreamed he was engaged, and the situation of the girl betrothed to him at the insistence of her ambitious mother and, finally, the situation of her first fiancé who dies of consumption in his grief at being jilted.

Meier-Graefe<sup>10</sup> who had forestalled Sakulin in equating *Uncle's Dream* with the "comic novel" which had originated as a comedy, and had therefore recognised that Dostoevsky's phrase "my hero has certain affinities with me" must refer to Prince K.—offers among a number of negative comments on this novel in general a very happy observation on the subject of its tragic content: "Schiller had survived the convict prison." This reference is explained by Meier-Graefe himself as reflecting one of the elements of the period, which we have described as one of Dostoevsky's search for an artistic centre of his own, and which Sakulin denominated the "second début."

<sup>10</sup> Julius Meier-Graefe, *Dostojewskij der Dichter*, Berlin, 1926, pp 114 seqq



Indeed Schiller, who had been one of the lodestars of Dostoevsky's early intellectual development, was still very much alive in him, and the same is true of romanticism in general. Each of his new works represents essentially an effort to free himself from him, whether by veering towards other influences (such as that of Dickens, to whom *The Humiliated and Oppressed* owes so much) or by presenting in grotesque form the former object of his love (from which point of view the interpretation of this work as a parody of Gogol', though no doubt inadequate, may not be entirely inadmissible). The allusion to Schiller is worth bearing in mind also in connection with the third aspect which makes *Uncle's Dream* important: that is (besides its "comic" aspect in the Dostoevskian sense and its aspect as a work of transition) what we might call its theatrical aspect.

Dostoevsky's attitude to the theatre is not without interest. We may recall that from his early youth he had shown a real enthusiasm for the theatre, partly under the influence of his friend A. N. Shidlovsky, who had, if not initiated him, certainly encouraged him in the study of Schiller and of Romanticism. None of Dostoevsky's youthful attempts at play-writing has come down to us, but we know that there were at least three of them, based respectively on the influence of Schiller, of Pushkin and of Gogol'. From the influence of the last-named Dostoevsky was to find considerable difficulty in freeing himself. There is therefore nothing strange in the fact that, after the years of inactivity in prison, he should, when setting out in search of his self, find the memory of Schiller at the back of his own artistic consciousness together with that of Gogol', not to mention Pushkin, who had never left him and was never to leave him while he lived. Schiller, Pushkin and Gogol' were for him closely linked to the theatre and so the idea of writing a play came to him naturally. Not for nothing does he write to his brother in an account of his plans for the future: "I intend now to write novels and plays." And a critic whom we have quoted already, M. P. Alekseev, is right to observe: "There is no exaggeration in this declaration, as one might believe; it is the logical development of the very ideas which had informed his youth."

It was from his hesitation whether to choose the form of a play or a story that *Uncle's Dream* and *The Village of Stepanchikovo* derived. Something of this uncertainty was always to remain with Dostoevsky, and hence the possibilities of staging his novels or episodes from his novels which have so engaged the interest of producers, not only in Russia but outside. The character of the

period in which the two comic novels were written has left traces particularly in comic episodes of many later works as an exceptionally cogent illustration we might quote the meeting of the nihilists at Virginsky's in *The Demons*. But, after all, the whole of Dostoevsky's work reveals a dramatic element in the "cut of the characters and of the scenes." This is not to be taken as committing us to V. Ivanov's conception of Dostoevsky's novels as compounds of novel and tragedy, in view of the particular spiritual and critical implications of that conception. But it may be of interest to recall the judgment of a professional connoisseur of the theatre, Nemirovich-Danchenko, one of the founders of the Moscow Art Theatre, who says: "Dostoevsky writes as a novelist but feels as a playwright. The imagery and dialogue savour of the stage. There is much in his novels that is meant for the theatre—for the stage—and would take its place easily and naturally within the framework of the stage, merging with its peculiar demands and conditions. There are whole chapters which are really and truly so many fragments of a play."

But, bearing in mind this characterisation and the new endorsement of it to be found in the critic Zavadsky's<sup>11</sup> redefinition of drama "in the light of Dostoevsky's novels" (for Zavadsky "a play is the novel—or epos—itself staged, that is, adapted to the stage or, in other words, amplified by the art of movement," which goes to explain the suitability of the novels for transfer to the stage), we cannot but point out that Dostoevsky himself did not fully share these views nor these conceptions of the scenic potentialities of his books. On the contrary, in a letter of 1872, addressed to someone who had asked his permission to make a play out of *The Demons*, Dostoevsky wrote: "It is a sort of mysterious property of all art that epic form can never find correspondence in dramatic form. I even believe that for the different forms of art there exist corresponding categories of poetic ideas, so that an idea of one kind can never find expression in a different form which does not correspond to it."

But on the basis of this principle how are we to explain the exchange of dramatic for narrative form in 1856, i.e., at the time when work conceived as a comedy was re-cast as a novel? An explanation is offered in the very same letter, where Dostoevsky draws a distinction between turning the novel into a play and turning one of its episodes into a play, and also between drawing

<sup>11</sup> S. V. Zavadsky, *Novoye opredeleniye dramy v svete romanov Dostoyevskogo* (in: *O Dostoyevskom*, I, Prag, 1929, pp. 145-52)

a play from the subject-matter of the novel itself and the working out in terms of the theatre of the idea underlying the narrative work. He considered the latter alternative in each case permissible but not the former. And he evidently admitted the possibility of the reverse process. All this is borne out in our opinion by the fact that the comic novel which originated as a comedy (in which Sakulin sees the first draft of *Uncle's Dream*, Dolinin that of *The Village of Stepanchikovo*) had been conceived and in part set down in separate episodes each complete in itself.

ETTORE LO GATTO.

Rome, 1943.

*English Version by* F. F. SEELEY.

# FIRE-DANCES IN BULGARIA—1939

## I

FIRE everywhere in ancient rites and magic was held to be a purifying and life-giving agent ; and in Bulgaria at the present time ritual fire-dancing is still performed in a few isolated villages, where, once a year, certain people known as Nestinarki,<sup>1</sup> or fire-dancers, dance in ecstasy, barefoot, on red-hot embers. (I do not know the position with regard to these ancient ceremonies now, in 1948, nor how many old rites and customs have survived the tremendous upheavals of the Second World War.) These fire-dancing villages are situated in south-east Bulgaria near the Gulf of Burgas,<sup>2</sup> in a region that was part of ancient Thrace, where so many strange rites and cults existed, some of which survive even to the present day. That so many of these old customs persisted for so long is due, I think, to three main causes : (1) that the population consisted, and still consists, of peasants working on their land, often in family groups ; (2) that the country is mountainous, and the villages difficult of access ; and (3) (which is, perhaps, the most important of all from the point of view of the survival of ancient rituals) that this part of the Balkans was under Turkish domination for some five hundred years, being freed from Ottoman rule only after the Balkan war of 1912. During these centuries of subjugation old ceremonies and customs were conserved, more especially since education and culture were not encouraged, sometimes not even permitted, by the ruling Turks. So naturally the peasants clung fiercely to their village festivals, whether national, religious or semi-religious, as an outlet for their aspirations, and to bring colour and drama into their otherwise hard and difficult lives—in fact they were a means of “escape.”

These village ceremonies included many ancient fertility rites of spring, and of these, fire-festivals of all kinds were important and widespread. So in May 1939 I went to Burgas, on my way to see the Bulgarian fire-dances. I knew that they were more or less secret ceremonies connected with an ancient fertility rite, that was performed on the festival of SS. Constantine and Helena (21–22 May/3–4 June), and that, probably, it would not be easy to find out in which villages they were to be performed or even whether there would be any ceremonies at all that year. No fire-dances had taken place in 1938, and it seems that this fire-festival is not necessarily

celebrated every year, for various reasons—sometimes, the peasants told me, because there was no urge of inspiration, sometimes for lack of the right kind of sacrificial beast, or even as a punishment for its absence, in spite of the consequent loss of fertility.

The actual ceremonies I witnessed were performed in the village of Bulgari, still the centre of the fire-ritual in the district. This village, like so many of the mountain villages in Bulgaria, is of the scattered or open type, with the houses dotted about singly or in clusters, each standing in its own garden or orchard, abutting on to the main street or one of the many side lanes that make up this village of some hundred and forty houses. The houses are built of sun-baked mud bricks, with white or colour-washed walls and roofs of red curly tiles. The school, and the offices of the *kmet* or "village mayor," together with the meeting-room of the village elders, are contained in two similar but larger white-washed buildings. These buildings, with a number of cottages, and the church dedicated to SS. Constantine and Helena, stand on either side of a wide and open space of short grass and dusty earth. This open space has no definite boundaries, and might be compared to, though it cannot properly be described as, either a village green or a village square: it is large and bare and unsophisticated, really nothing more than an almost treeless piece of ground in the middle of the village where gatherings and festivities of all sorts are held.

Bulgari, though only some thirty miles distant from Burgas, is not easy to reach, as it is off the beaten track in the mountainous hinterland of Burgas. It is situated on a wide grassy plateau bordered by forests of beech and wild rhododendron, while oak forests cover the more distant mountain slopes. In summer and late spring the soil of this plateau gets dry and dusty, because much of the grass is worn away, while that which remains is always close-cropped by the sheep and cattle of the villagers.

Since I wanted to see the fire-ceremonies as much like a local inhabitant as possible I took the 4 p.m. Burgas bus that arrived at its terminus in the little town of Czarevo on the Black Sea about seven o'clock in the evening. The road, as long as it ran beside the Black Sea, was fairly good by Balkan standards. Woods bordered it on the landward side, and one's eyes were delighted with the mingling of the opaque greens, blues, and browns of the rollers, perched like swallows on the telegraph wires, with the colours of the flowers blossoming at the edges of the woods. There was the white of the may-trees in full bloom, the deep cream of the great scabious, erect and many-branched like giant candlesticks, the pale

shades of the wild roses and honeysuckle growing in profusion everywhere, magenta lychnis, and tall crimson thistles with spineless leaves that grew almost as high as a man, all of them blending with the dark purples and faint mauves of the climbing vetches. Twice, because of a broken log-bridge, the bus had to turn aside up a rough hill-track, in obedience to the warning legend: "Drive to the Right," fastened to a pole propped up by stones, and stuck in the ground in front of the gap. And all the time cuckoos<sup>3</sup> cursed us from the trees, and in the brooks the frogs croaked their disapproval as we jolted along the dusty way.

Next day I hired a single horse—all the others were away ploughing. This its peasant-owner Dimitri and I rode by turns over the fifteen or sixteen miles of rough country to the village of Bulgari, which we reached in the early afternoon. Here, after first visiting the *kmet*, I went to see Baba Nuna,<sup>4</sup> the presiding spirit of the fire-dances, a hale and hearty old peasant woman of about eighty years, and very intelligent, also considered somewhat of a white witch. She was short, plump and thick-set, with a large, pale, russet-coloured face, loose features, a big mouth and nose, and queer, pale, bluish-grey eyes that looked dim and faded, yet seemed to gaze at you, and through you into the distance beyond. She told me she had always had a great deal to do with the fire-dance ritual. She was a "character," and she knew, subconsciously perhaps, the value of publicity and money, for which latter she asked, explaining that she was poor, and needed the money to buy salt.<sup>5</sup> She was dressed in faded black with a black head-scarf; and lived in a small round one-roomed hut, set in its own little garden of flowers, vegetables, and a few fruit trees at the edge of the rhododendron and beech forest that straggled up towards that end of the village. She had lived there, she told me, since 1903, when the Turks killed her husband, and burnt down her cottage together with most of the village. She sat on a cushion on the floor (as indeed we all did) beside her huge chimney-hearth, where tall upright oak-logs were burning. Across the rafters above, arranged like beams, were the five planks for her coffin; these, she explained, had rested there a long time as she was now very old. On the other side of the great chimney sat a peasant, wearing the magenta homespun and high black lambskin cap of the district, with his small daughter leaning against his knees. I sat opposite, listening to Baba Nuna's story and to the quick nibbling of the mice behind a hand-woven curtain in the corner.

After the usual greetings and questions, and in response to my

inquiry, Baba Nuna said : " Last year, thou knowest, there were no fire-dances, because the village would only give a cock for sacrifice. And St. Constantine appeared to me, and complained that he had no blood. He told me he desired blood. Now this year they are going to kill a bull for him instead of the smaller beasts of other years that he neither liked nor wanted. So thou wilt see that this year the dances will be specially good, and we shall have much corn and many white lambs in the fields, because of the fine young black bull that the village has given for him." She also confided that she had been only twelve years old when she had started to dance on hot embers. " It was after St. Constantine appeared to me dressed in fine clothes with a red sword in his belt.<sup>6</sup> He told me to dance then, just as years later he told my daughter to dance ; for without his permission no one dances the fire-dance. For, thou knowest, this village, and indeed the whole district, is under his protection." She described how, when she was a young girl, St. Constantine used often to appear to her, sometimes alone, sometimes in company with St. Elijah.<sup>7</sup> She also explained that they had always danced the fire-dance, even in Turkish times ; " and," she went on, " whenever our ancient drum (*tupan*), which is used only for this fire-festival, and the bagpipes (*gaida*) begin to play the special Nestinarki or Fire-dancers' Horo,<sup>8</sup> it is still St. Constantine who bids us, the Nestinarki, dance. But now," she sighed, " for six long years there has been no fire-dancing for me, because I am too old ! "

In 1939 only three women in the village of Bulgari danced the actual fire-dance on glowing embers : (1) *Baba Marinka*, a pleasant old peasant woman of about sixty years, with ruddy cheeks, and a brown wrinkled face like a shrivelled russet-apple, said she had been fire-dancing for the last thirty years, and was the only one of the (1939)\* Nestinarki who habitually went barefoot ; (2) *Zlata Georgeva Daskalova*, between forty-five and fifty years of age, was fire-dancing for the first time, though she explained that for several years past the idea of doing so had been in her mind, but not until this year had the " urge to dance in trance " been so overwhelming that she knew beyond any shadow of doubt that at last St. Constantine's " orders to dance " had come to her ; and (3) *Zlata Stamova*, about thirty-seven, tall, with pale small eyes, was also dancing the fire-dance for the first time. All three were married, and the two Zlatas were also kin to Baba Nuna. Three other women danced in ecstasy during the ceremonies, though they no longer danced on the hot embers.

## II

The first day's ceremonies, on June the third, SS. Constantine and Helena's Day or, as the peasants in Bulgari more usually called it, St. Helena's Eve, began about six o'clock with the ordinary Orthodox morning service (*utrenya*). But the real ritual of the day did not start until the ringing of the church bell about ten o'clock. This was the signal for the peasants, men, women, and children, to congregate inside and outside the church, in readiness to escort the ikons of SS. Constantine and Helena ceremonially out of the church, across the grassy space or "village square," into the *konak* or ikon-room. The priest was not present at the church, but two peasants in national dress, seemingly acting as sacristans and leaders of ceremonial, took the ikons from their places in the church, and, after censuring them, presented them to the ikon-bearers. These were three boys, about fifteen years old, wearing their ordinary peasant dress of magenta homespun with their best white embroidered shirts. So the boys carried their ikons and the sacristans their censers to the *konak* through the surging throngs of peasants, who kept crossing themselves and trying to catch the incense-smoke. This *konak*, said to be all that remains of an ancient monastery, is just large enough to hold about a hundred tightly-packed people. Here the sacristans draped each ikon in a red cover edged with (votive) silver coins and crosses, but leaving clear the front with its coloured representations of the two saints. Then two men started to play the special Nestinarki or Fire-dancers' Horo<sup>9</sup> on the sacred drum and on the bagpipes. A little later Baba Nuna herself came in. At first she danced slowly, supporting herself by holding a man's hand; afterwards she fell into trance, and danced faster, yapping excitedly like a dog, and uttering sounds like "Yap, yap, erp, erp!" Then the other Nestinarki danced slowly in ecstasy. One of them, Zlata Stamova, also yapped every now and then, while another, Zlata Daskalova, gave out cries of "Wuff, wuff, uff, uff!"<sup>10</sup> All of them kept dancing in trance inside and outside the *konak*, and in and out amongst the people, apparently disregarding them entirely.

About half an hour later a procession to bless the water and the land<sup>11</sup> was formed, led by the ikon-boys with their ikons, the Nestinarki, the piper and drummer. First of all it went through the village, making two or three excursions into the cultivated lands and pastures, when the ikons were set up and Nestinarki and peasants danced around them. Then its way wound down steep and slippery



paths through the beech and rhododendron woods that shimmered pale green in the morning sunlight or darkly glistened through the raindrops, till it reached its destination, a holy well in a forest glade. Here, as soon as the priest arrived, the water was blessed according to the usual Orthodox rite, and the foreheads, first of the men, then of the women and children, were signed with the cross, for the sexes kept apart, as in church, for these ceremonies.

### III

Next came the Dance of the Virgins—peasant girls wearing their white head-scarves, the sign of virginity. This was a great horo danced in the forest round a huge beech-tree to the accompaniment of the drum and bagpipes. After a short time the two Zlatas fell into trance as they danced before the ikons. Their faces were still and set, and they held their hands in the air, and kept yapping or wuffing at intervals. Soon they bade everyone join in the dance, declaring that this horo should be a dance for everybody, not only for the virgins. So at once the men came down from their green seats on the hillsides, and the women came up, and all the people were linked in one wide circle that moved, sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly, sometimes in sunshine, sometimes in rain, round the great beech-tree.

As the last dance was ending the procession began to straggle back to the village up the steep and slippery forest paths, still led by the ikon-boys, the Nestinarki, the drum and pipes, and now the priest as well. Once out of the forest the procession wandered through the high lands of the village, over rough paths, along deep-rutted tracks, past hedgeless cultivated fields and pastures, to bring fertility and plenty to the farthest bounds. Most of the time the Nestinarki were in trance dancing behind the ikons. Sometimes the peasants sang, sometimes they danced the horo, more often they walked. As they came out of the forest, this is one of the songs they sang :

“ There grew an Apple-tree  
Deep in the green forest,  
Beside a cold stream ;  
And under the Apple-tree sat  
Two young people—two young lovers,  
And to the Apple-tree they spake :

' O Apple-tree, sweet Apple-tree !  
 O best of trees !  
 O best of all trees !  
 O best-known of all trees !  
 That from Stambul didst come  
 From the palace of the Sultan !  
 O Apple-tree ! If I can take her,  
 Take and wed my own true love ;  
 Then, O Apple-tree, thou shalt blossom  
 From thy crown of branches to thy very roots.  
 But—if I cannot take her and wed her,  
 Then, O Apple-tree, thou shalt wither away  
 From thy crown of branches to thy very roots.' "

The Nestinarki, on the other hand, never ceased their dancing : they repeatedly went into trance, and yapped or wuffed according to their nature. At times they uttered strange words, with greenness for their theme or the sacredness of the forests, speaking also of beauty and fertility. But it was not always possible to catch everything they said, either because their words were spoken indistinctly or very low, while sometimes they were unknown to me or I was too far away to hear, besides it was not easy, even in daylight, to transcribe them as one walked with the procession in its uneven odyssey.

#### IV

At the conclusion of the ceremonies of blessing the water and the land, the sun shone fitfully as the Nestinarki, the ikon-boys with their ikons, led the procession, still accompanied by the sound of the drum and pipes, back from the fields, across a wide open space, to the place of sacrifice. This was a large copse, surrounded by palings, with the entrance-gateway surmounted by a high wooden archway with a cross over it. Here the beast of sacrifice (*korban*), a young black bull, was waiting tied to a tree. He was about three years old, and looked sleek and well groomed. As soon as the procession arrived, the ikon-boys grouped themselves with their ikons close to the bull. The priest, still wearing his epitrahil, also stood near. He kept swinging his censer over the sacred bull, the ikons, the fire-dancers, and the tightly-wedged bystanders, while he chanted the Lord's Prayer and the special prayers for forgiveness, plenty and fertility, customary at this sacrificial rite :

“ Blessed be our God !  
 O Lord God Almighty !  
 Holy and deathless !  
 Have mercy upon us !

O most holy Trinity  
 Have mercy upon us !

Our Father . . .

*(Prayer of SS. Constantine and Helena)*

Glory be to the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We pray Thee to hallow this dish of meat, as Thou didst hallow the ram brought to Thee by faithful Abraham, and the lamb that Abel offered for sacrifice with the fruits of the earth, and the fatted calf that Thou didst command to be slain for the Prodigal Son, who had been lost and was found again. And as he was deemed worthy of Thy grace, so, in like manner, may we worthily enjoy those things hallowed and blessed by Thee for our food and sustenance. For Thou art the source of all blessing and all plenty ! So to Thee, Father Almighty, Giver of Life, be thanks and glory, now and forever more, world without end. Amen.

O Lord have mercy upon us !  
 O Lord God, we pray Thee  
 Of Thy great goodness,  
 Grant us Thy pardon,  
 And have mercy upon us !  
 In the name of the Father . . .<sup>12</sup>

During the chanting of these prayers the two sacristans either held or tied a lighted candle to each of the bull's horns : he did not like this. Afterwards the bull was led down the enclosure, and, close to the cross over the entrance-gate, was thrown on his back, and killed in a moment by having his throat cut. Everyone crowded round, particularly the men and boys, and blocked all view. The bull was skinned and cut up at once, each of the hundred and forty households receiving a portion.

## V

As soon as the disposal of the sacrifice was over, the peasants accompanied the ikons back to the “ village square,” where singing and dancing continued till, at half-past one, everybody went home

for the midday meal, leaving the village deserted in the dusty sunshine. Here is one of the songs they sang :

“ Tell me, Little Grozdana,  
Grozdana, sweet friend, tell me,<sup>13</sup>  
How many lovers thou hast loved ? ”

“ I’ll tell thee, dear friend, I’ll tell thee ! <sup>14</sup>  
Since I left my brother-in-law’s village  
I have loved :  
Nine, in our village,  
And ten, in the village of Sersteshtina ! . . .

But Iliya—that spoilt mother’s darling,  
I’ll never take him !  
But I will take, I will take  
Zhalya the Cobbler,  
Who goes tap-clack, tap-clack  
In his big boots when he dances ! ”

## VI

Sometime between 6.30 and 7 p.m. the ringing of the church bell with the beating of the drum and the wailing of the bagpipes announced that the time for kindling the great fire had come. To make this fire a cartload of oak-logs, comprising more than a cubic metre of wood, had been stacked in the “ village square ” in front of the church, and out of this men and boys had built a huge bonfire of logs, set upright and arranged in the same way as in the great hearths of their own homes. All the time the logs were burning the drum and bagpipes were playing, and most of the young people were dancing the horo round the great blaze. From time to time the long chain of dancers vanished into the outer parts of the village, always to return to move in quick or slow measure round and round the bonfire, and in and out among the onlookers, for it seemed as if the dancers could not long remain away, but were compelled to return to the great fire—the centre and pivot of all that night’s ritual. Meanwhile the older peasants, standing or sitting around the fire, gossiped or sang traditional songs of love and spring, while boys and men kept sending up great columns of sparks as they poked the burning logs.

“ They’d always been sweethearts,  
 The two of them, Kolyu and Minka,  
 They’d always loved one another,  
 When they were little and when they had grown ,  
 So when they had grown—  
 Kolyu sent his envoys to Minka  
 To ask her in marriage.<sup>15</sup>

But his mother sent them to another maiden—  
 To another maiden in another parish ,<sup>16</sup>  
 And she said nothing to Minka.  
 So Minka’s kinsmen went in protest  
 To Minka’s father and uncle . . .”

(This is all of the song I was able to get. But it was a long song, telling of the troubles of the envoys, the two maidens, and the deeds of the young man and his autocratic mother.)

Still the music played, and still the ikon-boys, holding their ikons, looked on—till at length the fire sank down red and glowing. Then about nine o’clock, when dusk had fallen and only a few stars were twinkling, the drummer and the piper struck up the special Nestinarki Horo, as (or was the music the signal for their advance ?) the three Nestinarki came dancing in trance towards the fire. Their faces were still and set, their eyes seemed glazed with a far-off look in them, and they held their hands high, with fingers apart as they advanced, wuffing and yapping, nearer and nearer to the fire, as if drawn thither by the music’s magic urge.

The Nestinarki were barefoot the whole of their fire-dancing on both nights, (Baba Marinka as usual, but the two Zlatas had taken off the shoes they generally wore.)

## VII

As soon as the three Nestinarki (Baba Marinka and the two Zlatas) reached the fire, one of the sacristans stirred round the few still-flaming logs before he raked out the glowing embers, spreading them into a red shimmering carpet, three yards long, two yards wide, and two and a half inches deep.<sup>17</sup> And immediately this was finished, the three women in ecstasy danced to the edge of this glowing carpet, then back into the surrounding dust. Next they danced forward across the hot embers and into the dust on the other side, then back across the embers and into the dust, on the other side, again back across the embers and into the dust once more, the whole repeated again and again, with longer or shorter

excursions on to, and into, the red-hot, in some parts white-hot, embers. They were in trance the whole of their fire-dancing. They held their hands up, and their faces were still and rigid, their eyes glazed and seemingly unfocused except, perhaps, on some distant or inward vision. They took short quick dancing steps back and forth over the glowing embers, and again when dancing in the grassy dust beyond. Sometimes they went right across the whole three-yard length of the "dancing-floor" in a single dance, sometimes they went only half-way over before dancing backwards or sideways into the dust. But, whether they danced the whole or only half or quarter way across the hot embers, they never seemed to miss a dust-dance between each fire-dance. In all they went right across the fiery embers some six or seven times. Once, when Zlata Stamova was dancing, a red ember stuck to her foot, but she seemed unconscious of it, and did not even bother to remove it.

Both the Zlatas were off and on the fiery embers a great deal (about ten minutes altogether); and old Baba Marinka took one of the ikons, and danced with it to and fro over the glowing carpet: the ikon was half as big as she was, and her height would be four feet eight or nine inches. Once, while dancing near the heart of the fire, she stumbled over a long log, and fell down, but she picked herself up at once, and went on dancing, hardly noticing when a man put out a small red smouldering patch on her black skirt. One of the spectators, the teacher, timed the fire-dancing, which lasted nine or ten minutes: this was longer than usual, the peasants said.

### VIII

All the Nestinarki walked normally—Baba Marinka barefoot as usual, but the two Zlatas had put on their shoes again. Their eyes, however, still looked glassy and their faces set and rigid, as they waited outside the door in the west wall of the *konak* while the ikons were being put in their places inside. Soon afterwards Baba Nuna arrived, escorted by a host of peasants, who stood about talking after they had kissed the ikons. Then four young married peasant women went into the *konak*, where each pair spread a red cotton strip of hand-woven stuff the whole length of the floor, and over this a narrower white piece. Next an old man threw a great many flat, round bread-loaves down each side of both white cloths. And at once three or four other women brought in bowls of yoghurt, made of soured sheep's milk, and dishes filled with narrow strips of dried meat, while, at the end nearest the door, two men set down

a large cauldron (*bakratch*) filled with a stew made from the bull of sacrifice.

As soon as everyone was seated on the cushions already arranged round the "table-cloths," and those who could find no room round these had spread their own handkerchiefs on the floor in front of themselves, a village elder, acting as Master of Ceremonies, cut thick wedges of bread for everybody. Next Baba Nuna stood up, bidding everyone do likewise, while the M.C. chanted a long grace of blessing and thanksgiving for the food, with prayers for a bountiful harvest, health and fertility for all: the people continually crossed themselves, and finally said "Amen."

The feast began with the passing round of the *rakren* (plum brandy) flask, as everybody helped themselves to strips of dried meat and sour milk from the dishes and bowls in front of them. After some desultory conversation, first Baba Nuna, then the M.C. discoursed on the blessings of fertility and bountiful harvests, giving thanks for the same (*blagosilya*). Then general conversation was resumed until Baba Nuna again arose to invoke more of these general blessings. And always the feasting went on. Some time during the evening the two sacristans carried round the cauldron of sacrifice, and everyone helped himself to a piece of bull—it was very tough. At the beginning of the meal the three Nestinarki stood, but afterwards they sat down, like the rest of us, to eat. Their faces still looked set, vacant, and stiff. They told me their feet were not burnt, and did not hurt at all, but felt just as usual. They seemed quite willing for me to examine them. But Baba Nuna would not hear of this. She told me their feet were perfectly normal, not harmed at all, so it was quite unnecessary for me to see them, besides to do so, would be to doubt God and St. Constantine, who, as always, had taken care of the fire-dancers. She was very firm about this, and in the end led them away to her hut. Certainly the fire-dancers walked just as usual, as if their feet were quite unhurt and normal: there was no sign of limping or pain either immediately after their fire-dancing or during the rest of the evening or next day. The following night, however, I managed to look at Baba Marinka's feet—they had no marks on them, and looked like the feet of any ordinary peasant.

This ritual was a fire-dance, not a fire-walk. At no time did the women in ecstasy walk, they always danced with short quick steps, whether on the red embers or following the ikons in the processions of blessing the water and the land.

It was sometime about 10.30 p.m. that we left the *konak*, when

most of the older men and women, who were the only partakers of the sacrificial feast, went home. Meanwhile in the "village square" the younger people had pushed together the few still smouldering logs in the great bonfire, so as to continue their dancing and singing round it in the moonlight, since, by this time, the clouds had cleared, leaving the night-dark sky lambent and the landscape sharp and clear in the sheen of the full moon.<sup>18</sup>

## IX

The ceremonies of the second day, usually called St. Helena's Day by the peasants, were very similar to those of the first, except for the absence of the sacrifice, and for the addition of the great Fertility Dance, danced by the Nestinarki in and out of each of the hundred and forty houses in the village to bring health, fertility, and plenty to every family. They entered the first house about 6.30 in the evening, and ended up in the last at one o'clock in the early morning. During the whole of this time the drum and pipes were playing the Horo of the Fire-dancers as the Nestinarki danced in ecstasy in and out of the houses. Sometimes they danced in one room only, sometimes in two or three, at other times they danced merely in the courtyard or garden: occasionally they rested or talked with their hosts. But wherever they went the three ikon-boys with the ikons, the two sacristans, and the crowd went too. When, however, they danced outside only, the ikons were always taken into the cottage, accompanied by the sacristans and various friends of that particular family from among the crowd. But their stay inside was usually short, for it seemed that, in this fertility ritual, ikons and fire-dancers must never be parted for long. And, as they left, each householder always gave offerings of either sweets, little cakes or bread, *rakien*, yellow wax-candles or money •

During this Fertility Dance the Nestinarki often went into trance, indeed they were more often in than out of the trance-state. Then each danced in her own characteristic way: Baba Marinka swung her arms backwards and forwards at the level of her waist, occasionally uttering yaps, though for the most part she was a silent dancer. Zlata Daskalova often danced in ecstasy with her eyes closed, holding her arms outstretched with hands upturned and fingers wide apart, though at times she clasped her hands behind her neck, while she constantly gave tongue to wuffing cries. Zlata Stamova danced with her hands held high in the air: she gave forth yapping cries.



Twice during the Fertility Dance the Nestinarki, the ikon-boys with the ikons, and the rest of the procession went singing and dancing away through the village to its farthest bounds, and into the pasture-lands beyond. Once, on the outskirts of the village, the fire-dancers danced in and out among the sheep and cows and round about the goats,<sup>19</sup> to bring fruitfulness to all beasts. Another time, when the Nestinarki were in trance, dancing wildly, excitedly and very fast, all of them waving their arms in the air, Zlata Daskalova, as soon as the boundary of the village where the forest grew close was reached, turned her face towards the forest, and, in the midst of uttering excited cries of "Wuff, wuff, uff, uff!", suddenly cried out:

"The good forest must not  
Be cut down for pavements!  
Green is so beautiful!"

Immediately after uttering these words she started to dance faster, more wildly and excitedly than before, right up to the ikons, bowing low before them, calling out "Wuff, wuff, uff, uff!" Then she seized a lighted candle from a man in the crowd, and an incense-burner from one of the sacristans, and, still in ecstasy, danced madly with them, crying "Wuff, wuff, wuff, uff, uff, uff!" again and again, till once more she turned to the forest, exclaiming:

"O Mary, holy Virgin!  
It is wicked  
To cut down the forest!  
Green is so beautiful!"

At last she gave back censer and candle, and, with the ikon-bearers, led back the procession to continue the Fertility Dance in the houses.

About eleven o'clock the Nestinarki, ikon-boys with the ikons, and the crowd, deserted the houses for the third time, and went, sometimes dancing, sometimes walking, to the *konak*, when the two Zlatas, in ecstasy, danced in a wild way, wuffing and yapping respectively. At times Zlata Daskalova held her hands locked together behind her head, at times her arms hung straight as she danced in trance. Zlata Stamova, on the other hand, always seemed to be waving her arms about and yapping, while Baba Marinka danced in her usual silent way. All of them spent a great deal of time inside the *konak*, bowing and crossing themselves as they danced excitedly before the ikons, till, at length, they danced away after the ikons and their bearers, back to the houses to continue

their great Fertility Dance, which ended, as I have said, about one o'clock in the priest's house. Thence in a rout they sped to the place of the fire, where more and more people were gathering for the culminating ceremonies. The fire on this night—St. Helena's Night—was greater and had burned longer: more wood had been needed (about two and a half cubic metres of oak-logs) to keep its blaze strong and bright throughout the long Fertility Dance, so that in its heart, red and glowing embers would be heaped and ready for the fire-dance. In this the Nestinarki (in trance) danced more wildly and faster than on the first night; with, as before, a dust-dance between each fire-dance.

After ten minutes the fire-dancing came to an end, and, for a time, the Nestinarki remained standing beside the smouldering fire, till Zlata Daskalova, still in trance and barefoot, started to dance among the peasants crowded round the fire. Soon she was joined by Zlata Stamova, also barefoot and in ecstasy, with still face and glassy eyes. So for a space they both danced round and round the great bonfire and in and out between the bystanders, wuffing and yapping as they went. Then suddenly Zlata Daskalova stood for a moment near the fire, stiff and motionless, before she cried out:

“H'ch! [a noise] Mary, Holy Virgin!  
 Journalists in Sofia say  
 That our fire-dances must not  
 Be danced in Bulgarian village!  
 But in some place elsewhere.  
 But *I say* (they bring) good harvests  
 And great fruitfulness to our fields,  
 And to our sheep and to our cattle!”

Afterwards, still in ecstasy and wuffing excitedly, she went dancing away into the open grassy space beyond the glow and warmth of the fire, till she was joined by Zlata Stamova. Later they escorted the ikons back to the *konak*, then sat with the elders at a feast, exactly like that of the previous night, except for the absence of the sacrificial cauldron.

## X

The last of the festivities ended about 2.45 a.m. and I sought Dimitri and the two-horsed cart he had brought for the return journey. But in the meantime the cart had become filled with “gate-crashing” Bulgars desirous of a free ride back to Czarevo.

So with songs and *rakien*-drinking, in moonlight and in rain, we jolted our way back to Czarevo, arriving in time for a breakfast of dry bread, Turkish coffee, and sheep's milk cheese, before catching the seven o'clock bus that reached Burgas some four hours later.

OLIVE C LODGE

<sup>1</sup> The word *Nestmarka* seems to be derived from the Greek *ἔστια* (hearth) and *vapka* (numbness). Fire-numbness seems possible, especially as, in the fire-ceremonies I witnessed, the logs used to build the great bonfire were arranged in the same way as those in the great chimney-hearths in the peasants' houses. Also reports have mentioned that fire-dancing has been performed on glowing embers spread out on the hearths in the fire-dancers' own cottages.

<sup>2</sup> This fire-dancing region is concentrated to the south of Burgas, in what might be roughly described as an irregular four-sided area, with the river Manra and the village of Karabunar as its northern boundary, the village of Malko Trnovo and the river Listovodere as its southern, with, on its east side, the Black Sea coast between the towns of Sosopol and Vasilko, and the river Falki on the west. The peasants, according to local tradition, have always held a fire-festival in this part of Thrace. But the number of fire-dancing villages has shrunk of late years, from eighteen in 1914 (Mikail Arnaudoff, *Die bulgarische Festbräuche*, 1917), to the five or six in 1939 of which the peasants told me.

<sup>3</sup> The cuckoo, in Balkan ballad and folklore, is a bird of ill-omen.

<sup>4</sup> *Baba* means Granny, or simply old woman.

<sup>5</sup> Salt (a Government monopoly) was, with sugar and coffee, one of the few things that the peasants needed to buy, otherwise they were self-supporting.

<sup>6</sup> This is the account of the appearance of Constantine the Great given by Eusebius (*Life of Constantine* translated by H. Wate and P. Schaff, vol. I of *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Chap. X, p. 522). "And now, all rising at the signal which indicated the Emperor's entrance, at last he himself proceeded through the midst of the assembly [Council of Niceæ] like some heavenly messenger of God, clothed in raiment which glistened as it were with rays of light, reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendour of gold and precious stones. Such was the external appearance of his person, and with regard to his mind, it was evident that he was distinguished by piety and godly fear. This was indicated by his own downcast eyes, the blush of his countenance, and his gait. For the rest of his personal excellences, he surpassed all present in height of stature and beauty of form, as well as in majestic dignity of mien, and invulnerable strength and vigour. All these graces, united to a suavity of manner, and a serenity becoming his imperial state, declared the excellence of his mental qualities to be above all praise."

Again in Chap. XLIII, p. 494, Eusebius writes: "In short, as the sun, when he rises upon the earth, liberally imparts his rays of light to all, so did Constantine proceeding at early dawn from the Imperial Palace impart the rays of his own benevolence to all who came into his presence."

<sup>7</sup> Eljah, the ancient Thunder God in modern guise, is, in Balkan countries, much concerned with fire, thunder and lightning. On his day (20 July/2 Aug.) the peasants in many districts light fires, and dance round or leap over them, to make the crops grow tall and straight.

<sup>8</sup> The *Horo*, the national dance of Bulgaria, is like those of the other Balkan countries and Roumania, a ring dance, danced, by people holding hands or belts, in an open circle with, at one end, a leader, who often waves a scarf or handkerchief, and sometimes plays the fiddle, (nowadays a mouth-organ or even a comb).

<sup>9</sup> The tune and rhythm of this Fire-dancers' *Horo* are quick and exciting, with a kind of irresistibility that excites the fire-dancers, and, at the same time, seems strangely to stimulate them, so that they fall into trance and begin dancing as if animated by some power or under some influence outside themselves. Besides, this *horo*, so one of the teachers in Bulgaria informed me, is played in special rather difficult time—7-16 or 7-17. Some of the fire-dancers themselves explained how its music had on them a peculiar effect, as if, in itself, the music possessed a "mysterious something" that went through and through them, stirring them up.

and forcing them to dance in trance without the functioning of their own wills at all, or, as one of the Nestinarkı said to me: "The music or something seized hold of me, then did with me what it liked", while another simply said. "St Constantine commands and we follow!"

<sup>10</sup> These wuffing and yapping cries, uttered by the Nestinarkı in trance, seemed to be forced out of their bodies in the same way as are the excited barks and squeals out of a quick-running terrier

<sup>11</sup> This is comparable to the usual *Lituya* or "Beating the Bounds" ceremony

<sup>12</sup> At the end of the night's ceremonies I copied out these prayers, used at the sacrifice of the bull, from the priest's prayer book

<sup>13</sup> "Friend" here means female friend

<sup>14</sup> "Friend" here is a male

<sup>15</sup> Kinsfolk, here, means the special members of the family sent as envoys to ask the hand of the maiden chosen to be the bride of the son of the house

<sup>16</sup> Parish I have so translated the Turkish *mahala*, this being the nearest English word to its meaning, which, in Balkan countries, denotes the various areas of a town or village, where different sections of the population (religious or national) live, such as Christians, Moslems or gipsies

<sup>17</sup> I measured this carpet of embers the next morning, and found that the part covered by the blackened and partially burnt embers spread over a space of roughly 3 yds by 2 yds to a depth of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Besides this, a patch of 1 yd by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yds of white completely-burnt-out ash lay nearer the heart of the fire, where a few logs were still smouldering

<sup>18</sup> Full moon was on 2 June, at three hours, eleven minutes, according to *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1939

<sup>19</sup> All domestic animals in Bulgaria, as in most Balkan countries, are very tame, and are counted almost as one of the family. They are not disturbed by anyone moving near or walking through them

## KUDRUN IN THE BALKANS?

OF all the Middle High German epics dealing with Germanic heroic themes, the story of *Kudrun* is in some ways the most baffling. Elements of the fable are undoubtedly of considerable antiquity, but the story itself has in the different versions a remarkable fluidity, so that it is more than usually difficult to distinguish what are its real kernel and essential features, as a glance at, e.g., Hermann Schneider, *Deutsche Heldensage* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 112 ff., suffices to show. It is not within the purview of the present article to trace the curious history of the fable within the Germanic world: the book mentioned gives an admirably condensed conspectus of this. But it is relevant to our present context to point out the extreme fluidity of its plot. Suffice it to say, then, that in its transplantation from the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea to the Austrian Alps, our fable suffered a considerable sea-change, or, perhaps one should rather say, land-change. In fact it is safe to say that were it not for the recurrence of certain names of persons and places, the various known references in English, Norse and German literature to the story would not have been recognised as having any mutual connexion at all.

The example of the *Nibelungenlied* inspired an Austrian (probably Styrian) gleeman of the 13th century to create a full-length epic version of the story in four-line strophes of a type based on those of its model. This poem is a curious composition with its preamble telling how Hagen, son of the king of Ireland, was carried off by a griffin and finally escaped, followed by two main sections, the first of which tells of how Hagen's daughter Hilde was abducted by Hetel, king of Hegelingen, while the second tells what is virtually the same abduction-story concerning Kudrun, the daughter of Hetel and Hilde. This latter tale, indeed, became in our 13th-century poem the essential part, and gave its name to the whole work (*Chautrun* in the one MS. which is preserved, the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* which Hans Ried copied for Maximilian I in the first years of the 16th century). Modern scholarship, however, inclines to the view that the tales of Hilde and Kudrun, so similar in their incidents, are in reality one and the same.

The question now arises whether the *Kudrun*, or Hilde, fable, with its somewhat indefinite form and its tendency to more than normally protean transformations, may not have survived in other shapes which have not been recognised because the essential link

provided by the names of its chief characters has been lost. And in fact there is a ballad-theme found in both Serbian and Bulgarian which, in spite of somewhat striking differences, does perhaps possess an affinity with it. We find two versions of it, the Serbian ballad (Vuk VI, 12) of *Nenad and Korun-Kapetan*, and the Bulgarian ballad which I have called *Michael the Dragon and Korun the Kessedja* (both printed in my translation in recent numbers of the *Slavonic and East European Review*).<sup>1</sup> The two ballads diverge considerably in detail among themselves, so that before they can be used for comparative purposes it is first necessary to try to decide what elements in them may be safely ascribed to the common source which they must have had. Both unquestionably contain some innovations from native Serbian and Bulgarian tradition, but the Serbian version on the whole seems somewhat closer to the original source. The task of reconstructing this source might be lightened if further variants on the same theme could be discovered in either language.

Let us first tabulate the contents of the two ballads in parallel form :

*Serbian*

1. Jug-Bogdan has great wealth in Hercegovina, on sea-coast. He has 9 sons. When the youngest is of age to marry, Jug goes from city to city collecting brides for them. Jug invites guests to 9-fold wedding. 900 guests invited, but the powerful Korun-Kapetan is forgotten.

2. Only a week later Korun comes with an army, slays Jug and his 9 sons and seizes the 9 daughters-in-law and the treasure, and casts Jug's widow beneath his horses' feet, but she survives.

3. The widow has conceived a son from Jug. He is born and christened Nenad, and grows with great rapidity.

*Bulgarian*

1. King Dimitri is ill for 9 years. On his deathbed he tells his wife to care for their 9 sons. After his death she does so for 9 years. Then she goes from city to city collecting brides for them. After Lent they are betrothed and married.

2. On Good Friday they ride out to take Communion, and Korun, coming on them, slays the brothers, enslaves the brides, and sends the empty carriages back to the old mother, who faints at the sight. Korun gives the brides linen to bleach.

3. The Lord takes pity on the widow and sends an angel to breathe on her. She conceives and bears a child, called Michael the Dragon : in 2½ days he is a grown hero.

<sup>1</sup> No 51, pp 496-500 ; No 63, pp 16-19

*Serbian*

4. When Nenad is 15 he asks his mother the story of his brothers and she tells him, but warns him against Korun.

5. Nenad sets out and rides to the river Sitnica, where he finds the 9 maidens bleaching linen. He enquires where Korun's castle is. The maidens try to dissuade him from going there.

6. Nenad comes to Korun's castle and finds Korun's mistress with his children. He claims to be Korun's blood-brother, but is not believed.

7. Nenad takes Korun's child, then fells Korun with his mace. He breaks Korun's arms and legs.

8. Nenad kills Korun's children and sets the tower on fire.

9. Nenad spares Korun's mistress, to be a slave for the 9 daughters.

10. Nenad returns home with the 9 daughters.

*Bulgarian*

4. Michael enquires whose horses and guns he has found in the *char-dak*, and his mother tells him the story of Korun.

5. Michael sets out and comes to Korun's city. He finds the maidens engaged in bleaching linen, and enquires where Korun's castle is. He demonstrates his prowess and they direct him thither.

6. At his horse's snort the gates fly open, and Michael challenges Korun

7. At Korun's taunts Michael fells him with his mace, and tears his arms off

8. Michael mounts to upper chambers and gathers up Korun's children, flings them on the fire, that none may survive to avenge him.

8a. Michael kills Korun's aged mother.

9. Michael spares Korun's wife to be a slave for his mother.

10. Michael returns home with the 9 daughters.

11. Two angels come down from Heaven and carry off Michael.

It will be seen that there is considerable divergence in the detail of the two stories, though they unquestionably stem from one original fable-type. It is not easy without arbitrariness to decide which of the details are most primitive.

*Point 1* shows the sharpest divergence of all: it is clear that the original beginning of the story has become obscure. Perhaps the Serbian version is on the whole to be preferred here, though the name of Jug-Bogdan must be reckoned a late importation. But the motivation for Korun's hostility may be a secondary introduction of the Serbian *guslar*.

*Point 2.* The essential difference here is that in the Serbian version the father is killed by Korun as well as the nine sons. This

looks like an original trait. But the dramatic touch of the mother being cast under the horses' hoofs is unlikely to have been lost, if once present in the story (it is just such striking incidents which survive longest in balladry, often divorced from their context). We may put it down, therefore, to the Serb once more.

*Point 3.* Here the Serbian version has the merit of logic, while the Bulgarian takes refuge in the supernatural in order to hasten the day of vengeance. It is a clear-cut case of a difference of national tradition. No conclusion as to priority seems for the moment possible.

*Points 4 and 5* differ merely in imaginative treatment of detail. The linen-bleaching, common to both, is clearly an original trait.

*Points 6, 7 and 8* are again essentially the same in both versions. We may note especially the felling with a mace and the breaking, or tearing-off, of Korun's arms, as original traits.

*Point 8a*, the killing of Korun's aged mother, occurs in the Bulgarian version only, but appears to be primitive owing to its very irrelevance. Korun's mother must have played a part in the story originally.

*Points 9 and 10* are virtually identical in the two versions.

*Point 11*, in the Bulgarian version only, depends on Point 3. In any case it is probably a pious afterthought.

The salient fact which emerges from this analysis is that the story has suffered severely in its beginning. The first three points are the only ones which diverge really sharply. After that all the rest is essentially the same in both ballads. Now the beginning of a ballad is, in fact, the part most likely to be affected by decay. Numerous examples could be adduced from all literature. What tends to survive is the dramatic climax. Sometimes the events leading up to this are forgotten and have to be reconstructed by the fresh narrator of an old tale.

It is the thesis of this article that the dramatic climax which is the essential element of the two ballads under consideration is none other than that of the Middle High German *Kudrun* epic. Let us now examine this.

As has been said, the main part of the *Kudrun* epic in its existing form is the abduction-story of Hetel's daughter Kudrun. That this was not always so is irrelevant to our present purpose: this section of the epic forms a complete and coherent story in itself, which could easily have become divorced from the preliminary sections. The main outlines of this part of the story are as follows.



1. King Hetel of Hegelingen and his wife Hilde have two children, Ortwin and Kudrun. Kudrun is fairer than her mother and is wooed by mighty princes. Sigfrid of Morland, tired of wooing in vain, withdraws full of threats. Hartmuot, son of Ludwig, king of Normandy, comes unrecognised to Hetel's court, and reveals himself to Kudrun, who bids him fly for his life from her father. Herwig of Seland is also rejected, but gathers his forces and fights his way into Hetel's castle. Kudrun is drawn to him, and Hetel regrets having so doughty a knight as his foe. Peace is made and Kudrun is betrothed to Herwig, who is to take her home in a year. When Sigfrid of Morland hears this, he invades Herwig's land, and Hetel goes to Herwig's assistance.

2. While the land of Hegelingen is left undefended, Hartmuot and his father Ludwig of Normandy come in ships, breach the castle and abduct Kudrun and her maidens. Hilde sends messengers to Hetel and Herwig, who make peace with Sigfrid, and he helps them pursue the Normans by sea. Ludwig and Hartmuot are pausing to rest on the Wulpensand when the Hegelings catch up with them. In a terrible battle Hetel is slain by Ludwig, and under cover of darkness the Normans flee with Kudrun and her maidens.

3. The Hegelings return home weakened by losses, they must postpone revenge till a new generation has grown up. In Normandy Kudrun is joyfully received and is to be crowned with Hartmuot, but she refuses to marry the son of the man who slew her father. Gerlind, Hartmuot's mother, promises to break her pride while Hartmuot sets out on new adventures. Kudrun's maidens have to spin yarn and she has to heat the stove, sweep dust with her hair and wash clothes on the shore in wind and snow. Her friend Hildburg, also a king's daughter, shares these tasks with her.

4. Thirteen years pass, then Hilde reminds the heroes of the Hegelings that it is time for vengeance. They arm and equip their ships.

5. After a stormy passage they reach the coast of Normandy and land unobserved by a forest. Herwig and Ortwin, Kudrun's brother, set out to seek her and explore the country. Kudrun and Hildburg are washing clothes on the shore when they see a beautiful bird swimming towards them. It is a messenger from God, and announces with a human voice that help is near. The bird disappears, and the maidens, talking of the message, are dilatory in washing, for which in the evening they are rebuked. The next morning, when they are to go to their task, snow has fallen. In vain they beg for shoes. While washing they observe two men in a boat. Ashamed, they flee, but Herwig and Ortwin call them back. Herwig bids them good morning, a greeting they have not heard for a long time. Kudrun refuses the proffered cloaks of the men. Ortwin enquires after the king's daughter who was abducted and Kudrun declares that she is dead, but soon all is joy when Kudrun and Herwig recognise each other.

5a. The heroes leave, promising help before the next sunrise. Kudrun

flings the washing into the sea. Gerlind threatens to beat her with thorns, but Kudrun promises to become Hartmuot's bride on the morrow. Only Gerlind fears some ill when she hears Kudrun laugh for the first time in 13 years. Kudrun and her maidens are arrayed in fine garments. Kudrun promises a rich reward to the first of her maidens to announce the sunrise.

6. As the morning star rises a maiden sees the gleam of weapons and the sea full of ships. She wakens Kudrun: the Hegelings have come to redden with blood the clothes Kudrun has washed white. Wate blows his horn so that the corner-stones almost fall out of the walls.

7. In the battle for the castle Ludwig is killed by Herwig and Hartmuot is captured with 80 knights: all others are slain.

8. Wate storms the castle and slays the children, that they may not grow up to wreak vengeance.

8a. Gerlind flees to Kudrun, but Wate seizes her and strikes her head off.

9. Ortrun, Hartmuot's sister, is spared.

10. The land is ravaged and Herwig and Ortwin return home laden with booty.

11. General reconciliation follows. Ortwin marries Ortrun and Hartmuot Hildburg, Sigfrid of Morland marries Herwig's sister, and Herwig marries Kudrun.

Stripped of the mass of epic detail as it would have to be for ballad purposes, we see that the stories are strikingly similar, in spite of certain obvious differences. Let us notice some of the particular resemblances:

1. In *Kudrun* a rejected suitor is turned away breathing threats. This is not too different from the idea of the slighted would-be wedding-guest (perhaps also originally a suitor) in the Serbian version.

2, 3. In K (*Kudrun*) and S (Serbian) there is an attack by the previously injured party, the maidens are abducted and the father of one of them (in S of all of them) is slain by the abductor.\* Loss of life is so heavy that pursuit is impossible. The widowed mother is left alone with a son (unborn in S), and revenge must be postponed. In B (Bulgarian) the events are roughly similar, but the father has already died of sickness. B has here the motive of bleaching linen, which resembles that of washing linen in K.

4. A period of waiting is necessary till an avenger (avengers) shall have grown up. In K this is 13 years, in S 15, while B, with supernatural assistance, reduces this period to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  days.

5. The brother of one of the maidens, alone or accompanied by an expedition, finds them washing (or bleaching) linen.

6. (K) at the sound of Wate's horn, the walls of the castle almost

collapse · cf. in B · at the snort of Michael's horse the gates fly open.

7. The real villain of the piece is slain.

8. In K, S and B the children in the enemy castle are killed. In K and B the reason given is the same : that they may not grow up to wreak revenge.

8a. The abductor's mother is slain.

9. The mistress, wife or sister of the villain or his son is spared.

10. All return home in triumph.

It may be argued that the story in its bare outlines is too obvious to prove borrowing, and, on the other hand, that the differences are too considerable. A closer analysis of these points of difference, however, shows that they can be reduced to a minimum by a few general and reasonable assumptions, while certain less obvious resemblances then become apparent :

1. The rejected suitor in K. Kudrun has three suitors, Sigfrid of Morland, Hartmuot of Normandy and Herwig of Sêland, the ultimately successful one. Sigfrid's role is finished when after retiring breathing threats, he invades Herwig's land, thus providing the opportunity for Hartmuot to raid Hegelingen and abduct Kudrun. In B there is no trace of a "rejected suitor" motive while in S there is the slighted would-be wedding-guest, Korun, who is identical even to the name with the villain of B.<sup>2</sup> But in B Korun's base behaviour is not motivated by any special personal feeling. As we saw, the motivation in S could easily be a reminiscence of that in K, and we should then only have to postulate the coalescence of two rejected suitors into one—an easy assumption. A pointer on our way is the fact that Sigfrid of Morland is in K a pagan (curiously transmogrified from a pagan Viking to a Moor, as the history of the fable shows !), while Korun in B certainly, and most probably also in S, is visualised as a heathen Turk<sup>1</sup>. Add to this correspondence of detail the fact that in S the events take place on the sea-coast (a region with which Jug-Bogdan, who has somehow got into this version, is not usually associated), and the lines of development begin to emerge more clearly. There is no mention of the sea-coast in B, but this is only natural in West Bulgaria (B was collected in the Sofia district), and in any case the whole beginning of the story has probably been altered in B. But in the course of development in the interior of Serbia and Bulgaria we need not be surprised if

<sup>2</sup> The name *Korun* is of doubtful origin. Could it conceivably be derived from *Kudrun*, having been somehow transferred from the heroine to her oppressor ?

the *locale* is changed in this way. We can be well content with the reminiscence of the sea that S preserves.

2. The fact that in S and B the hero of the story is the brother, not the lover, of the maidens, does not conflict so violently with K as might be supposed, for in K Ortwin, Kudrun's brother, plays almost as prominent a role as her lover Herwig himself. The latter is, indeed, but a pale figure, as Prof. Schneider (*op. cit.*, p. 121) points out, and need not even belong to the original story at all. Even if he did, he might easily have been dropped by the Serb, in whose national tradition stories of mutual assistance between brother and sister are common enough.

3. So far, we have not touched on the major difficulty for our theory. the nine brides—how is it, in fact, that in S and B “Kudrun” is multiplied by nine? Here we do seem to find a real difference which could wreck any hypothesis of the identity of the two stories. But even here we have a possible line of advance. The number nine is a favourite with the Serbs and Bulgars, and may be found *passim* in their epic literature. We may therefore scrap the figure with impunity as an obvious piece of stock-in-trade readily occurring to any *guslar* instead of an indefinite “several” or  $\infty$ . But in K we have  $\infty$  maidens who are carried off, at least one of whom (Hildburg), other than Kudrun herself, plays a relatively prominent part and participates in the concluding four-fold wedding. We must bear in mind that on our assumption it is the latter part of K alone which is at all well preserved in the Balkan version, and here the notion of plurality, in spite of Kudrun's leading role, is clearly enough brought out (in the washing scene it is duality—a considerable step in the required direction).<sup>3</sup> That they were *sisters-in-law*, not actual sisters, of the hero, can also be explained by the general vagueness which set in about the early part of the story.<sup>4</sup> We may note that in K Hildburg, too, like Kudrun, is a king's daughter.

From the above analysis the probability should emerge strongly that in S and B we have, then, the survivors of a fable, the ultimate

<sup>3</sup> If we wished to be fanciful, we could even enlist grammar in our service here if the maidens had happened to be mentioned in the dative, instrumental or locative dual—*devojkama*—this could later have been interpreted as a plural, 2 would have become  $\infty$ , and  $\infty$  would almost inevitably have become 9!

<sup>4</sup> That the beginning of the story is the part often least remembered in oral epic scarcely needs proof here, but one may quote a Germanic example, the Eddic *Atlakvíða* (*Lay of Atli* = Attila), one of the most interesting branches of the Nibelungen story. Of this Prof. Schneider (*op. cit.*, p. 27) says “Sicher hat man im Norden das Lied am Ende sehr angelangt. Es trat eine Schwergewichtsverschiebung ein, und damit jene auffallende Verkümmern der Anfangspartien,” a judgment that we may apply to our present case also.

origin of which is some form, at least, of the Middle High German *Kudrun* story—whether from the extant epic or from an unpreserved earlier form of it. As regards the period of borrowing, and the route by which this fable may have reached the South Slavs, it is at least possible to hazard a conjecture. Geographically, of course, it is not far for it to have travelled from Austria, and contacts were not lacking for almost any period which might be suggested. There is internal evidence in *Kudrun* pointing to Styria as the place of origin of the extant epic, though this is not quite certain. Cultural contacts with Slovenia at least were here, with the mixed population, close enough from at least the beginning of the 13th century, as witness Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival* 496, 15 ff. :

und dô ich fur den Rohas  
durch âventiure gestrichen was,  
dâ kom ein werde windisch diet  
ûz durch tjoste gegenbiet,

“and when I had sallied forth before the Rohač in search of adventure, then appeared knightly Wendish folk (Slovenes) to offer me return of joust,” to cite but one example. The Gottschee (Kočevje) German ballad of the *Schone Meererin*<sup>5</sup> has also been regarded, probably rightly, as derived from some version of the *Kudrun*-fable, but it is too remote from S and B, at least in any of its preserved forms, to provide a direct link. Nevertheless its existence is certainly interesting from our point of view.<sup>6</sup>

We can, it seems, go no further. We have, with the aid of some plausible assumptions, reduced the gap between K on the one hand and S and B on the other to a point where it seems probable that these latter are dependent on the former. That an underlying

<sup>5</sup> The content of this ballad (published with all its variants in A. Hauffen, *Die deutsche Sprachinsel Gottschee*, Graz, 1895) is briefly as follows: The Fair Sea-Maid has been separated from her family for seven years and must serve as a maid in a foreign land. While she is washing clothes on the shore, early one morning, a boat containing two men approaches. They call out to her “Good morning, Fair Sea-Maid!” to which she replies that she has few good mornings. One of the strangers gives her a ring. She says she is not the Fair Sea-Maid, but only a poor washer-girl. The strangers take her into their boat and carry her home across the sea. They are her brother and her lover—This corresponds strikingly closely to Point 5 of K, but has only a very general resemblance to S and B. It can scarcely have any close connexion with their source.

<sup>6</sup> This, of course, only brings us as far as the Slovenes, on whom we have ventured to place the burden of transmitting the story to the Serbs (if we wished to insist on a grammatical explanation of the transference from the dual to the plural number of maidens, this would of course fit in excellently, since Slovene to this day preserves the dual form in its original function: the change in Serbian would then rest on an error of translation!) Another route through Hungary seems to have been taken, direct to the Serbs, by some West European material. But this must be left for subsequent discussion.

similarity of motives often appears between Germanic and Yugoslav traditional fabulation has long been recognised ; it appears to have been first pointed out by the late Professor H. M. Chadwick in *The Heroic Age*. Perhaps further research will show that borrowing went on to a greater extent than has hitherto been realised. Here, the problem has barely been adumbrated. What we now need is clarification of the details of the period, method and route of the borrowing.

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# THE GENITIVES: *LONDYNU*, *GLAS-GOWA* AND *EDYNBURGA* IN MODERN POLISH

## I

THE number of (masculine) substantives belonging to old *-u* stems was in Proto-Slavonic insignificant. They certainly did not exceed twenty, and in all probability were still scarcer.<sup>1</sup> Their Genitive singular ending, *-u*, was therefore distinctly exceptional among masculines in view of the great frequency of the old *-o* and *-iŏ* stems which had *-a* in the second case

In Polish a far-reaching expansion of the *-u* Genitive took place. Practically all abstract, material and collective nouns, as well as quite a few concretes, now end in *-u* in the Genitive, cf. the abstracts: *lek*, *-u*, fear, fright, *rozum*, *-u*, reason; the material nouns: *kruszec*, *-szcu*, metal, *lód*, *lodu*, ice; the collective nouns: *lud*, *-u*, people, *naród*, *-rodu*, nation; the concretes *dzwon*, *-u*, bell, *łuk*, *-u*, bow. *-u* is also found with most inanimates of recent foreign origin, cf. *basen*, *-u*, swimming-pool, *bilet*, *-u*, ticket, *gramofon*, *-u*, gramophone, *maszt*, *-u*, mast, *portret*, *-u*, portrait, *tunel*, *-u*, tunnel, etc

A similar and astonishingly parallel expansion of *-u* has occurred in Czech. Owing to the interplay of many factors, phonetic, suffixal and semantic, the distribution of the *-a* and *-u* endings presents serious difficulties to the foreign student of both modern Polish and Czech, and is the despair of the philologist.

## II

Names of towns end in the Genitive both in *-a* and *-u*.

In his excellent *Grammaire de la langue polonaise* (Paris, 1942, cf. pp. 42-43) Henri Grappin mentions six native (Polish, Slavonic) suffixal types which require *-a* in the Genitive: *-sk* (*Smoleńsk*, *-a*); *-ów/-ow-* or *-ow* (*Kraków*, *-owa*, *Sochaczew*, *-a*); *-in/-yn* (*Lublin*, *-a*, *Cieszyn*, *-a*); *-im/-im-* (*Oświęcim*, *-mia*); *-om/-om-* (*Radom*, *-mia*) and *\*-iŏ-* (*Jarostaw*, *-wia*, *Poznań*, *-nia*). He also points at the fact that simple and compound native names have mostly *-a*: *Gniew*, *-a*, *Tarnobrzeg*, *-a*.

Grappin's rules can certainly be completed, cf. the suffixes:

*-ec/-c-*: *Kamieniec*, *-ńca* (Sosz., 3, Br., III, 34); *Królewiec*, *-wca*

(Radl., 157, 161, Sosn., 131), Germ. *Königsberg*, recently renamed *Kaliningrad*; *Krzemieniec*, -ńca (Radl., 109, Br., III, 466);

-ek/-k-: *Ciechocinek* -nka (Sosn., 108), *Nowogródek*, -dka (Sosn., 138, 139), *Włocławek*, -wka (Radl., 143, Sosn., 161);

-n/ńk: *Dobnik*, -a (Sosn., 158, 160), *Rybnik*, -a (Sosn., 47), *Wierzbnik*, -a (Sosn., 180), etc. etc.

Those Polish names which are composed of -gród (*gród*, *grodu*, fortified place, fortress, castle: city—in elevated style, cf. *gród podwawelski*, The Wawel-Castle City, Cracow, or syreni *gród*, Siren's City, Warsaw) or its phonetic, Pomeranian variant -gard, have -u in the Genitive:

*Carogród*, -grodu (Radl., 5, Br., I, 36), Constantinople;

*Nowogród*, -grodu, on the Narew (Sosn., 97);

*Protogród*, -grodu, (Sosn., 140), now *Leningrad*;

*Starogard*, -u, cf. pp. 28–29, St. Żeromski, *Wiatr od morza*, Warszawa, 1922, or K. Nitsch, *Język Polski*, XXVI, IV, p. 119;

*Wyszegród* (or *Wyszogród*), -grodu.

The ending agrees with the ending of the appellative *gród* itself.

Similarly, all those Slavonic names, old or new, which contain the same element in this or any other form, also show -u in the Genitive<sup>2</sup>:

*Belgrad*, -u (Siw., 53), *Beograd* in Serbo-Croat, as *Białogród*, -grodu, the older Polish form of the name of the same town, cf. also *Belgard*, -u, in Pomorze, *Wiatr od morza*, p. 103;

- *Leningrad*, -u (Siw., 231),

*Stalingrad*, -u (Siw., 233);

*Nowgorod*, -u (*Wiatr*, p. 28), and *Nowogród*, -grodu (Br., I, 8);

*Užhorod*, -u;

*Wyszehrad*, -u.

The rules of the French philologist can and must be revised, especially in the light of the continuous expansion of the -u ending both in compounds and in “simples” as well as in suffixal formations:

*Kołobrzeg*, -a (*Wiatr*, p. 103), and -u (Br. I, 226; also in new Polish usage after the war<sup>3</sup>; under the influence of the appellative *brzeg*, -u, bank, shore, ever so—with -u—since the 16th century); cf. *Brzeg*, -a (Sosn., 43, Linde), and -u (Br., I, 492), in Silesia. It may be asked why *Brzeg* and compounds containing -*brzeg* as the second element should have retained -a longer than the -gród type. This seems to



be due to the fact that in view of its meaning, *gród*, *grodu*, can be directly associated with the name of a town, whereas *brzeg*, *-u*, cannot ; the fact that *gród* is now limited to solemn style or history books and therefore more committed to the " more elegant " inanimate ending *-u* than the prosaic and everyday *brzeg*, must also have contributed to an earlier change in the *-gród* type, see below ;

*Wysegród*, *-grodu*, beside the dialectal, local *Wysegród*, *-grodą*, cf. p. 177, K. Nitsch, *Wybór polskich tekstów gwarowych*, Lwów, 1929, although *Starogard*, seems to have *-u* locally, cf. *ibid.*, 173 ; cf. also Linde : *Starogrod* [*sic*], *-a*, *Nowogród* *-grodą*, but *Białogród*, *-grodu* ;

*Chełm*, *-a* (Sosn., 65, Radl., 14, 124), the local and older form beside the new *Chełm*, *-u*, not unlikely also under the influence of the homonymous *hełm*, *-u*, helmet <sup>4</sup> ; the question is discussed in *Język Polski*, XIV, V, p. 159 ;

*Gniew*, *-a*, cf. *Wiatr*, p. 123, beside *Gniew*, *-u* (Linde), not unlikely also under the influence of the abstract *gniew*, *-u*, anger ,

*Turek*, *-rka* (Sosn., 112), the local and older form, beside the new *Turek*, *-rku* (Radl., 152), possibly as a result of a tendency to distinguish the town-name from the denomination of the nationality, *Turek*, *-rka*, Turk, though the two do not have anything in common (*Turek*, the place-name, is a diminutive form of *tur*, *-a*, an animal, related to the auerochs). The two Genitive forms are discussed in *Język Polski*, I, VII, p. 224.

The acceptance of *-u* in all the instances quoted seems also to be due to a tendency of a more general character, to endow a common or proper inanimate noun with the " more elegant " *-u* ending. The stylistic value of *-u* within the inanimate Genitives can be explained by the following circumstances : (a) the abstracts which in principle have *-u* are considered as something better, more elevated than, for example, names of concrete objects or instruments where *-a* prevails, cf. *kij*, *-a*, cane, stick, *młot*, *-a*, hammer, *pal*, *-a*, pole, etc. ; (b) many inanimates of recent foreign origin (examples above), usually regarded as something coming from the better world, have *-u* ; (c) the Polish dialects have preserved the—older — *-a* ending in more instances than the literary language, cf. the following examples taken from *Wybór tekstów* by K. Nitsch :

*Poland-Minor dialects* : *dwora* (75, 102, 136), *drwona* (134), *gaja* (122), *kraja* (outskirts, 70), *lasa* (65, 71, 73, 78, 88, 94, 98), *proga* (108), *śniega* (41) ; besides these examples there

is only *światu* (49, 88) to show *-u* instead of the literary *-a* (*Nowy Świat*, The New World, one of the principal streets in Warsaw, has, however, *-u* in the Genitive !);

*Poland-Major dialects*: *dwora* (170), *woza* (137, 141, 156), *zamka* (castle, 152);

*Mazovian dialects*: *kwiata* (205), *lasa* (185, 186); the only example to show *-u* instead of the literary *-a* is *owsu* (oats, used in the material sense, 183).

The greater frequency of *-a* forms in the dialects combined with the two factors mentioned, is sufficient to lend *-u* a higher stylistic value

Those Polish names which contain *-pol* (from Greek *pólis*, city, though in some instances perhaps from Pol. *pole*, *-a*, field-<sup>2</sup>), have *-a* in the Genitive:

*Annopol*,<sup>5</sup> *-a*, on the Vistula, Central Poland;

*Krystynopol*, *-a* (Br., III, p. 169);

*Mariampol*, *-a*, in Lithuania, on the Dniester, Sosn., 75;

*Tarnopol*, *-a* (Radl., 109);

*Terespol*, *-a* (Sosn., 103, Radl., 125).

Those Slavonic and near-Slavonic names which end in the same *-pol*, also have the ending *-a*:

*Adrianopol*, *-a* (in European Turkey), cf. p. 633, 634, *Historia nowoczesna* by Adam Szelągowski, 1918;

*Filipopol*, *-a* (otherwise *Płowdiw*, *-a*, in Bulgaria),

*Konstantynopol*, *-a* (otherwise *Carogród*, *-gradu*, or *Stambul*, *-u*)  
Siw., 66, Szeląg., 635;

*Mariupol*, *-a*, in the Ukraine;

*Sewastopol*, *-a* (*Express Wieczorny*, No. 357/567) in the Crimea;

*Symferopol*, *-a*, in the Crimea.

*Neapol*, Naples, has *-u*: *Neapolu* (Siw. 72, Szeląg 68, 105, Br., III, 384). Also *Akropol*, *-u*, the Acropolis (not a town-name, though !). In both these names *-a* would sound undignified and even vulgar, almost as much as would *-a* in the Genitive of *Rzym*, to-day always *Rzymu* (cf. i.a. Gustaw Morcinek, *Listy z mojego Rzymu*, Katowice, 1947, pp. 55, 85, 108, 128, 136, etc.), but in the 16th century, astonishingly enough for the Pole of to-day, still *Rzyna* (cf. pp. 114, 228, etc., Mikołaja Reja *Kupiec*, 1549, publ. by R. Kotula and A. Brueckner, Kraków, 1924) as in modern Czech (*Řím*, *-a*, pp. 6, 8, Trávniček, *op. cit.*).

The difference between the two *-pol* groups is one of native and foreign geographic area, not of linguistic structure: *-a* is the predominant ending of native names, *-u*—that of the foreign ones.

## III

THE GENITIVE *LONDYNU*

An interesting instance is that of the Genitive of *Londyn* (from Lat. *Londinium*), "London". *Londynu* Although some degree of vacillation, not necessarily connected with semantic factors, can be found in the form of the Genitive sg. masc. of some nouns,<sup>6</sup> the *-u* of *Londynu* is a well-established and the only permissible ending. It was certainly a slip on the part of the authors of a Polish grammar for Swedes (*Polsk Grammatik* av Gunnar Gunnarson och Józef Trypućko, Uppsala, 1946) to have included *Londyn* among those names of towns which have *-a* in the Genitive (cf. p. 12).

*-u* is found in the Genitive of many foreign names of towns which end in *-an*, *-en*, *-on*, *-rn* or *-un* :

*-an* : *Akwizgran*, *-u*, (pp. 133, 223, K. Tymieniecki, *Dzieje Niemiec do początku ery nowożytnej*, Aachen, Assuan, *-u* (Pawł., 185, twice), in Egypt, *Durban*, *-u* (*W g p.*, *Afryka południowa*, pp. 118, 121), *Ispahan*, *-u*, in Persia, *Katgan*, *-u*, (Pawł., 130), in Mongolia, *Mediolan*, *-u* (Szelağ., 48), Milan, *Orlean*, *-u* (Siw., 95), *Sedan*, *-u* (Szelağ., 332), *Teheran*, *-u* (*Tygodnik Powsz.*, No. 47/88, p. 11) ; *Lateran*, *-u* (*Wielka historia powszechna*, publ. by Trzaska, Ewert, Michalski, vol. IV, pt. II, p. 125) ; *Watykan*, *-u* (cf. *Listy z mojego Rzymu*, p. 81), also belong to this group ; they are, however, not names of towns ;

*-en* : *Aden*, *-u* (*Życie Warszawy*, No. 335/1121, p. 2), *Mukden*, *-u* (*Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza*, 29 Dec. 47, p. 1) ;

*-on* : *Awinion*, *-u* (Br., I, 425, III, 429), *Babilon*, *-u* (Pawł., 164), *Boston*, *-u* (Pawł., 58 ; *boston*, name of a dance, has *-a* in the Genitive as all the other names of dances), *Bouillon*, *-u* (*W.h.p.*, vol. IV, pt. II, p. 176), *Kanton*, *-u* (Szelağ., 483), *Lion*, *-u* (Siw., 103, 104 twice), *Sajgon*, *-u*, *Tulon*, *-u* (Szelağ. 47), *Waszyngton*, *-u* (Pawł., 58, *Tyg. P*, 5/98, p. 6, *-Waszyngton*, name of the American leader and hero, has *-a* in the Genitive) ;

*-rn* : *Paderborn*, *-u* (p. 223, M. Orłowicz, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Mazurach pruskich i Warmji*, Lwów-Warszawa, 1923) ;

*-un* : *Lugdun*, *-u*, same as *Lion*, Lyons, in France ; *Rangun*, *-u*, in Burma.

Those which end in *-in* or *-yn*, however, can have *-u* or *-a*.<sup>7</sup> *-a* is found with the following :

*Berlin*, -a (Siw., 180, Sosn., 103, 112, etc.);

*Bern*, -a

*Charbin*, -a, -u (cf. pp. 18, 43, *Historia najnowsza*, edit. by H. Mościcki and J. Cynarski, Warszawa, 1939), in Manchuria;

*Debreczyn*, -a (*ibid.*, pp. 164, 165, vol. II), in Hungary;

*Dublin*, -a (cf. p. 101, three times, *W.g p.*, *Wielka Brytania*);

*Tallin(n)*, -a, cf. *ibid.*, *Państwa wschodnio-bałtyckie*, p. 47, 48 (twice).

The ending -u is found with the following:

*Aberdeen*, -u (A. Słonimski, p. 97, *Wybór poezji*, London, 1944; also uninflected);

*Nankin*, -u (Pawł., 132, *Tyg P*, 49/142, p. 2);

*Pekin*, -u (Pawł., 132, twice, *Historia najn.*, vol. III, pp. 16, 20);

*Szegedyn*, -u (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 166, 167);

*Szweryn*, -u (cf. pp. 521, 526, Tymieniecki, *op cit.*);

*Tien-Tsin*, -u (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 20);

*Tonkin*, -u (*Wielka Ilustrowana Encyklopedia*, Gutenberg, Kraków vol. XVII, p. 172, twice);

*Turyń*, -u (*Hist. najn.*, vol. II, pp. 276, 301), in Italy.

*Londyn*, -u, belongs to the second group *Awentyn*, -u, and *Palatyn*, u. (*Listy z mojego Rzymu*, pp. 84, 97), also do. As they are parts of Rome, they have not been included here.

The difference in the treatment of the names of towns ending in -in or -yn, both with respect to the whole foreign -n group and inside the foreign -in, -yn group itself calls for an explanation. Stanisław Szober says in his *Gramatyka języka polskiego* (Warszawa, 1923, 2nd ed., cf. p. 176) that outside a certain number of categories "it is difficult strictly to define which substantives have the ending -a and which -u" and quotes the pair *Berlina/Londynu* as a puzzling example of this difficulty. Nevertheless, it does not seem that the problem cannot find convincing explanation.

The explanation is not to be sought in the fact that, for example, Berlin lies in a former Slavonic area or that it is better known than, let us say, the Italian *Turyń*, Turin. The main harbour of Estonia was known in Poland as *Rewel* only (Gen. *Rewla*, cf. *Homel*, -mla, Radl., 91, 113, in White Ruthenia, *Kowel*, -wla, Sosn., 68, 81, *Tyg. P.*, 47/88, p. 3 in Volhynia) at least until 1918 when its Estonian name slowly began to be used instead: *Tallin(n)*, -a. Dublin is certainly less familiar to Poles than London. It does not lie within any formerly Slavonic area and nevertheless has -a in the Genitive, as *Berlin* has, and in contradistinction from *Londyn*.

The problem can be explained by analysing native types of names of towns in *-in/-yn* and their relation to the two foreign groups.

There are as many as five native groups of names ending in *-in/-yn*, all with *-a* in the Genitive. They are :

(1) purely Polish names which contain the possessive suffix *-in/-yn* :

*Będzin*, *-a* (Sosn , 52, 185), *Cieszyn*, *-a* (Sosn., 160, 194, Radl., 180), *Dęblin*, *-a* (Radl , 95, 121, 127), *Konin*, *-a* (Sosn., 105, 110), *Lublin*, *-a* (Sosn , 68, Radl., 103), *Modlin*, *-a* (Radl , 137, p. 152, W. Smoleński, *Historja Polski*, 2nd ed., 1921 ?), *Szczecin*, *-a* (Sosn., 3, Siw., 179), *Teczyn*, *-a* (Br., I, 423), etc. etc. ;

(2) Polish dialectal names, Cassubian in origin :

*Cekcyn Goscycyn* (K. Nitsch, *Dialekty języka polskiego*, p. 491, in *Gramatyka języka polskiego*, the so-called *Academy Grammar*, Kraków, 1923, gives their theoretic literary forms as *Ciechocin*, *Gościecin*) ;

(3) some names which are not clear, such as .

*Bodzentyn* (Sosn., 171 has *Bodzencin*, Br., II, 237, *w Bodzetyńie* ; the Gen. *Bodzentyna*, *W g.p* , *Polska*, 315, 323), near Kielce, probably an abbreviation of \* *Bodzętynin*, cf. *Gostynin*, from \* *Gostynia* : *Kwidzyn*, *-a*, Germ. *Marienwerder*, the Gen. form cf. Linde and *Wiatr od morza*, pp. 231, 237 ;

(4) names of Ukrainian (or White Ruthenian) origin, with an equivalent of the Polish suffix *-in/-yn* :

*Delatyn*, *-a* (Sosn , 5), south-east of Lwów, *Dublin*, *-a*, two small places, one near Rzeszyca ; the other near Troki, *Husiatyn*, *-a* (cf. the stem *husjat-*, Pol *gąsiąt-gąsięt-gąsięc-*, little goose, the Gen *Husiatyna*, p 360, *W g.p.*, *Polska*), E. of Lwów, *Obertyn*, *-a* (cf. the stem *obert-* : Instr. sg *óbertom* : holová *óbertom* idé, Hrinčenko, *Slovárŭ ukraïnsŭkoï móvy*, Kiev, 1908-09), (golova kružitsja, idetŭ krugomŭ), *Rohatyn*, *-a* (Gen. sg. in *Słownik geograficzny*, p 476, I, 1880, and p. 694, IX, 1888), near Lwów (cf. *rohátyń*, having horns, Pol. *rogaty*), *Śniatyn*, *-a* (Ukr. *snit*, masc., *snita*, f., Hrinčenko : *čurbanŭ, otrubokŭ*, Pol. *świat*, Linde, stem of tree), *Turyn*, *-a* (from *tur*, Pol. *tur*), a small locality over the Świsłocz, etc.

(5) names of German origin, with the second element *-sztyn*, Germ.-stem, stone :

*Bursztyn*, *-a* (Sł. geogr., I, 1880, p. 475), near Rohatyn ;

*Czorsztyn*, *-a* (Sosn., 19, Słonimski, *Wybór poezji*, Londyn, 1944, cf. p. 38), in the Pieniny range ;

*Falsztyn*, -a (the Gen. *ibid*) ;

*Fulsztyn*, -a, Germ. *Fuellstein* (Br.), or *Fullenstein* (Śl. geogr.) ;

*Melsztyn*, -a, cf. *Spytek z Melsztyna*, a Polish Hussite leader from the 15th century, cf. Br., I, pp. 425, 443, and A. Lewicki, *Zarys historii Polski*, 8th ed., Warszawa, without date ;

*Olsztyn*, -a (the Gen. *Orłowicz*, *oḡ cū*, twelve instances, pp. 31, 136, etc., Sosn., 125), from R. Germ. *Allenstein*, a town in Warmia-Ermeland, on the river *Alle-Łyna* ;

*Rabsztyn*, -a, East of Czorsztyn and (another) near Cracow (the Genitive in *Słownik geogr.*) ;

*Węgielsztyn*, -a (*Orłowicz*, pp. 34, 72 twice), Germ. *Engelstein*.

The first is the foremost type. It is the purely Polish type (in contradistinction from *Delatyn* and *Czorsztyn*). It is the literary type (in contradistinction from *Cekcyn*). It is the structurally clear type (in contradistinction from *Bodzentyn* and *Kwidzyn*,<sup>8</sup> for some relics of the originally adjectival formations containing the suffix -in/yn are still used in literary Polish: *matczyn(y)*, mother's, *siostrzyn(y)*, sister's (cf. p. 36, J. Loś, *Gramatyka polska*, Part II, 1925), or feminine (married women's) forms of surnames. *Sapieżyna*, from *Sapieha*, *Zarembina*, from *Zaremba* (*ibid.*). Many place-names of this type are clearly understandable, both stem and suffix, cf. *Babin*, *Brzesin*, *Dziewin*, *Kobylin*, *Łączyn*, *Sobocin*, *Zakłęczyn*, etc., from *baba*, woman (pej.), *brzoza*, birch, *dziewa*, maiden, *kobyła*, mare, *łąka*, meadow, *sobota*, Saturday, and *Zaklika*, surname. The type seems to be productive. Besides this, Type One formations are not only the most frequent among Polish names of towns and localities (in comparison with all the other four types mentioned), but the towns themselves, which bear them as names are the most important, cf. *Będzin*, *Cieszyn* (Teschen), *Dęblin*, railway junction in Central Poland, *Modlin*, a well-known fortress, *Lublin*, *Szczecin* (Stettin). For all these reasons, any foreign name ending in -in or -yn must first be contrasted with Type One—all the *Dublins* or *Turyns* of Type Four, of which no one but the local inhabitants have heard, are of no account.

The main feature of Type One is that the vowel of the suffix can be preceded by a palatal consonant (palatal in the sense in which the term is employed in Polish morphology, this is a consonant which either is or was palatal, to the exception of palatalised *k* or *g* ; with *c* or *dz* occurring but rarely) ; after a depalatalised consonant the vowel is -y-, not -i-. A foreign name in -in or -yn, if it is to be included with Type One, must show the same phonetic (phonologic) characteristics. It may also be argued that whatever precedes

*-in*, *-yn*, in a foreign name must not diverge from the usual Polish combinations of sounds, though this circumstance can only play a secondary and facultative rôle (see below, about *Akwın*).

When we compare the first group of foreign names in *-in*, *-yn*, those which have *-a* in the Genitive, we find that they do fulfil the phonologic requirements of Type One: the consonant preceding the vowel of the quasi-suffix is either a palatalised labial *b* (*Charbin*), a depalatalised supradental *cz* (*Debreczyn*) or a palatalised *l* (*Berlin*, *Dublin*, *Tallin(n)*), while the vowel is *y* after the depalatalised supradental consonant (*Debreczyn*). *Charbin*, let us add, and possibly *Tallin(n)* (which was called *Rewel*!), can also be thought of as belonging to the native (Slavonic) area. The second group do *not* fulfil the same requirements: the vowel is preceded either by a palatalised *k* (*Nankin*, *Pekin*, *Tonkin*) or by a slightly palatalised *s* or *d* which can only be found in some very recent loanwords (*Tien-Tsin*, cf. *sirocco*, *Aberdeen*, cf. *diva*), the vowel *y* is not found after a depalatalised consonant, but after the hard *d* (*Londyn*), (*Szegedyn*) or *r* (*Szweryn*, *Turyn*). The phonologic agreement with Type One in the first foreign group and disagreement in the second one explain the fact that *Berlin*, *Charbin*, *Dublin*, *Debreczyn* and *Tallin(n)* have *-a* in the Genitive, whereas *Londyn*, *Aberdeen*, *Nankin*, *Pekin*, *Szegedyn*, *Szweryn*, *Tien-Tsin*, *Tonkin* and *Turyn* cannot have it and therefore assume *-u*. It must not be overlooked that among those twenty-odd names of towns which end in *-n* preceded by any other vowel than *i* or *y* or by *r*, not a single one has *-a* in the Genitive, which farther corroborates our argument. If *-a* ever occurs, it is in those instances only where agreement with the main native type takes place.

Nevertheless, certain vacillations and divergences can be found. Siwak, p. 224, has the Genitive *Sybinu* (*Sybin*, in Roumania), cf. *Szybin*, *-a*, Radl., 147, in Poland-Major. *Charbin* has *u* in the following fragment by A. Słonimski (*op. cit.*, p. 13):

Hans Wurzel czeka zaniepokojony  
Na okręt, który płynie z Kobe do Londynu.  
Branchi Armado wraca do Lizbony;  
Signora petti jedzie do *Charbinu*—

the ending is due to the rhyme here, but may also occur in plainest prose, owing to the vague character of the conception of the native geographic area. On the other hand, *Carycyn* (to-day *Stalingrad*), with its slightly unusual *-cy-*, has *-a* in the Genitive, cf. Siw., 233, and p. 71, St. Żeromski, *Przedwiośnie*, 6th ed., Warszawa, 1928. *Sybin*, *-u*, is an example of how, especially when the place itself

is comparatively unknown, phonologic agreement with Type One can be outweighed by the process of expansion of the ending *-u*, about which see above. The *-a* of *Carycyna* is a different story: the word *caryca* (Russian) empress, is widely understood (at least so) in Poland; the possessive character of the formation is clear (cf. such "unliterary" possessives as *Ircyn*, from *Irka*, dim. of *Irena*, Irene); the town itself lies within the native (Slavonic) area; its Russian Genitive ends in *-a*.

There is one well-established exception: *Akwın*, *-u* in *święty Tomasz z Akwinu* (p. 17, I. Chrzanowski, *Historia literatury niepodległej Polski*, Londyn, 1942), St. Thomas Aquinas (*de Aquino*). *kwi-* is not unusual in Polish. *kwiczeć*, squeak, *kwilić*, pule, whimper, *kwitnąć*, blossom, flourish. However, an *a-* in the very beginning of a noun is an unmistakable mark of its foreign character, and the combinations *akwi-*, *akwa-*, *akwe-*, can be found but in distinctly foreign words: *akwilon*, northerly wind, *Akwitania*, Aquitaine, *akwizytor*, collector of advertisements; *akwaforta*, aqua fortis, *akwamaryna*, aquamarine, *akwarela*, aquarelle, *akwarium*, aquarium, *akwedukt*, aqueduct, etc. The *akw'-* of *Akwın* is too foreign not to affect the Genitive ending. It is not so with the "stems" of the foreign names of towns which have *-a* in the Genitive: the *berl'-* of *Berlin* can be found in the rarely used *berlik*, small smith's hammer, and is not too distinct from the *berl-* which we have in the Loc. sg. *o berle*, from *berło*, sceptre, there is not only a *Charbin* in Poland, a small locality near Gniezno, but also *Charbinowice*, near Pińczów and *Charbice*, near Łódź, which all testify to the Polish character of *charb'-* in *Charbin*, Manchuria; the *debrecz-* of *Debreczyn* may sound Ukrainian to the Polish ear, cf. *débra*, kind of valley (also in some Polish texts), or *debrynec*, *-ncja*, geranium sanguineum (Hrinčenko), there is a village near Jampol, Podolia, called *Debreczynka*, and a small river near Bobrujsk, White Ruthenia, called *Debryca*; the *dubl'-* of *Dublin* can be found in *Dublany*, a well-known locality near Lwów, not to mention the White-Ruthenian *Dublin* (see above); the *tal'-* of *Tallin(n)* in the dim. *Tala*, *-i*, Natahe, or *talizman*, *-u*, talisman, both words of long standing in Polish.

Of the four other native types mentioned, Types Two (*Cekcyn*) and Three (partly: *Kwidzyn*) cannot have anything to do with the foreign names discussed in view of the consonants preceding the *-y* of the former (*-c-*, *-dz-*). Type Four (*Śniatyn*), Five (*Olsztyn*) and *Bodzentyn* (Type Three), however, can, at least in principle. Nevertheless, many factors obtrude. Type Five is composed of *-sztyń*, easily detachable in view of the relative frequency of the names with



-sztyń and the obvious relation with the German *-stein* (*Kufstein*)<sup>9</sup> Besides *Olsztyn* and *Śniatyn* the towns in *-sztyń* and the Ukr. (White Ruth.) *-yn* (*-in*) are relatively unimportant. Although this is felt only dimly, the origin of the names is not Polish. However, and this is the main argument : if it were feasible for these foreign names ending in *-in*, *-yn*, which are phonologically discordant with Type One, to find justification for a possible *-a* in the Genitive in the *-a* of *Bodzentyn* or that of Type Four or Five, they would come into collision with Type One, and this, in view of the above-described position of this type, is unthinkable. Therefore, *Londyn* and its group cannot have *-a* in the Genitive.

Phonological discordance between the main native *-in/-yn* type on the one hand, and all the other native types in *-n* quoted, on the other hand, should in principle be accompanied by the same difference in endings. However, we have seen that phonological *accordance* in the suffixal structure is not an absolute force, not admitting of any vacillations (*Charbin*, *-a*, *-u*, *Sybin*, *-a*, *-u*) or straightforward and well-established exceptions (*Akwın*, *-u*). Names of foreign inhabited localities with *-a* in the Genitive are but very few : those in *-burg*, *Glasgow*, etc., the five names in *-in/-yn*, *Paryż* and *Bern*. The rest—hundreds of them—have *-u*. The proportion of native Genitives with *-u* as compared with the totality of native names is probably higher than that of forms with *-a* among the totality of the foreign names, but *-a* is the prevalent native ending. This state of affairs endows the two endings with a different *geographical* value each : *-a* is the characteristic of the native area, while *-u*—that of the foreign area. Besides, within the inanimates *-u* is not only the foreign, but also the potentially “ elegant ” ending

These two factors constitute between them the first contribution for the phonological discordance to remain inoperative within the native area. Nevertheless, they would not be sufficient by themselves. In the case of the *-sztyń* type, the clear detachability of the second element removes the relevant names from immediate comparison with the main native type. In the case of the other three, the sentiment as vague as it might be, that *-yn* is the dialectal or non-Polish equivalent of the native suffix, joins the first two factors in countering the action of the phonological discordance. The fact that the Ukrainian or the White-Ruthenian Genitive of the *Delatyn*, *Dublin* type ends in *-a*, cannot also be without influence in the linguistically mixed areas which are the first to determine the ending.

We know next to nothing about the history of the *-u* ending in geographic names or names of towns. *This article*, with all its pedantically collected documentation, *deals with modern literary Polish alone*, and is strictly "synchronistic" in approach. It would, however, be interesting to see whether the explanation given would have to be modified and how, were we to examine the history of the Genitive endings of the names discussed or place-names as a whole

Czech and Ukrainian facts can be adduced confirming the explanation of *Londyn*. In both these languages, *-u* plays a similar rôle in the Genitive of names of towns as it does in Polish. The Czech name for London is *Londýn*. The native suffix *-ín* also has a long vowel, cf. *Těšín*, Cieszyn, Gen. *-a*. Since Czech no longer distinguishes *i* and *y* in pronunciation (except for the fact that *i* palatalises the preceding consonant), *Londýn* can be identified with the native Czech type in *-ín* almost completely. Therefore the Genitive is *Londýna* (cf. p. 8, Trávníček, *op. cit.*), also *Turin/-ín*, *-a* (*ibid.*), *Debrecín*, *-a* (cf. p. 213, *Slovník jazyka českého*, P. Váša, Fr. Trávníček), but *Lisabon*, *-u*, *Lyon*, *-u*, although *Milán*, *-a* (Trávn., *op. cit.*, p. 8)

The Ukrainian name is *Lóndon*, *-u*, but the capital of Germany is called *Berlín*. The Proto-Slavonic suffix *-in* has changed in Ukrainian into *-yn*. Therefore, the *-in* of *Berlín* cannot be identified with the native suffix, and the Gen. has *-u* accordingly, same as *Déblin*, *-u*, Dublin, *Pékín*, *-u*, or *Turín*, *-u* (cf. *Ukrainisch-Deutsches Woerterbuch*, Z. Kuzela, J. Rudnyčkyj, Leipzig, 1943). *Charbín* has *-a* in the Genitive (*ibid.*), apparently because it is considered as a native name.

#### IV

##### THE GENITIVE GLASGOWA

In contradistinction to *Londyn* which has *-u* in the Genitive, *Glasgow* (usually pronounced "Glazgof") has the Genitive *Glasgowa* (pron. "Glazgowa"), cf. Siw., 121; p. 21, *Wielka geografia powszechna*, *Wielka Brytania*. The name may also be uninflected and then the pronunciation vacillates between "Glazgof" and the usual English pronunciation.

*Tel-Aviv* which also ends in *-v(f)*, has the ending *-u* whenever inflected (cf. *Zycie Warszawy*, No. 333). So has *Merw*, *-u* (Pawł., 127), in Turkmenistan, Asia. *Płowdru*, however, which ends in the same two sounds as *Tel-Aviv*, has *-a* in the Genitive, cf. pp. 86, 87,

*W.g.p.*, *Półwysep bałkański*. The form *Płowdiwa* can be explained in the following way: the town (otherwise called *Filipopol*) is situated within the native (Slavonic) geographic area (Bulgaria) and its Slavonic character is shown by *ł* occurring in a similar combination as in the adjective *płowy*, fallow, etc. How a phonetic element can affect a place-name can be illustrated upon the instance of *Möglin* (Germany) which remains uninflected even despite its accordance with the native *-in/-yn* type, cf. Br., III, 598, 599.

Glasgow's *-a* is due to its accidental similarity with the native *-ów/-ow-* type, cf. *Kraków*, *-owa*, *Lwów*, *Lwowa*, etc., although this similarity is not complete: the Nominative has not *-ó-*, but *-o-*. Like the Scottish Glasgow so has the Roumanian *Braszów* (N.sg. Siw., 221), Roum. *Braşov*, Germ. *Kronstadt*, the Genitive *Braszowa* (Siw., 224).

This explanation corroborates—and is mutually corroborated by—the explanation of the Genitive endings of the foreign *-in/-yn* type, which has been given in the preceding section of this article.

## V

## THE GENITIVE EDYNBURGA

In similar contradistinction to the Genitive *Londynu* the Polish name of the capital of Scotland, *Edynburg*, has *-a* in the Genitive, cf. p. 24, *W.g.p.*, *Wielka Brytania* (*Edymburga*, with *m* twice).

The Genitive *Edynburga* is due to the consonance in Polish and indeed the etymologic affinity with the Teutonic type in *-burg* (*-borg*), the representatives of which have in Polish *-a* in the Genitive:

*Augsburg*, *-a* (*W.h.p.*, Vol. IV, part II, p. 137);

*Cherbourg*, *-a* (Siw., 99, 115);

*Dyneburg*, *-a* (*Daugavpils*, in Latvia; Sosn., 156);

*Göteborg*, *-a*, in Sweden;

*Hamburg*, *-a* (Siw. 98, 179, p. 24, *W.g.p.*, *W.Br.*, Szlag. 405);

*Helsingborg*, *-a* (p. 162, L. Kubala, *Wojny duńskie i pokój olwowski*, Lwów, 1922), in Denmark,

*Johannesburg*, *-a*, in South Africa (*W.g.p.*, *Afryka Południowa*, pp. 69, 70);

*Kronenborg*, *-a* (p. 162, Kubala, *op. cit.*), in Denmark;

*Luksemburg*, *-a*, town;<sup>10</sup>

*Magdeburg*, *-a* (*Tyg. P.*, No. 17/110, pp. 3, 4; Smoleński, *op. cit.*, 40);

*Orenburg*, *-a*, now *Chkalov*, in Russia;

*Petersburg*, -a (Sosn., 95, Siw., 179), now *Leningrad* ;  
*Pittsburg*, -a, in the U.S.A. ;  
*Preszburg*, -a (Sosn., 11), now *Bratislava*, in Slovakia ;  
*Regensburg*, -a (Br., I, 229), usually *Ratyzbona* ;  
*Salzburg*, -a (*Tyg P.*, No. 49/90, p. 5, Br., I, 229) ;  
*S/z/trasburg*, -a (Szeląg., 60, 329) ;  
*Wyborg*, -a (Siw., 162).

It is interesting to note that whereas this type has -a in the Genitive, its native counterpart, -*gród*, has now -u : there is practically no appellative to influence the Teutonic type, for *burg*, -u is used *very* seldom, for instance, about the "burgs" of the Teutonic Order. Though semantically akin with the -*gród* type, this type is faintly reminiscent of names in -*brzeg* type which have now entered into a period of transition from -a to -u in the Genitive. If anything can be invoked to justify the -a of all the -*burgs*, it would be that the type intrudes upon the native area, cf *Dyneburg*, *Petersburg*, *Preszburg* and *Malborg*, -a (the last cf. Kubala, *op. cit.*, 268, several times, Lewicki, *op. cit.*, 138, Sosn., 129, twice, etc.) ; the Polish town of Brodnica, on the Drwęca, is called *Strassburg* by the Germans, exactly like the well-known city in the Elsass. Many representatives of this type (and the German -*berg* type) have indeed adapted themselves to the language as shown by names composed of -*bark*, -*bork* in Northern Mazuria, and Ermeland-Warmia and even of -*brzych*, in Silesia :

-*bark* : *Licbark* (or *Lidzbark*), -u (*Licbarku*, Orłowicz, *op. cit.*, 217, 218 three times, 223 twice, 227 twice, 228 three times, 269, etc.), Germ. *Heilsberg*, in Warmia ; *Sztymbark*, Germ. *Tannenberg*, Northern Mazuria ; *Wielbark*, -u, Orł. 173 twice, Ger. *Willenberg* ;

-*bork* : *Frombork*, Germ. *Frauenberg*, in Warmia, -u (Orł. 263, 264, 275, 223), -a (Orł. 263 twice, 276 five times, 277, *Sł.g.*, II, 1881, 413, 415) ; *Jańsbork*, Germ. *Johannisburg*, -u (Orł. *Jańsborku*, p. 101, three times), -a (*Jańsborka*, Sosn., 123, 128) ; *Nibork*, Germ. *Neidenburg*, in Northern Mazuria, -u (Orł. 169, 178) ; *Rastembork*, Germ. *Rastenburg*, in N. Maz., -u (Orł. 63), -a (*ibid.*, 111) ; *Wartembork*, Germ. *Wartenberg*, -u (Orł. 156), -a (*ibid.*, 137) ; *Węgobork*, Germ. *Angersburg*, -u (Orł. 67, 68 twice), -a (*ib.* 68 twice, 69) ; *Więcbork*, -a (K. Nitsch, *Język Polski*, XXV, II, p. 40) ; *Ządzbork*, Germ. *Sensburg*, -a (Orł. 111 twice, 112 five times), -u (*Sł.g.*, IX, 1888) ; -*brzych* : *Walbrych*, -a (Sosn., 41), Germ. *Waldenburg*, in Silesia.

As we see, all these names have Genitives in *-u* rather than in *-a*: whatever the state of affairs in the local dialects, in the literary language, the type seems to be well on its way towards the "more elegant" ending. All localities with *-bark*, *-bork* (or *-brzych*) are comparatively small and known but little outside their region. Nevertheless, over a century ago *Petersburg* itself could also have *-k* at the end instead of *-g*:

Co za miasto! Nikt z Panów nie był w *Petersburku*?  
Chcecie może plan widzieć? Mam plan miasta w biurku

says Telimena in *Pan Tadeusz*, Book II, vv. 559-600, and the commentator, S. Pigoń, maintains that both *Petersburk* and *Peterburk* were used in the Polish spoken at the beginning of the 19th century in the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania (cf. p. 94, *Biblioteka Narodowa*, No 83, Serja I).

There are a few native names in Poland ending in *-barg*: *Lysobarg* (Br., I, 58), which Brueckner explains as containing the word *barg*, a regional equivalent of the literary Polish *bróg*, *brogu*, stack. The relation between *-barg* and *bróg* is the same as between *-gard* and *gród*.

However, except for the native (in a sense) *Dyneburg*, *Petersburg* and *Malborg*, none of the names quoted can be adduced to justify the *-a* of the Genitive in the *-burg/-borg* type. The *-a* of *Edynburga* relies first of all on the *-a* of the well-known foreign names such as *Hamburg*, etc

Contrary to Grappin's assertion, p. 43, geographical names in *-berg* do not have *-a*, but *-u*, in the Genitive:

*Altenberg*, *-u* (Br., I, 242);

*Bamberg*, *-u* (K. Tymieniecki, 306, 334);

*Brunsborg*, *-u* (Br., II, 337; II, 156: *do Brunsborgu na Warmji*);

*Falkenberg*, *-u* (Br., I, 550: *Jan z Falkenbergu*);

*Heidelberg*, *-u* (Br., I, 193), also (*Heidelberga*, fem., Br., II, 527,

cf. *Norymberga* and *Wittenberga*);

*Landsberg*, *-u* (*Wiatr od morza*, 110);

*Rosenberg*, *-u* (Br., II, 230);

*Stolzenberg*, *-u* (*Wiatr*, 250);

*Weissenberg*, *-u* (Br., I, 319);

*Witenberg*, *-u* (Br., II, 123, 125, 337, 664), *-a* (exceptionally, after a name in *-burg*: *Do Strasburga nęcił wielki pedagog Śturm, jak do Wittenberga Melanchton, a Sabinus do Królewca*, Br., II, 194-5); also *Witenberga*, fem., cf. Br., III, 116: *w Wittenberdze*.

-a is here as sporadic as is -u in the case of names composed of -burg (cf. Br., II, 230 · Wilhelm z Rozenbergu i Jan z Hazemburgu).

No facts can be found among common inanimate nouns explaining this difference in the Genitive ending between the two types which are so parallel in structure and have almost fully consonant second elements. There do not seem to exist any inanimates in -urg, except for the very rare *burg*, -u, castle in Germany, castle of the Teutonic Order. There is not more than one in -org: *borg*, credit, which is used in the expression "brać na *borg*," take (buy) on credit, with, if any, a Genitive in -u. For -erg we may find *dzierg*, -u, a sewing term, and *erg*, -a, the energy unit, both confined to special language.

The difference is striking i.e., therefore that the towns the names of which contain -burg (-borg) are in most cases important localities, while those in -berg quite the contrary, for, if anywhere, the potentially "elegant" ending, the -u, ought to adorn the -burg type. A possible reverted distribution of the endings, based on the comparative importance of the towns, however, counteracted by factors more powerful than the "elegant" character of the -u or the "common" character of the -a.

Surnames in -berg (German or Jewish-German) are very frequent, while those in -burg equally rare. In Brueckner's *Dzieje kultury polskiej* eleven names can be found composed of -berg (*Falkenberg*, *Fellenberg*, *Gluecksberg*, *Kaldenberg*, *Kolberg*, *Kronenberg*, *Kwittenberg*, *Stackelberg*, *Szarffenberg*, *Wassenberg* and *Zeissberg*) as against two containing -burg (*Erlenburg*, *Habsburg*). The proportion is in all likelihood very unfavourable for the -berg type, for the work of the great Polish scholar deals with the period ending in 1831 when the very numerous German-Jewish names in -berg, many of them identical with names of towns (*Altenberg*, *Landsberg*, *Rosenberg*, etc), had not yet emerged from obscurity and not yet achieved any wider degree of currency in Poland. However it might be, it is the frequency of the names in -berg and the rarity of those in -burg, both with Genitives in -a, that seems to counteract any other factor so as to justify the -u of the -berg type in names of inhabited localities (cf. above, the pair *Turka/Turku*), whilst the -burg type has -a, in accordance with its native character as described above (-berg, let us add, is distinctly less native as no name can be found here of the same character as *Dyneburg*, *Malborg*, *Petersburg* or *Preszburg*).

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All the other sources are described in the text. The newspapers or magazines quoted date from 1947, and except for *Dziennik Polski* (London) are published in Poland.

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<sup>1</sup> The question may be asked whether any old (masculine) -u stems were used as place names. The problem is tempting, especially in view of the frequency with which -u is now employed in the Genitive of many Polish names of rivers, i.e. those with a one-syllable stem: *Bug*, -u (Sosn., 77), *Dnieper*, -u (*ibid.*, 43), *Dniestr*, -u (*ibid.*, 3), *Ner*, -u (100), *Prut*, -u (3), *San*, -u (12), *Styr*, -u (192), etc. They are of great antiquity. The Genitive ending of most names of localities is -a.

<sup>2</sup> The same agreement with the ending of the appellative is to be found in modern Czech, cf.: *Bělohrad*, -u, *Rajhrad*, -u, *Velohrad*, -u, *Vyšehrad*, -u, beside *hrad*, -u, p. 8, F. Trávníček, *Stručná mluvnice česká*, 2nd ed., Praha, 1943.

<sup>3</sup> Asked why he should have used *Kołobrzegu* instead of *Kołobrzega*, a correspondent, born and educated in Warsaw, who spent the summer of 1947 in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, wrote: "I used *Kołobrzega* at first, but later adapted myself to all others (*do ogółu*)".

<sup>4</sup> An interesting example to show the influence of the Genitive of a word which has nothing to do with the place-name: Sosnowski uses the incorrect form *Spiz* (country on the border of Poland and Slovakia) with the Gen. *Spiziu* (p. 21), cf. *spiz*, -u, brass, bell-metal. The usual form is *Spisz*, -a, *W.G.P.*, *Polska*, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Brueckner, *op. cit.*, III, p. 272, mentions *Annopol* [sic!], in Volhynia.

<sup>6</sup> *Wieczór* has -u in the meaning "musical, artistic, social soirée" or "evening metaphorically (e.g. the evening of life)", -u and -a in the usual meaning, "evening" (full material and explanation in another article). *Chlew*, pigsty, can have -a or -u without any difference in the meaning, cf. p. 338, W. Perzyński, *Klejnoty*, Warszawa, 1930: *do chlewa/do chlewu*.

<sup>7</sup> Owing to the scarcity of accessible sources the author has found it impossible to ascertain the Genitive ending of the rarely used *Kyrin* (*Kyrin* ?), in Manchuria and *Trenczyn*, in Slovakia.

<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that most Poles use the form *Kwidzyn* (Sosn., 152, 201, Radł., 10) -ma (Sosn., 129) instead, undoubtedly under the influence of the \*(n) 20 type. The same change also affects *Światyn*: *Światyń*, -ma (*W.G.P.*, *Polska*, p. 374). This is due to the fact that *Kwidzyn*, with its *dz* which is but rarely found in Type One, and *Światyn*, with its *t* which is never found there, are found different in structure from Type One and therefore tend to associate themselves with the

-n(zo) type, cf. *Poznań*, *Wieluń*. The rest of Type Four, unimportant localities, remain unaffected

<sup>9</sup> -sztyń is also found in one well-known German loanword, *bursztyń*, -u (cf., *Bursztyń*, -a, above <sup>1</sup>), amber, from Germ. *Bernstein*, and in the equally well-known surname *Morsztyń*, -a

<sup>10</sup> As name of country *Luksemburg* and some others of this type can assume -u in the Genitive (of this in another article).



## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON RUSSIA, 1947

[THIS list is a continuation of that which appeared in the *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XXV (1947), pp. 508-17, and covers the period January-December, 1947.]

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PHILIP GRIERSON.

## POETRY

### I LOVED YOU

*Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN*

*by* V. DE S. PINTO

I loved you : in my heart there is an ember  
Of love not wholly faded it may be,  
But do not let it hurt you to remember :  
I would not have you suffer pain for me.  
I loved you in a hopeless silent fashion,  
Racked now by shyness, now by jealous fear.  
I loved you with such pure and tender passion :  
God grant another love you so, my dear.

### TO MY NURSE

*Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN*

*by* HENRY GIFFORD

My frail, belov'd companion, fated  
To comfort these bleak days of mine !  
A long, long while you've lonely waited  
Amid a wilderness of pine.  
I see your face that grieving lingers  
On watch beside your window-sill,  
And now and then those wrinkled fingers  
Pause at their knitting and are still.  
You peer beyond the gates neglected  
Along the dark and distant road :  
How sorely is your heart dejected,  
What cares and dangers you forebode !



## MAYAKOVSKY AND THE SUN

(An extraordinary thing that happened to Vladimir Mayakovsky  
at his country house one summer)

*Translated from the Russian of* VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKY

by V. DE S. PINTO

Like a hundred suns burnt the sunset's flame,  
Towards July Summer was swelling.  
A great heat came,  
The heat was swimming,  
At the cottage where I was dwelling.  
Pushkino hill rose up in a hump  
Beneath Akulova mountain.  
And there below,  
At the bottom of the hill,  
The village lay,  
The crust of its roofs with heat all twisted.  
And behind the village  
Was a hole,  
And into that hole I say,  
Slow and surely the sun would go  
As he sank each day.  
And the next morning,  
To flood the world again with light,  
Up the ruddy sun again would float.  
And day after day  
This went on  
Until it really  
Got my goat

So one day I went mad,  
Turned absolutely white with passion  
I yelled right out at the sun :  
" Come down !  
You've gadded long enough in that blazing fashion ! "  
I yelled at the sun :  
" You lazy clown,  
Up there in the clouds you're in clover ;  
Here I sit painting posters night and day  
And my work is never over."

## MAYAKOVSKY.

I yelled at the sun :  
" Just half a mo',  
Listen to me, old fiery head,  
Why not go slow  
With that setting of yours, and instead  
Come down here to me  
And have some tea ? "

God, what have I done ?  
It's all up with me.  
Here's the blessed sun  
Coming of his own free will,  
Striding with great flaming rays  
Across the field  
And down the hill.  
I don't want to seem afraid,  
So I take a few steps back.  
Now his eyes are in the garden,  
He's coming up the garden path.  
Through the windows  
And the door,  
Through every crack  
In the walls and floors  
The great flaming bulk  
Of the sun's body pours  
And pours.  
And a very big breath he draws,  
And in a deep voice makes this exclamation  
" I have turned my fires back you see  
For the first time since creation.  
I heard you calling me.  
So here I am  
Come on, you poet, hurry up with that tea,  
Come on, and I want some jam ! "  
Tears were pouring out of my eyes,  
With the heat  
I was quite unsteady.  
But I got to work  
And soon had the samovar ready.  
" All right " I said,  
" Come on, old Shiner, and take a seat."

It must have been the devil  
Who gave me the cheek  
To yell out that invitation.  
There I sat sadly  
On the edge of the bench  
In the greatest trepidation.  
You see I was very scared  
That things would turn out badly.  
But from the sun  
A strange brilliance flared  
And I soon forgot  
My shyness.  
And gradually I got into conversation  
With his celestial highness.

I began to chat  
Of this and that,  
And of the harm that Rosta\* had done  
In its hurry.  
And the sun  
Said: "All right,  
Don't worry.  
Look at things quite simply!  
Look at me:  
You think it's easy  
To be a shining light.  
Just come and try!—  
Come on,  
We'll work together,  
We'll both shine, you and I!"  
So we chatted till it was dark,  
I mean till the middle of the night,  
For how could it be dark  
When there was all that light?  
Then very soon  
We were on the right tack.  
I was calling him, "old boy,"  
And I clapped him on the back.

\* "Rosta" was the early Soviet organisation for Posts and Telegraphs in which the poet was employed, when he wrote this poem—TR. NOTE.

## MAIKOV.

And the sun said : " See here,  
You and I, comrade,  
Are a pair, that's clear.  
Come, poet, come with me,  
We'll soar and we'll sing,  
And defeat the world's dingy curses,  
Over all that trash my beams I'll pour,  
You'll flood it with your verses."

Then the walls of darkness  
And the dungeon of night  
Fell down before the sun's  
Great blast of light.  
Poetry and sunbeams together  
Shine for all you're worth !  
And when the night,  
That sleepy head,  
Wants to lie  
And doze and dream,  
Suddenly I  
Shall shine with all my might,  
And day will come back with her music gay :  
To shine everywhere  
To shine always  
Until the very end of day :  
To shine—  
No nonsense, I say,  
That's the sun's slogan,  
And it is mine.

## THE CRANES

*Translated from the Russian of A. N. MAIKOV*

*by V. DE S. PINTO*

From my sad musings I awaken  
And from the earth I raise my eyes.  
A flock of cranes across the heavens  
Through the deep azure midnight flies ;

And in the distant sky their voices  
Are chiming like a merry bell,  
Greeting the old primeval forest,  
Greeting the streams they know so well.

They have the woods, they have the waters,  
And in the fields rich store of grain ;  
They need no more, kind fate preserves them  
From love and thought and all our pain.

### YES, WE WERE MANY

*Translated from the Russian of KAROLINA PAVLOVA*

*by V. DE S. PINTO*

Yes, we were many, girls together, light of heart,  
Long ago at that feast, a merry carefree throng.  
And with our mirth the great room rang the whole day long,  
And there was rippling laughter when we came to part.

We could not think that things like pain and sorrow were ;  
Life we went out to meet with brave and shining faces,  
Before us stretched a wide world full of sunny places,  
They were all ours with all their treasures rich and rare.

Yes, we were many : where is that bright swarm to-day ?  
Beneath life's heavy burden each has learnt to bow,  
Like some old fairy tale those days seem to her now,  
And her old self seems like a stranger far away.

### ADAM, WHERE ART THOU ?

*Translated from the Hungarian of ADY ENDRE*

*by NEVILLE MASTERMAN*

The dark mourning of my soul disperses.  
Lo, in a great white light, my God comes  
That he may conquer all my enemies.

The secret of his face is hidden :  
But nowadays, with great compassion  
His sun-like eye looks on me, often.

And if from time to time I conquer,  
He walked, my God walked, there before me  
With drawn sword : He was first the victor.

I hear him through my soul go striding,  
And to his sad " Where art thou, Adam ? "  
My heart replies with noisy throbbing.

Then in my soul I Him discover :  
Now I have found Him, now embraced Him :  
We shall be one in death together.

# THE STICK

*Translated from the Croat of VLADIMIR NAZOV*

by ALEXANDER C NIVEN

My father often used to send his farm-hand, the servant Ivan, to go around our vineyards.

The vines would hardly have begun to flower or the olive trees to bear, the wind to dry the fruits or the long-expected rain to freshen the vine or olive, when the servant Ivan would go from one vineyard to another to see everything personally and then to tell, according to his estimate, how much wine or olive oil would be in his master's barrels or stone jugs.

He hardly ever arrived before the evening, because our vineyards were not concentrated and some were so far away that he hardly ever visited them. On this day he was most spoken of and was awaited with a certain expectation, because even the children in the house knew that it would be difficult for everyone that year if the servant Ivan did not appear at the door with tired knees but cheerful face and laughing eyes.

He would sit on the old wooden stairs by the door and immediately begin to speak, mentioning every vineyard in order, and saying how many tubs of cider and measures of wine the master of the land could hope for if his labourers honestly gave him all that was his due

The Vilak's Mound ! The Wolf's Plain ! The Devil's Ravine ! The Yellow Pool ! The Meadow of Pears ! The Grove ! Along the River-Bed !

I listened more to the sound of these names than to the number of tubs and wine measures.

A distant, steep, and hardly accessible mound on which, in the past, had sat a horrible man by the name of Vilak ! A spacious plain on which wolves roamed at night ! Some dark ravine which led to hell ! An ugly pool full of yellow water, crowned with olive trees ! A meadow covered with flowering pear trees, populous with swarms of bees and butterflies ! And finally, the Grove, a pine forest where green trees with leaves like needles and fragrant resin lived eternally . . . oh, perhaps a hundred of those trees of which I had seen but one and had gazed at it as though gazing on a miracle. And then : along the river-bed ! But this is like in a tale : water

—sweet, clear water which flowed and murmured, always, unceasingly—water which the birds and children could drink.

I never even listened to what the servant Ivan said to my father about next year's harvest and the labourers. I watched for those words which would tell me something about suspected miracles in the tuneful names of our vineyards. I wondered why he did not even mention that which was most important. I became sad and nearly regarded him badly. But when the servant once mentioned that it was a labourer's fault that the wall of the small morass fell into the Zabetina and the water became muddy, and that the rascal had cut something in the Grove, I flared up.

"And you allowed this! Why did you not punish him?"

"Young master, the next time come with me and I will not be afraid of anyone," joked the servant, who spoke more freely when he brought good news.

"Just take me!" said I

From that day I did not rest until my father allowed me to accompany Ivan on his tour of the property.

Mother helped me:

"—As it is he tears his shoes the whole day on the stones in the harbour. Where does he not climb, over what rocks does he not crawl? We do not see him oftener than at lunch and dinner. If he was with the servant I should be less anxious than I am now. Don't worry about his feet," she said

And father finally consented.

I cried out for joy and immediately began to think of all a man needs on such a journey. I found a bag for food and a small container with which I could draw water from the stream. From somewhere I pulled out a heavy cap to keep my head warm in the cold woods of our Grove and on the windy top of Vilak's Mound. I was most disturbed until I found a strong rod which I cut off, peeled and carved as well as I could. Without a good stick in my hand I thought it unwise even to go near a place called the Wolf's Plain.

My eyes burned from excitement when the long-expected day finally arrived, and the servant Ivan took me with him for the first time.

At the first I walked silently along the uneven stony path which already I knew well, thinking of all the new and nice things which awaited me somewhere. We passed through the village of Velo, greeting all the old men and women who sat on the house entrances. The servant's voice sounded a bit more melodious. I saw im-



mediately that he was proud because the young master was accompanying him. My wings were growing because all these people noticed how I walked with the big man after some job, the bag on my hip and the stick in my hand

"Is this Signor Peter's son?"

"Yes! Our small gentleman," replied Ivan to the peasants.

"May God give him health!"

And the servant stared at me for the first time, observing no longer a foolish youth but one who quickly grows up and who would soon settle into his job in a commanding manner. His tongue became untied and he began to tell me about the vines, the olives and the labourers.

But this was not what I wanted him to tell me. I asked him something about the wolves, the morass with the reed grass, and about the pine-woods with cones on the branches like pipes on their stems.

He looked at me curiously. His smile nearly offended me. I realised immediately that he thought I was a little simpleton. I was sorry that with the servant Ivan, from whom I expected so much, I had nothing to talk about.

Far from and high above the village, we perceived a valley flanked by rocks. At the bottom hewn walls formed a border to a pool of muddy water.

"The Yellow Pool!"

"No, master. This is our Donji Pisak"

"And when there is a drought in summer you bring us this water to drink"

"When there is no other, this is good enough."

Much was said about Donji Pisak in our house when we had little or no water in our cisterns and waited anxiously during droughts for this water, which we guarded as if it were wine. I sometimes even dreamt about it—a small lake with clear liquid, surrounded by rows of trees and carpets of grass. Women came and drew the water, spilling it into buckets from which sheep would drink. A swarm of swallows flew and turned over it. Children carried it in pitchers, old women in pails. Young and old permanently drew from it, but it never diminished. It always remained the same—cold and clear, blue under the sun, silvery under the moon.

But now look! A yellow, muddy pool in a wild valley!

"The Meadow of Pears!" suddenly said the servant.

I jumped. I felt no more tiredness.

"Ha! At last!"

But there was nothing except a vineyard with small vines. Around them was a row of olive trees and a fence of roughly heaped stones, and here and there among them a heap of rocks:

The Meadow of Pears was only a vineyard with better soil than the rest.

"And where are the pear-trees?" I whispered.

"There were sometimes two or three old pear-trees here. The children came and damaged them. The trees died, and now there is peace."

We sat down under an olive tree.

I felt tiredness in all my limbs. My feet hurt me.

Ivan took off my bag, opened it and began to cut the food.

"This is real earth for you. Eh, if your father would only make me a labourer here! I would give him even half of the olives and grapes. I estimate up to ten tubs and at least fifteen measures of wine. One could even sow a little."

I hardly listened to him. Every word he said was detestable to me. I refused the food and wandered with my eyes from one heap to another.

"Let us go! I am no longer tired."

We descended the slope, crossed the valley, and began to climb again.

But I did not see anything new here either. Everywhere there were steep rocks, vines and olives; but the rocks were smaller, the vines lower and the olives more stunted than in our harbour.

After half an hour's walk the country changed.

The earth was now more even, the region tamer, the soil more fertile and of darker colour. We entered among lush olive trees and more vigorous vines. Above that plain, where the open sea could be seen in the distance, the sun was shining and the air sparkled. We passed a small rustic house behind which, in a small garden, grew a wild rosemary. The stones became smaller and rarer, the fences around the vineyards lower. Here and there was an uncultivated corner covered with tall grass. Some heaps were grown over with brambles. The bushes were entangled with flowering branches, while butterflies and flies flew around them on all sides.

"There is no vineyard equal to Wolf's Plain! If there were water, here would be our gardens. It is a pity that the sun in the summer should do most of its damage just here. But there is no spot more beautiful and more quiet than this region."

I was gripping the stick I had cut, and thinking of all that could happen to me in a region with such a name. I was not afraid to

come near it in the company of a man who carried a gun on his shoulder. I hoped to experience something here, to hear at least a distant howl and whine, and that I would not leave it feeling a coward

An even greater sadness got hold of me than on the Meadow of Pears. I sat next to the servant and withdrew even more into myself.

He went alone to inspect some near-by olive grove. Without fear he left me there alone, and this convinced me even more that the Wolf's Plain was not what I thought. I felt as I did at the time when I dreamt something nice before dawn, and in the morning, when awakened, saw that my hands were empty or that I was not where I had been a moment earlier, moving happily about. But the pain was worse this time and penetrated nearly to my marrow.

When Ivan returned I no longer wanted to go to the Yellow Pool or on the way of the Great Rows, which I had imagined to be like giant walls, filed one after another, on the slope of some hill reaching to heaven

"I want to go home"

Ivan agreed. "We shall return by the shortest way, but still pass the Grove."

I remembered the solitary pine which grew in the harbour, and the ships' masts made from trunks of these trees—and in me everything became alive again

"The Grove! The Grove!"

I walked in front of Ivan, making my largest strides and hitting the earth hard with my stick. Sometimes I would point it straight into the air to see if I could reach the cones which hung above my head in the dense grove. I remembered the first cones and the first pine branches I had seen in my life. They were really brought from our Grove, and I was certain that this time I would not be cheated in my expectation. Pines do not die like mouldy old pears. I would see one of those real forests of which I had heard only in stories, when I lived with my parents in my grandmother's house in the village of Velo. In them dragons lived, and King's daughters slept on moss under ever-flowering shrubs, and the tops of the trees bent right to the ground when fairies flew over the forest.

"Quickly, Ivan! Quickly!"

We went down the slope overgrown with heather and junipers with red berries. The beetles were buzzing, and, frightened by our passing, the blackbirds fled. It seemed to me that everything was so nice now because the forest was near—a miracle within reach.

"Shall we sit down? At least that you may eat something now?"

But I went forward, remembering how, one Christmas in the village of Velo, we had decorated a small pine-tree brought to us by grandmother's servant. At that time he gave me a cone with a stem that I could hold in my mouth like a small pipe. There is a Grove! It is not a swindle like that Meadow of Pears or the Wolf's Plain!

"Ivan, I am not tired. And I am not hungry."

I had already thought that I would ask my father to have a small wooden house built on the border of the forest. I would often creep to it, silently enter and eavesdrop to all the whispering of the forest. I would spy through the window at the animals, the robbers and the fairies. I would get to know everything. And I would see all; and if it was nicer there than in the harbour, I would remain. This time I was accompanied by the servant and I had a stick in my hand, but later it would all be different.

We arrived at the bottom of the defile and passed some dry river-bed. We had only to climb up that steepness to those rocks. Something was darkening on the horizon . . .

"Master, stop. We have already arrived."

"How is that?" I stared at the servant.

He stretched his arm, pointed with his finger at the steepness and directed it between the river-bed and along the row of rocks above.

"This is your Grove. A young but properly sown vineyard. It does not bear yet, but when the time comes it will yield about ten tubs of cider. And why not? The pines brought enough to your father when we cut them. Their leaves still rot here and manure the soil. If the autumn rains did not carry them down into the bed and the storm not scatter them, the Grove would be worth even more"

I looked at that steepness, full of small bushes and brambles and thin young vines, but without a single tree—without even junipers and olives. I felt a lump forming in my throat. I wanted to cry out, but something was choking me. I was completely stiff. Only my hand trembled spasmodically, and in it that stick carefully chosen and cut, and thoughtfully carved with my best knife.

"Shut up . . . You lie! You lie!"

I felt a bit easier, but I still trembled from sadness and fury.

"Master, what is the matter with you?"

"Shut up, you cheat!"

I exerted all my strength and broke the stick with my leg I threw it into his face.

"There, take it . . . !"

If he had looked at me with irony or said anything, I would have attacked him, if only with my nails. But he only watched me with surprise.

I saw on his face that he did not even suspect what was wrong with me, so I turned my back on him and began to run. I raced down the river-bed, knowing that this would bring me towards the sea by the easiest way, and from there home.

I did not look back, but I knew that Ivan was following and not losing sight of me. At first this angered me, but the farther I went, the more my fury abated. Already I was sorry for having offended the servant. Soon there was no remnant of anger left in me, but sadness fell even heavier on my heart. I went on slower, allowing the servant to walk near my side.

When we arrived home Ivan did not say a word. In my bad temper and silence my parents saw only tiredness.

I went to bed early, but I could not fall asleep. I always used to shut my eyes and think about what I would see one day when I started out from the harbour towards the east to my father's vineyards, from which came our wood, grapes, olives, vegetables and fruit, and to that water without which we would die of thirst in summer. I always thought about these things before falling asleep, looking at them in the semi-darkness of the room like some bright visions, only to see them again very often, and even nicer, in my dreams. Now I felt that this charm was ruined and that the darkness around me and in my eyes would remain empty.

The stone which I carried in my breast weighed on me even more heavily, and I began to cry.

My parents heard me. My mother came towards my bed.

"Vlado, what is the matter?"

Weepingly, I told her of how the servant Ivan had made bad jokes at me the entire day, and had taken me to some ugly places. I had not seen my father's real possessions. I mentioned the wolves and the flowering pears in the Meadow, and the little wooden house on the border of the pine-grove. I was carried away and told her everything about the broken stick—why I had peeled it so nicely and adorned it with carvings, and how it got ruined.

"Be quiet . . . and sleep!" she said, trying to calm me, putting her hand on my forehead and arranging my pillow.

When she left, I heard her tell my father:

“ I do not know what is the matter with him. He seems delirious but he has no fever. It will be because of exhaustion.”

“ I always said that this walking is not good for him.”

And I felt more sad, because even my parents could not console me.

## A CÚRIQUS STORY

*Translated from the Polish of* BOLESŁAW PRUS

*by* W. J. ROSE

It is the night of St Silvester. The clock of the brightly lit Landed Gentry Club points to ten minutes to twelve. In the rooms of the brightly lit Landed Gentry Club sixty pairs are finishing the last square dance of the year. In the buffet of the brightly lit Landed Gentry Club twenty waiters, under the watchful eyes of the hosts, are preparing twenty bottles of champagne.\*

A few minutes more and, in the brightly lit rooms, twenty corks will pop from their bottles, twenty waiters, under the watchful eyes of their hosts, will fill two hundred glasses ; and to the sounds of a fanfare composed specially for the occasion sixty pairs of dancers, forty old gentlemen playing at whist and forty old ladies dozing or gossiping will toast the New Year.

Live and reign, Year to be ! Neath thy wing let the turnover of our shops and the income from our house properties increase ! Let each maiden here find a husband, each spouse a swarm of admirers, each old gentleman materials to use in praising the past ! Live, reign and protect our homes from thieves, our hearts from unrest, our minds from doubts, our stomachs from indigestion !

And in the moment when the fanfare is played, when the foaming champagne hisses in the glasses, when tender looks and fiery ones meet, and more than one dancer presses discreetly the hand of his partner, for a twinkling there enters the brightly lit room of the Landed Gentry Club the deity of Joy. Everyone in some way feels good, so good that the old gentlemen are ready to heave a sigh in the direction of the young ladies, while the old ladies—no one knows why—are ready to shed a few tears each, the hosts are ready to hug the shareholders, the shareholders to carry the president on their shoulders, and the waiters, with incredible speed, to empty out what is still hissing in the bottles.

Roused by their merry cries, the winter night has waked up and, wishing at least once in his life to see what joy looks like, lets his empty and lifeless gaze in at the brightly lit windows of the Landed Gentry Club.

\* *Resursa obywatelska* was the name of the famous social club for country gentlemen in Warsaw (Fr *ressource*) This story was published in 1887 —TR NOTE

"Where is Joy?" he asks, beating on the panes with flakes of frozen snow. "Where is Joy? . . . Show me Joy? . . ." he moans with the voice of the wind, shaking the frames and beating his head on the walls

Yet, with the last drop of the New Year's toast, joy has fled even from the rooms of the Landed Gentry Club, and is no more there. One finds only sixty pairs dancing the first Mazur of the year, forty gentlemen sitting down to the first auction whist of the year, and forty old ladies having their first doze at a ball in the new year. There is no more joy either in the club or out of it,—nor even in the whole circle of earth. There is only a measureless layer of snow, reaching from Brussels to Kamchatka, and from the pole to Naples; while above it hangs a black, empty and dead winter night.

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In the shadow of this same night that looked in at the windows of the Landed Gentry Club, amid these same snow flurries that beat on the brightly lit panes, there rolls slowly along—far from the merry Club, a mixed goods and passenger railway-train. First the engine, from whose smoke-stack are coming fluffs of snow instead of steam; then the tender, loaded higher with snow than with coal and water; then the goods trucks, of which the chief consignment is snow; and finally the coaches in which, looking through snow-covered windows, one can discern no passengers. Snow—nought but snow—on the roofs, steps and hand-rails of the wagons, snow on the moustaches, caps and sheepskin-coats of the crew, snow on the permanent way, snow to the right of it, snow to the left of it, snow ahead of the train and behind it—snow from Brussels to Kamchatka and from Naples to the pole.

At midnight, at the moment when the bottles of champagne were being carried into the room of the Landed Gentry Club, two conductors entered the crew's cabin, where at that time the Head Conductor with the appearance of a senator and the telegraphist with the mien of a philosopher were at work uncorking a bottle of common vodka.

"Rotten weather. may lightning strike it!" muttered one of the conductors, a grizzled brunet, shaking himself.

"Don't curse!" retorted the telegraphist.

"A fine beginning for the New Year! Dogs wouldn't envy us anything!" added the other conductor, with a red beard.

"Don't complain!" broke in the telegraphist.



"Not complain! But do you remember where we were at this time ten years ago? In the Landed Gentry Club. We welcomed the New Year with champagne!" said redbear.

"And now we shall welcome it with a glass of neat," interrupted the Head Conductor; and turning to his grizzled colleague he went on, taking a sip, "To you, Joseph! We too could tell something about what used to be ten years ago."

"Ba!" sighed the other. "There were eighty of us that time in your house. It's true we drank only Hungarian, but what a wine! And I still had my quartet of chestnuts. Rotten times! Who would believe now that it was so?"

"Only don't complain!" admonished the telegraphist, handing a full glass to redbear.

"What then, are we perhaps to congratulate ourselves?" asked the latter, as he emptied the glass.

"Of course!" said the Head Conductor in his fine bass. "Things were good, they are bad, they will be worse: may the Good Lord help us to hold out for the next year!"

"Now I," replied redbear, "if I were the Lord God, would not take people's farms from them, or at least, when they had become conductors, I would not send them out into such snowstorms. The running of this world is all wrong."

The wretched telegraphist shuddered at these words.

"At least, my dear sir," he shouted "do not blaspheme in my presence!"

"What sort of blaspheming it is to say that the world is gone wrong?" asked redbear.

"It is blasphemy, for the world, as it is, is the best ever, and may God keep us from improving it!" retorted the other, touching his cap with two fingers.

"You are talking nonsense, friend Ignace," broke in the Head Conductor. "Improvements never do harm. And now, you yourself would surely rather be lying in a warm bed than knocking about at night, and with no certainty that the snow will not hold us up on the way."

"He's right!" muttered the grizzled man.

"Hmm! I used to say the same thing, until the story of Gębarzewski broke me of the habit of blaspheming."

"The man who used to be with us in the despatching office?" asked redbear.

"That crack-brain?" added the Head Conductor.

"You may call him a crack-brain," said the telegraphist, "but

I, who know something about spiritism, take him for a man in the complete possession of his faculties. Whoever has studied spiritism will not say there are no miracles."

"True, Gębarzewski performed some miracle or other, and for it they fired him from the service," broke in the Head Conductor.

"I never heard anything about that," remarked the grizzled man.

"Nor did I," added redbear.

"Well, I'll tell you about it over our beer," said the telegraphist, "though I'm not keen about entering on the matter. You will be convinced what a dangerous business it is to improve on the Lord God."

\* \* \*

The conductors uncorked a few bottles of beer, and the telegraphist wrapped himself up in his fur-coat, as if he was feeling the cold, and began :

"Gębarzewski was always an unbeliever. In school he picked up a bit of physics and chemistry, and he came to think that he was a sage. I remember, he once had a dispute with me about the construction of the telegraph ! . . . Just a callow youth. He was working in the despatching office, but he did not wear out his chair by sitting on it. He would always get rid of clients indifferently, but on the other hand he liked to go visiting, and would make eyes at the girls. . . ."

"We too should prefer that," muttered the Head Conductor.

"What do you mean ?" retorted dryly the telegraphist ; by which he wanted to give the impression that in the presence of spiritism the fair sex was of no account.

"A year ago," he went on after a moment, "the chief of his department put Gębarzewski on to be receiver of goods. It was between Christmas and New Year. The lad was rushing around with his visiting, like a cat with a bladder, and on that very day he had a lot to make. He was sitting at his desk—he told me himself—handing out receipts to clients, and worrying about the fact that many packages were still lying about and that they were getting moved so slowly into the warehouse.

" 'Get a move on there, the devil take you !' he shouted to the porters.

" 'What do you think : will these cases move along the floor as easily as on ice ?' replied one of the porters.

"At that Gębarzewski began to have unclean thoughts running

in his head. 'Why did the Lord God create the power of friction? If it were not for friction, horses would have an easier time, hauling loaded carts on the street, and people would have less trouble pushing heavy cases along the floor, and—these cursed boxes would long ago be in the warehouse, and I should be off making my visits!'

" 'The priests say,' he thought to himself, 'that wisdom rules the world. What sort of wisdom could create friction, which consumes so much power, toil and time? Were it not for this stupid friction, the axles of the trucks would not get hot, and the engines would not go wrong. Man too, instead of dragging himself about like an ox, would only slide like a skater. I understand that well, for of course I learned physics.'

"Reflecting in this way, Gębarzewski uttered from time to time a blasphemy under his breath, until the porters began to cross themselves.

"Finally one of them burst out at him: 'If you are so wise, why is it that you are stuck for three years in the despatching office at three hundred roubles salary?' . . .

"At last the cases were stored away in the warehouse, the clients and the porters were gone, and my friend Gębarzewski remained alone to finish his accounts. All at once he raised his head, and observed outside the grill a very handsome youth. The features were curiously noble, the light-coloured hair was elegantly brushed, the eyes were blue, the overcoat the colour of beaver.

" 'At first sight,' said Gębarzewski, telling me, 'I thought it was Prażmowski. He was so like him.'

"You mean the one from the theatre," put in the Head Conductor. "A handsome fellow!"

"Precisely!" replied the telegraphist. " 'But then,' went on Gębarzewski, 'I saw that it was somebody else.'

" 'Have you some business with me?' he asked the youth.

" 'Yes, sir,' replied the youth, looking at him with the kind of glance you would expect from the president of all the railways. Gębarzewski was seized by an undefined fear, and—not knowing what he was saying, he asked:

" 'Your name, sir?'

" 'I am the angel Gabriel,' answered the youth."

(The two listening conductors and their chief uttered at this point a cry of astonishment.)

"Gębarzewski," went on the telegraphist, "was so amazed that, not knowing what to do, he began to look through his books.

" 'The angel Gabriel,' he repeated, turning over the pages.

‘There is no such name on our lists. We have only Cherubim, but Mordko . . .’

“‘I am an angel by office, not by name,’ interrupted the youth. ‘And since an hour ago you were making sport of the power of friction, as though it was of no good to anyone, I announce to you that as a punishment your body will be deprived of its help for twenty-four hours.’”

“Having said this, the youth bowed his head to Gębarzewski and, slamming the door, went out.”

“Downright tales!” cried the Head Conductor.

“From the Thousand and One Nights!” added the grizzled man.

“Listen, gentlemen, further,” said the telegraphist. “After the departure of the visitor Gębarzewski cooled off a little. ‘What the deuce!’ he said to himself, ‘they have taken me for a ride, for an angel should have wings. . . .’ So thinking, he set about finishing his accounts. He reached for his pen, but it slipped from his hand; he tried again, and with the same result. Wanting to sit on the chair, he slid down off it. He made a step forward, but his feet moved along the floor like skates on ice. Fear laid hold on him. He reached for the carafe, to pour himself a glass of water, but it slipped from his hand like an eel—and, crash!—it fell to the ground. Sweat stood out on his brow, but—he did not wipe it off, for he couldn’t hold his handkerchief, which kept slipping from his grasp. He began to walk, but felt that instead of walking he was sliding. He was a fine skater, so a skating-rink would not have been any problem for him, were it not for the fact that the floor seemed to him far more slippery than ice. In consequence of this he couldn’t control his movements at all. At each step he hit the wall with great force, and at last he fell into the window so violently that he landed on the street. At the noise the service people ran up, and the chief of the despatching office himself.”

“‘What does this mean? What are you doing,’ he cried. ‘Where are the accounts?’”

“‘I did not finish them, for I cannot hold a pen in my hand,’ answered Gębarzewski.”

“At that a spat slipped off his foot. The lad bent over to get it, and fell on the ground, striking the chief as he did so.”

“‘You are drunk,’ cried the chief.”

“‘No, sir! The angel Gabriel has taken from me the power of friction.’”

“That was too much. The chief, an atheist and positivist, instead of looking more closely into the matter, bade the porters

to put Gębarzewski on a sleigh and take him home. He himself made a report to the mánagement.

"The unhappy lad, finding himself on the street, asked to be driven to a certain family, which was related to the director, and in which he was always welcome. Here, however, he had to climb some steps—notice, some steps that were slipperier than ice. How many times he stumbled and bruised himself—poor fellow!—he himself could not remember. At last, however, he got to the first storey, holding to the banisters with his slippery hands, used as hooks.

"The family were sitting at supper with a few strange guests, but he got somehow to the table, placed himself in a chair, and on the encouragement of his host began to eat and drink.

"That evening was a torture for him. Every little while he would wobble in his chair, thanks to the slipperiness of his body, and he was constantly on the alert so as not to fall to the floor. It would be hard to tell the tricks he used to hold a glass, a knife, and fork, in his hand, for they would slip out always. So absorbed was he with this wearing gymnastics that in the end he forgot about everything beyond a safe seat in his chair and the holding of his fork.

"You can imagine his surprise, when suddenly all the party rose from the table and went into the next room, while his horrified and angry host asked him 'My dear sir! What is the matter with you? How could you come to see us in such a condition?'

"The wretched youth glanced suddenly at the floor and—he almost fell a corpse. Imagine, will you? Since the organs of his body had lost the power of friction, everything that he had eaten and drunk had gone through him—and was there on the floor!

"'You have drunk too much!' snapped his host, showing him the door.

"The poor chap did not even try to explain. He made his way across the dining-room as though on skates, upsetting the side-table with the samovar on the way; and finding himself outside the door, he slipped on the first step and tumbled down right to the bottom. This only confirmed his enemies in their opinion that he was drunk.

"When he got up, his first thought was—to take his life. He therefore set out to walk, or rather to slide, in the direction of the Vistula. Suddenly he felt a deep resentment, which paralysed all his courage. He remembered the beloved woman who was almost his fiancée. She owned a block of flats which lay directly on the path to the river, and he decided to go in there.

"The lady in question was a widow, not too young, and therefore

a sensible woman. If anyone, then precisely she could understand his frightful situation ; if anyone, then only she could hold out her hand and ensure his existence, in case he was released from the railway on account of his misfortunes.

“ With a beating heart, then, the poor fellow entered the apartment, having overcome first the difficulties of the stairs and the bell. The widow received him most cordially, and listened with such warm sympathy to his adventures that our martyr was touched by her goodness and felt for her a sincere love, such as he never experienced either before or afterwards. Deeply affected, he wanted to kiss her hand ; but although the widow did not object, nay, even made that act of gallantry as easy as modesty allowed, Gębarzewski could neither press nor kiss it. It seemed as if, instead of the hand of a lady, he was putting his lips to a fish that kept escaping him.

“ Similar, if not even more unpleasant sensations must have been the lot of his companion too. for suddenly she pushed her lover away, and angrily moved from the sofa to a chair

“ ‘ You are detestable ! ’ she whispered.

“ ‘ I give you my oath that I am not drunk,’ he cried.

“ ‘ So much the worse ! ’ was her retort ; ‘ for he who is drunk today may be sober tomorrow, and your caresses will always be the same.’

“ ‘ The angel told me that my misfortune will last only twenty-four hours.’

“ The widow made a gesture of distaste.

“ ‘ Ah, my friend,’ she said ‘ whoever has been deprived by heaven of such an elementary faculty, can give no guarantee that he will not one day succumb to the same infirmity.’

“ Gębarzewski had to admit the fairness of this in his heart, so without even trying to justify himself he left the apartment.

“ ‘ Never could I have thought,’ whispered the wretch to himself as he returned to his room, ‘ that such a material and vulgar faculty as friction could exercise such measureless influence on the life of a man ! ’

“ The next day the doctor, sent by the railway direction to examine Gębarzewski, visited him in his room and found him sleeping, not in his bed, but on the floor to which he had slipped in the night, thanks to lack of friction. And since, in addition, the twenty-four hours’ curse decreed by the angel had ended, and the patient had recovered his lost powers, he could not confirm its temporary absence. He therefore decided that all the accidents

which the poor youth had suffered on the previous evening were the results of intoxication.

"So then," concluded the telegraphist, "through the temporary lack of the power of friction, about which we all have the habit of complaining, a young and competent man lost his position on the railway, his well-to-do fiancée and his connections with his fellows, gaining in return the injurious reputation of a drunkard. . . . In consequence, when I think of his adventures I never grumble at the world, nor do I want to mend what seems to me to be at fault."

"Not even the fact that you are spending New Year's eve in a railway train instead of at the Landed Gentry Club?" asked the conductor with the red beard.

"Not even then."

"And not even the fact that, as I see, the snowstorm is holding us up?" added the Head Conductor, hearing the alarm signals of the driver.

"There's nothing to be done."

In actual fact the train came to a standstill at that moment when the guests at the Club were beginning to dance the third waltz. The conductors rushed out of their cabin on to the line, which looked like a mountain of snow.

"We shall stand till morning," muttered the Head Conductor. "Although," he added a moment later, "no one knows whether it will not be better for us"

"So you have believed the story about Gębarzewski?" asked his grizzled colleague.

"I believe that Gębarzewski was drunk, and that the telegraphist is a rattle-brain. Nevertheless, on the other hand, who knows whether it isn't more prudent to make terms with evil, when it cannot be avoided."

# UNPRINTED DOCUMENTS: RUSSO-BRITISH RELATIONS DURING THE EASTERN CRISIS OF 1875—1878

## 2ND SERIES. X. PROBLEMS OF ARMISTICE AND CONGRESS

355. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 8/20 FEBRUARY 1878

(cl) Reçu dernier télégramme d'hier.

(ch) Pouvez donner l'assurance que n'entendons pas occuper côte asiatique des Dardanelles si l'Angleterre s'en abstient également. Si cette condition était remplie, ainsi que celle de ne pas débarquer de troupes anglais sur la côte européenne des Détroits, nous n'occuperons pas Gallipoli.

356. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 9/21 FEBRUARY (10 P.M.)

(ch) Me réfère à Votre télégramme du 8, où Vous dites que seule crainte est que Parlement pourrait dire au Gouvernement " Vous vous êtes engagés à ne pas débarquer troupes sur côte Dardanelles mais Vous avez laissé à la Russie faculté de le faire." Vous ajoutez Vous-même qu'apprehendez malentendue ou sens caché. Dans notre réponse, également du 8, nous prenons engagement de ne pas débarquer sur côte asiatique des Dardanelles. Bornez-Vous à *donner cette promesse, sans autres développements.*

357. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 9/21 FEBRUARY

(cl) Reçu télégramme du 7. (ch) Regrettons qu'avez fait usage de données secrètes destinées à Votre seule information. Cela peut faire deviner la source et la tarir.

358. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 9/21 FEBRUARY

(ch) Ne craignez rien source ne peut être deviné car Derby croit que cela m'a été insinué à Londres par des Anglais Fallait élucider pour Votre gouverne.

359. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 9/21 FEBRUARY

(cl) Prie réponse immédiate. Le sens de Votre télégramme d'hier est que nous (ch) nous réservons d'occuper côte asiatique de Bosphore. Si substitution du mot Détroits employé dans Mémoire pour celui de Dardanelles que Vous employez nous remettait en crise aigue, dois-je le maintenir ?



## 360. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 9/21 FEBRUARY

(ch) Secret Layard télégraphie, 30,000 Russes sur le point d'entrer par force Conditions de paix foudroyantes reddition de flotte expulsion de Bulgarie de toute la population musulmane Sultan ne peut pas signer et demande l'aide de l'Angleterre. Cabinet anglais très vivement alarmé.

## 361. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 9/21 FEBRUARY 1878

(ch) Reçu Mémoire disant dans le cas où les troupes russes entreraient à Constantinople sans le consentement du Sultan, Gouvernement de la Reine se trouverait forcé de rappeler son Ambassadeur à St. Pétersbourg, et il devra décliner d'entrer en Conférence. Derby ajoute que notre entrée dans ces conditions rompt l'armistice, mais que si Sultan consentait, cela changerait la situation.

## 362. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 10/22 FEBRUARY

(ch) Derby exprime désir que Mémoire d'hier demeure secret entre les deux Cabinets. Déclaration concernant Dardanelles acceptée telle-quelle.

## 363. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 10/22 FEBRUARY

(ch) Pour Vous seul, et pour constater mensonge de Layard, que Derby accepte sans contrôle—bien qu'il puisse en menacer la paix générale—Reuss demande que sauf cession de six cuirassés demandés par Ignatyev et qui soulève encore difficultés, Porte accepterait le reste et consentirait à transfer de négociations à S. Stefano pour accélérer.

## 364. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 10/22 FEBRUARY

(cl) Reçu Vos deux télégrammes du 9.

(ch) Ne connaissons pas encore conditions précises des arrangements d'Andrinople, vu l'interruption de ligne télégraphique depuis 8 février, mais déclarons complètement fausse l'assertion de Layard que demandons expulsion de Bulgarie de toute la population musulmane. Il ne s'agit que de celle des fonctionnaires et troupes turques. Escadre britannique a franchi Dardanelles malgré protestation turque. Si dans même but de protéger les Chrétiens une partie de nos troupes entrerait à Constantinople sans le consentement du Sultan, le Gouvernement Britannique se dit forcé de rappeler son Ambassadeur de Pétersbourg. Il fera ce qu'il voudra. L'histoire et peut-être même les contemporains porteront leur verdict sur cette conduite complètement illogique et sur ce dédain pour la paix générale.

## 365. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 12/24 FEBRUARY

(cl) Received two telegrams of 12. Prie m'informer.

(ch) pour moi seul si nous bornerons à occuper Stefano et si avons renoncé aux cuirassés turcs.

366. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 13/25 FEBRUARY 1878

(cl) Received telegram of 12.

(ch) Pour Vous seul. N'avons pas intention entrer à Constantinople à moins que démonstrations turques ou action anglaise ne nous y obligent. Pourrions cependant être dans le cas de prendre position pour fermer entrée de la Mer Noire. Ignatyev a parlé de cession de cuirassés en défalcation d'indemnité de guerre. Il reçoit ordre de ne pas insister.

367. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 15/27 FEBRUARY

(ch) Secret. J'ai appris que les Anglais voulaient occuper Mitylene ou Candie peut-être les deux—sauf à les acheter en suite. Temps me pressait, il fallait empêcher prise de gage matériel et que sort de Candie soit préjugé. J'ai prévenu Derby que Cabinet Impérial se considérerait de ce fait dégagé de toutes ces assurances antérieures. J'ai ajouté que situation momentanément meilleure empirerait et réagirait mal sur prochaine Conférence Cette déclaration a fait impression. Je crois qu'on renoncera. M'approuvez-Vous ?

368. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 15/27 FEB.

(ch) Tension d'Europe extrême devant l'inconnu des conditions de paix. En Angleterre cela dégénère en rage. Je suis convaincu que quelles que soient les conditions, il est indispensable de les communiquer aux Puissances en résumé télégraphe aussitôt après signature, que de laisser durer irritation générale et dangereuse

369. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 15/27 FEBRUARY

(cl) Le Gouvernement s'est officiellement adressé à moi pour demander la communication aussi prompte que sera possible des conclusions de la paix. (ch) Il la motive en termes courtois par grande irritation des esprits. J'ai répondu que Traité de paix ne peut être communiqué avant signature mais que je Vous transmettrais.

370. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 FEBRUARY 1878

Si l'Autriche persiste dans sa résistance, l'Angleterre la suivra aussi loin que le Cabinet de Vienne voudra pousser les choses. Le Gouvernement de la Reine s'est tellement engagé ces derniers temps par les passions qu'il a déchaînées autour de lui, qu'il est obligé de faire cause commune avec l'Autriche-Hongrie même pour la défense des seuls intérêts de celle-ci. Dans cette éventualité il nous faudrait envisager une guerre avec ces deux Puissances et avec la Turquie qui se saisirait du premier prétexte pour renouveler les hostilités. Si d'autre part l'entente avec l'Autriche-Hongrie pouvait s'établir, il n'est pas probable que l'Angleterre isolée se décide à une revendication par les armes. Il ne lui restera plus qu'à enregistrer les faits accomplis et à compter les frais sans l'humiliation

qu'elle s'est préparée elle-même. Qu'elle rappelle alors son Ambassadeur à St. Pétersbourg, nous nous'en consolerons

Tout dépend donc du Cabinet de Vienne, la paix ou la guerre sont suspendues à ses décisions et à l'attitude qu'il assumera à la Conférence

371. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 16/28 FEBRUARY 1878

(cl) Received telegram of 15. (ch) L'Empereur approuve complètement le langage que Vous avez tenu.

372 NELIDOV TO SHUVALOV, 17 FEB./1 MARCH. S. STEFANO

(cl) Mgr Grand Duc m'ordonne de Vous communiquer. (ch) Versions de journaux anglais sur nos conditions de paix, publiées probablement sur suggestion de Layard, sont sciemment mutilées et défigurées, afin de produire effet défavorables par fausse interprétations de nos intentions. Il en est de même pour tribut égyptien.

373. IGNATYEV AND NELIDOV TO SHUVALOV, 19 FEB/3 MARCH. S. STEFANO

(ch) Préliminaires de paix viennent d'être signés. Dobrudja et delta nous sont cédés pour être échanger contre Bessarabie, Kars, Ardahan, Bayazed et Batoum annexés à Russie Le tout comme équivalent au trois quarts d'indemnité. Payement du reste réservé à entente ultérieure. Revenus affectés aux emprunts antérieurs par atteints. Cuirassés ne sont pas réclamés. Erzerum, Trebizond, Salonique et Andrinople restent aux Turcs Navigation du Danube maintenu dans conditions précédentes Montenegro et Serbie ne deviennent point limitrophes. Question des Détroits n'est pas touché

374. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 20 FEB/4 MARCH (DESPATCH)

News of signature causes un calme *provisoire*, in the sense que la situation ici échappe à toute appréciation logique : de politique qu'elle était, elle est devenue ces derniers temps une situation psychologique qui n'est pas subordonnée aux événements mais au tempérament des Anglais et à cette chose anonyme qui s'appelle opinion publique, guidée par une presse hostile à la Russie. Celle-ci s'impose au Gouvernement, son obéissant serviteur, de sorte que les événements par eux-mêmes influencent le Cabinet moins que ne le font les articles du Daily Telegraph, Morning Post, Pall Mall Gazette etc Il en reste le désarroi dont je reste depuis si longtemps le spectateur dégouté.

La vue de ce qui se passe ici donnerait à réfléchir aux adorateurs du parlementarisme et autres idéologues politiques.

Real cause of animosity is "La Russie victorieuse"—this word sums up all.

375. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 21 FEB./5 MARCH

(ch) Mardi. Vous réexpédie demain Berg, Vos deux autres courriers suivront successivement. Pour le moment pour Vous seul, *Berlin et*

*Vienne acceptent avec empressement* notre proposition d'un congrès de chefs de Cabinets à Berlin. Seulement Andrassy, qui avait déjà proposé Bade, se réserve initiative d'inviter circulairement les Grandes Puissances à un Congrès de Chefs de Cabinets à Berlin, vu importance de questions à régler. Nous adhérons à ce marche Lorsque cette circulaire arrivera à Londres, soyez prevenue que nous nous attendons à ce que Derby persiste dans son refus d'une présence personnelle et que accepterons tel plénipotentiaire à son choix.

376. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 22 FEB /6 MARCH 1878

(ch) Pas encore de proposition officielle, mais Ambassadeurs britanniques à Berlin et Vienne signalent le Congrès. Berlin déplaît naturellement aux Anglais qui nourrissent forte méfiance contre influence personnelle de Bismarck Pour que Derby ne décline pas forme de Congrès sous prétexte que ne saurait y participer, lui ai dit que accepterons tel plénipotentiaire à son choix

377. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 6 MARCH, ST. PÉTERSBOURG

Mon cher Comte,

Votre lettre du 23 fevrier nous est exactement parvenue. Le tableau qu'elle trace des dispositions prévalent à Londres, nous est confirmé par Vos télégrammes subséquents

L'hostilité à notre égard ne fait que s'envenimer, ce ne sont plus des intérêts qui sont en jeu, mais des questions d'amour-propre et de prestige. Cela peut mener fort loin. Nous continuerons à rester poli et même conciliant dans les formes, mais fermes quant au fond. En 1871 nous avons consenti à donner au Cabinet de Londres la satisfaction de sauver son amour propre en nous infligeant la leçon contenue dans la déclaration placée en tête du protocole. L'essentiel pour nous était d'emporter le fond qui nous assurait sans autre sacrifice qu'une campagne diplomatique, l'abrogation de la clause la plus onéreuse du Traité de 1856. Actuellement après une guerre sanglante et victorieuse nous ne saurions même pour la forme abaisser la dignité de la Russie devant le prestige de l'Angleterre.

Nous attendrons la décision du Cabinet de Londres. Il aura sous les yeux notre traité préliminaire. Il sait par quelle porte nous entendons entrer au Congrès de Berlin.

A notre avis elle est assez large pour que tout le monde puisse y passer sans compromission de dignité.

Pour ce qui concerne la Conférence préalable, proposé par le Prince de Bismarck, nous n'avons pas voulu la décliner par égard pour lui, mais nous ne lui en avons pas dissimulé les inconvénients. Des seconds Plénipotentiaires ou des Ambassadeurs n'ayant pas l'autorité nécessaire pour transiger et résoudre, ne pourront que constater les divergences. Il est probable que l'idée du Prince de Bismarck est de s'assurer des

chances d'une issue satisfaisante, avant de compromettre l'Allemagne sous sa présidence.

Si toute fois il insiste et que les autres acceptent, le Comte Ignatyev qui devait m'accompagner comme second Plénipotentiaire a été désigné par l'Empereur pour prendre part à ces Conférences préalables.

Les dispositions hargneuses du Gouvernement Anglais rendent très incertain la réunion du Congrès. Elles diminuent d'ailleurs nos regrets de voir se fermer cette chance de pacification. Dans de pareilles conditions une issue favorable serait à peine à espérer.

L'appui qu'a rencontré à Londres l'idée d'une participation de la Grèce est un nouveau témoignage des dispositions que le Cabinet Anglais apporterait à cette réunion. Prévoyant un isolement possible, il recrute des alliés, mais c'est aux dépens de l'œuvre à accomplir.

Les autres petits états ayant les mêmes prétensions et plus de droit que la Grèce, le Congrès deviendrait une babel politique. Nous maintenons notre point de vue, que les Grandes Puissances seules doivent composer le Congrès, et que les petits états intéressés ne peuvent être admis qu'à y envoyer des délégués avec voix consultative.

Quant à Vos conjectures pour le cas où l'Angleterre refuserait décidément de participer au Congrès, nous ne croyons guère les Puissances assez énergiques pour passer outre. L'histoire nous enseigne que ce sont les constantes défaillances du Continent qui font l'arrogance de l'Angleterre. Le Prince de Bismarck paraît avoir déclaré que sans l'Angleterre il n'y aurait pas de Congrès

Il ne resterait donc que l'entente des trois Cours Imperiales ou bien une correspondance directe entre les Cabinets. Quant à la première, les pourparlers entamés à Vienne pour arriver à un accord, n'ont guère avancé et quant à la seconde, elle entraînerait des difficultés et des lenteurs qui prolongeraient indéfiniment une situation trop tendue pour pouvoir durer.

N.A.M. se prépare pour toutes les éventualités et je n'ai pas caché au Baron de Langenau que parmi ces éventualités nous rangions une guerre possible non seul avec l'Angleterre mais encore avec l'Autriche-Hongrie. Il a protesté contre cette supposition, mais il a été impressionné par l'avertissement.

Je me réfère aux pièces du dossier ci-joint. Vous y trouverez tous les détails de la situation qui d'ailleurs se sera décidé plus clairement lorsque cette lettre Vous parviendra

378 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 23 FEB./7 MARCH 1878 (LETTER)

Lord Derby ayant refusé de nous recevoir, mes collègues d'Allemagne, d'Autriche et moi après la séance du Conseil d'aujourd'hui, nous ne pourrons connaître avant demain la réponse du Gouvernement de la Reine à l'invitation qui lui a été transmise ce matin par le Comte de Beust de prendre part au Congrès de Berlin.

Je lutte depuis trois jours contre l'obstination des Ministres anglais

à se montrer défavorables à une combinaison qui promet une bonne et prompt solution.

J'espère que le Cabinet anglais acceptera le Congrès, tout en y mettant la plus mauvaise grace possible ; mais quelle que soit l'issue Vous aurez de l'intérêt à lire les péripéties par lesquelles cette question a passé. Votre télégramme secret m'annonçant la réunion d'un Congrès m'est parvenue dans la soirée d'avant-hier le 21 Février/6 Mars, la nouvelle était déjà officieusement connue à Londres depuis deux jours, et Lord Derby m'en avait parlé comme d'une éventualité peu désirable.

"Le Comte de Münster m'a assuré à plusieurs reprises,"—dit le Comte,—"que Bismarck ne consentirait ni au choix de Berlin, ni à assumer la présidence d'une Conférence ou d'un Congrès. Quelles peuvent être les raisons qui l'ont fait changer d'avis ?"

"La conviction posthume," répondis-je,— "que c'est la combinaison la plus propre pour amener une solution favorable que Vous devez désirer autant que moi."

Je continuai alors à démontrer au Comte les avantages d'un Congrès de Ministres des Affaires Etrangères sur une Conférence de simples plénipotentiaires, sans pouvoirs suffisants, obligés de prendre les questions "*ad referendum*," d'abuser du fil électrique, d'ajourner les séances faute d'avoir reçu des instructions à temps ou pu déchiffrer les réponses de leurs Gouvernements, et je conclusai en lui tracant le tableau de ces malheureux plénipotentiaires résidant indéfiniment à Bade et ne parvenant pas à s'entendre entre eux. Etait cela ce que l'Europe pouvait désirer au milieu des inquiétudes qui l'assiègent ? Ne serait-il point de l'intérêt de tous d'écarter ces inconvénients ?

Je sortis de chez Lord Derby assez satisfait de l'impression que j'avais produite ; mais elle ne dura pas et d'autres renseignements reçus bientôt après réveillèrent au plus haut degré les suspicions anglaises.

Le Comte de Münster fut chargé de faire pressentir la réunion d'un Congrès à Berlin. Les Ambassadeurs Britanniques à Vienne et à Berlin envoyèrent des télégrammes conçus dans le même sens et dans lesquels ils ajoutaient que, la proposition du Congrès venant de St. Pétersbourg, les deux Cabinets y avaient adhéré pour être "agréables à Sa Majesté l'Empereur."

Ce fut là une première cause d'irritation, car hélas ! le Cabinet Beaconsfield ne cherche rien moins que de complaire à Notre Auguste Maître.

Un bruit mis en circulation,—peut être avec une intention malveillante,—augmenta ces dispositions défavorables ; on disait que le Prince de Bismarck voulait se soustraire à la présidence et qu'après avoir ouvert le Congrès pour la forme il la transférerait à V.A.

Pour la méfiance anglaise cela signifiait que les deux Cabinets de Pétersbourg et de Berlin s'étaient entendus pour convoquer un Congrès sous la tutelle de la Russie ; tandis que c'était les actes de celle ci que l'Europe était appelée à juger [?].

Lorsque je revis le Comte Derby dans la journée d'hier, je le trouvai

systématiquement prévenu contre le Congrès auquel il semblait vouloir adhérer la veille. Se référant à notre entretien précédent il était surpris, disait il, de me voir patroner une idée qui amènerait probablement une rupture entre les deux pays.

*Moi* "Comment motivez Vous cette assertion, qui me surprend à mon tour ?"

*Lui*. "C'est tout à fait clair pour moi Bismarck cherche depuis longtemps à nous brouiller et il y réussira au Congrès."

*Moi*. "Mais d'où prenez Vous cela ? Quel intérêt y aurait le Prince de Bismarck ?"

*Lui*. "Mon opinion n'a jamais varié. Dès le début de la crise Bismarck vous a constamment poussés à la guerre, maintenant qu'elle semble terminée, ses efforts tendent à Vous en faire entreprendre une seconde ; la Russie guerroyant en permanence, c'est ce qu'il faut au Chancelier Allemand Il Vous empêchera de Vous battre avec les Autrichiens, parceque cela l'incommoderait d'avoir une guerre aussi rapprochée de ses frontières C'est donc sur nous qu'il jettera son dévolu."—L'entretien se prolongea sur cette thèse biscornue, mais en la soutenant, Lord Derby restait conséquent avec lui-même. La marotte de rendre le Prince de Bismarck responsable de la guerre et de ses conséquences ne l'a jamais abandonné.

Entre temps est venue l'invitation officielle du Comte Andrassy et un Conseil de Cabinet fut appelé à se réunir aujourd'hui.—Ce matin de bonne heure, en montant à cheval à Hyde Park j'y rencontraï comme d'habitude une partie des membres du Cabinet ; ils sont plus communicatifs à cheval qu'à pied, et je n'eus pas de peine à me convaincre de la forte opposition qui se préparait contre la participation de l'Angleterre au Congrès de Berlin. Les Ministres allèrent jusqu'à donner la préférence à une entente directe de la Russie avec les Puissances Garantes, chose, qu'il y a 15 jours à peine, les aurait fait bondir d'indignation !

Si je devais énumérer les motifs de la résistance des Ministres Anglais à accepter le Congrès de Berlin, je les classerais ainsi :

1/ Une méfiance invétérée à l'endroit du Prince de Bismarck et de l'influence personnelle qu'il exercerait sur les délibérations. Cette méfiance s'est accrue ces derniers jours par le conseil venu de Berlin de se résigner aux faits accomplis et de prendre l'Egypte comme fiche de consolation, c'est à dire de se brouiller avec la France ;

2/ L'irritation de voir l'Europe se soumettre à une proposition faite par le Cabinet Impérial après que celui-ci avait déclaré que toutes les grandes capitales devaient être exclues dans le choix du lieu de réunion de la Conférence ,

3/ Les reminiscences du Memorandum de Berlin que le Gouvernement Anglais considère comme un acte néfaste et à la discussion duquel son représentant à Berlin avait eu une part si minime et si peu digne,—disaient-ils,—de la Grande Bretagne ,

4/ L'angoisse de voir passer la présidence aux mains de V.A. et de

se trouver ainsi devoir discuter la question " d'Orient sous la tutelle de la Russie " ,

5/ L'animosité que l'Angleterre nourrit à notre égard et que notre silence sur les préliminaires de paix a portée au paroxysme ;

Je regrette, mon Prince, que Vous ne leur ayez jeté en pâture quelque résumé télégraphique qui les eût calmés dans les circonstances présentes. Notre silence a porté un grand préjudice dans les tentatives que j'ai faites pour amener les Ministres Anglais à se reconcilier avec l'idée d'un Congrès.

Ils me répondaient en termes polis et déguisés que c'était une vraie conspiration de proposer un Congrès et de refuser en même temps la communication des conditions de paix qui en seront la base. Pouvait-on accepter un Congrès dans ces conditions ?

J'avais réussi à convaincre ces Messieurs de l'impossibilité de transmettre officiellement et par télégraphe les clauses d'un traité que notre Gouvernement ne possède pas encore lui-même , mais, une circonstance que s'est produite hier a fait un grand tort à mes arguments L'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne a reçu de Berlin les clauses détaillées qui concernent la démarcation des frontières de la Bulgarie ; c'est un des points brûlants pour les Anglais , le Comte de Munster les a fait établir sur une carte de Turquie et c'est actuellement la source unique à laquelle le Gouvernement et les particuliers viennent puiser leurs informations.

Je dirai aussi et sans formuler d'accusation directe qu'il est regrettable que le Comte de Beust ait été l'intermédiaire officiel de ces négociations. Comme Vous le savez, le Comte confond dans des rancunes, sinon dans sa haine, la Russie et l'Allemagne,—le Prince de Bismarck et le Comte d'Andrassy.

La journée de demain nous éclairera sur les décisions du Gouvernement de la Reine. Refusait-il de participer au Congrès ? Je ne pense pas qu'il prenne le parti extrême , il se bornera à l'accepter sous réserves . autrement dit, il mettra de nouveaux batons dans les roues. L'occasion est trop belle pour la laisser échapper. Le Gouvernement Anglais comprend que les difficultés qu'il soulèvera s'adresseront au Cabinet impérial et il croit savoir que ni le Comte Andrassy, ni le Prince de Bismarck ne se considéreront atteints par le mauvais vouloir de l'Angleterre

Le 24 Février/8 Mars.

Lord Derby a communiqué aux Ambassadeurs la réponse qu'il a faite à l'invitation d'assister au Congrès. A moi en particulier il a dit que c'était avec regret qu'il voyait le futur congrès se réunir dans un centre qui était suspect [*sic*] à la nation Anglaise parcequ'elle considérait Berlin plus Russe que St.-Petersbourg. Le Gouvernement de la Reine aurait préféré un autre lieu, mais il ne voulait pas soulever de difficultés [] Le Cabinet acceptait en conséquence le Congrès de Berlin, mais à la condition que " tous les articles du traité de paix conclu entre la Russie et le Turquie fussent soumis à ses délibérations." .



A la surprise que j'exprimais en apprenant cette condition nouvelle, —condition qui ouvrait la porte à des discussions superflues,—Lord Derby objecta qu'il n'était pas dans les intentions de l'Angleterre d'abuser du droit qu'elle se réservait, mais qu'il lui paraissait plus conforme à la dignité de l'Europe si celle-ci était appelée à se prononcer non pas sur une partie seulement, mais sur la totalité des articles du traité.

Le Comte ajouta que la Gouvernement se proposait de demander au Cabinet de Vienne de préciser les bases du Congrès.

La condition à laquelle l'Angleterre subordonne sa participation à la réunion de Berlin est trop empreinte de malice pour être éclosée dans les cerveaux anglais et je ne suis pas le seul à croire qu'elle porte une marque de fabrique étrangère.

Il m'a semblé, mon Prince, que nous ne devrions pas céder à une exigence qui nous mettrait en contradiction avec les principes que le Cabinet Impérial a si justement proclamé, à savoir que la Russie n'entendait pas résoudre à elle seule les intérêts communs de l'Europe, mais qu'elle n'admettait pas d'autre part l'immixtion étrangère dans les questions qui ne concernent que la Turquie et elle. La provenance hostile et malveillante de cette condition nous commande la prudence et m'a fait un devoir d'en relever les inconvénients dans mon télégramme de ce jour.

L'Angleterre veut transférer au Congrès, autrement dit s'attribuer à elle-même l'appréciation de ce qui constitue ou non un intérêt européen. Elle se réserve ainsi la faculté de discuter chacun des articles du traité, c'est-à-dire de toucher à tout si elle veut, par exemple : au terme de 6 mois accordés à nos troupes pour l'évacuation de la Turquie d'Asie, à celui de 3 mois pour la Turquie d'Europe, au mode d'exécution de cette évacuation, aux termes des paiements de la contribution de guerre et à d'autres points encore.

Il serait dangereux de laisser une arme pareille dans les griffes de l'Angleterre, d'autant plus qu'elle devra finir par céder, si elle reste la seule puissance à maintenir cette exigence. Il peut entrer dans la politique de l'Angleterre de faire avorter le congrès, mais elle n'osera pas s'abstenir d'y prendre part si les autres puissances y adhèrent.

C'est dans ces vues que je me suis permis d'indiquer un moyen terme qui à la fois calmerait les inquiétudes légitimes de l'Angleterre et préviendrait ses tentatives de chicane.

En effet si nous ne refusions pas d'admettre la discussion de points en dehors de ceux choisis par nous, mais à la condition expresse que le Congrès leur attribue préalablement un caractère européen. Cette réserve empêcherait les plénipotentiaires Anglais de soulever des questions insidieuses et servirait de frein à leur indiscretion.

Le 25 Février/9 Mars.

Je reçois à l'instant le télégramme de V.A.—Il constate la régularité des opinions que j'ai exprimées plus haut, mais rejette le terme moyen

que j'ai pris la liberté de proposer uniquement pour amener les Anglais à accepter le congrès.

Nous allons nous trouver ainsi en présence de trois solutions éventuelles :

1/ L'Angleterre ne participera pas aux délibérations de Berlin à moins qu'on ne lui offre un compromis entre la condition qu'elle a posée hier et notre refus de l'accepter le compromis sera-t-il trouvé à Vienne ou à Berlin et accepté par S M l'Empereur ?

2/ Si l'Europe continentale ne se montre pas pusillanime, elle passera outre le refus de l'Angleterre et se réunira en congrès sans elle, alors le Gouvernement de la Reine se trouvera placé dans une situation aussi intolérable que bien méritée

3/ Il n'y aura ni congrès, ni conférence, nous demanderions la sanction de l'Europe, en nous adressant isolément à chacune des Puissances garantes et en lui posant directement les questions qui la concernent

379. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 23 FEB /7 MARCH

(ch) Proposition officielle Congrès communiquée ce matin par Beust a été discutée au Conseil Résultat encore inconnu. Choix de Berlin produit très mauvaise impression, car on sait qu'il vient de nous Réminiscence du Mémorandum de Berlin, enfin bruit que Bismarck Vous passera présidence font craindre tutelle russe.

380. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 24 FEB /8 MARCH

(ch) Angleterre accepte Congrès à condition que tous les articles du traité lui soient soumis. Cette condition me paraît inacceptable, car nous désavouerions principe qu'avons établi, de rester seuls juges des clauses constituant intérêt européen. Angleterre veut transférer cette appréciation au Congrès et s'approprier faculté de pouvoir toucher à tout jusqu'aux termes et conditions d'évacuation de territoire turc si elle le voulait. Il me paraît qu'il y a un moyen terme, c'est de dire que maintenons droit de ne porter au Congrès que questions reconnues par nous pour être d'intérêt commun, mais que ne refuserons pas discussion d'autres points encore si Congrès leur attribuait caractère d'intérêts européens. De plus Gouvernement anglais fait demander à Vienne quelles seront les bases du Congrès.

381 GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 24 FEB./8 MARCH

(cl) Received telegram of 23.

(ch) Il me paraît difficile que l'Angleterre décline Congrès à Berlin, auquel les autres n'objectent rien, et que l'Autriche elle-même reconnait comme indiquée par la grandeur des questions à résoudre. Présidence de Bismarck de droit. Je la déclinerais, si elle m'est offerte par courtoisie ou comme doyen d'âge.

## 382. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 27 FEB /11 MARCH

(ch) Malgré nouvelles répandues qu'aurions accepté conditions anglais, je maintiens contraire, disant que porterons au Congrès toutes les questions d'intérêt européen mais refusons discuter tous les articles du Traité.

(cl) Veuillez me communiquer texte de Votre réponse à Vienne.

## 383. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 28 FEB./12 MARCH

(ch) Angleterre a proposé l'admission au Congrès d'un plénipotentiaire grec.

## 384. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 27 FEB /11 MARCH

Reports levée of Prince of Wales.

Derby gardant le silence faute de renseignements, disait-il, qui élucident la situation. P.M. enfin qualifiait le Congrès de rêve Un beau rêve, je l'espère, répondit le Comte de Munster.

## 385. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 28 FEB /12 MARCH

Reports conversation with Lord Lyons (who was to be British representative at the Conference—simple porte-voix—Lyons' own phrase). Spoke of *une compensation matérielle* This was not to be Egypt.

Question of a naval station on European coast of Aegean.

## 386. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 28 FEB./12 MARCH

Call on Lord Derby who had refused to talk to Munster and Beust till Shuvalov came Derby expected "answer" from Shuvalov. Shuvalov pointed out that everyone had been waiting for days for answer of Great Britain to invitation to Berlin.

J'avoue que Lord Derby s'est montré si diffus dans le cours de cet entretien que je me suis souvenu malgré moi des bruits qui circulent sur son compte et que je traitais de calomnies, à savoir que le Comte n'était pas toujours dans l'état voulu pour causer affaires.

Derby said they *had* accepted, as nomination of Lyons proved. But impossible à voir clair.

## 387. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 28 FEB./12 MARCH

Received telegram of 27. (ch) J'ai télégraphié aux quatre Grands Ambassadeurs la même chose qu'à Vous, c'est-à-dire l'Angleterre accepte Congrès, mais voudrait que tous les articles du Traité [??] avec Porte lui soient soumis. Avons déjà consenti que questions d'un intérêt européen soient discutées. Ne saurions aller au delà. Attendons Ignatyev vendredi ou samedi avec Traité sanctionné par Sultan. Sera aussitôt ratifié par l'Empereur et texte communiqué aux Grandes Cours. Quant à la Grèce trouvons qu'elle ne saurait former partie intégrante au Congrès, mais y participer par délégation consultative. Me suis exprimé dans ce sens à Loftus.

388. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 1/13 MARCH

(ch) Cabinet de Vienne ayant interprété réserve anglaise non comme condition, mais expression d'un désir, Gouvernement anglais envoie déclaration circulaire que l'Angleterre ne prendra pas part au Congrès si la Russie ne s'engage pas à présenter au Congrès tous les articles du Traité sans exception.

Derby ajoute en paroles que Congrès décidera alors quels articles seront discutés.

389. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 2/14 MARCH 1878

(cl) Re télégramme d'hier.

(ch) Congrès semble compromis, car Anglais cherchent prétexte pour éviter Berlin. Néanmoins si autres Puissances hésitaient se réunir sans Angleterre, pourriez, si voulez, sauver Congrès par formule suivante à savoir :

Que Traité de Paix sera publié bien avant réunion du Congrès : des lors si plénipotentiaires voulaient soulever discussion sur d'autres points que ceux que nous porterions au Congrès, nous l'accepterions, si Congrès leur attribue intérêt européen.

390. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 2/14 MARCH

(cl) Votre télégramme en claire de ce jour a fait excellente impression. Attente si vive et générale, que serait désirable que fassiez précéder texte écrit par résumé télégraphique. Veuillez me communiquer sans retard réponse textuelle qu'aurez faite à communication Loftus.

(ch) Bismarck fait savoir confidentiellement à Munster que le Congrès impossible sans l'Angleterre.

391. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 2/14 MARCH

Jeudi. Reçu telegramme d'hier aujourd'hui.

(ch) Contenu télégramme en clair, je Vous ai répondu ce matin à celui d'hier. Texte complet du Traité préliminaire sera envoyé aux Grandes Cours sous peu de jours, donc bien avant la réunion du Congrès, si dans cette réunion des plénipotentiaires soulevaient des questions auxquelles ils attribueraient un intérêt européen—et sous ce rapport l'Angleterre ne se gênerait pas, nous ne saurions l'empêcher, mais dans aucun cas ~~ne~~ saurions nous engager à les accepter sans savoir de quoi il s'agit.

392. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 3/15 MARCH

(ch) Pour Vous seul. Loftus désire présence Beaconsfield au Congrès. Il m'a confirmé qu'il avait écrit privatim dans ce sens à Lady Ely, sa belle-sœur et intime de la Reine.

393. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 3/15 MARCH

(cl) Received two of to-day.

(ch) Il règne ici nuisible confusion. Derby m'a montré télégramme

à Andrassy, en date d'hier, portant que Vous lui auriez déclaré reconnaître au Congrès droit de décider lesquels des articles du Traité sont d'intérêt européen et que Vous déclariez aussi qu'aucun changement au status quo ne serait valide avant sanction européenne. Andrassy prie Derby d'accepter cette déclaration comme réponse satisfaisante à conditions anglaises. J'ai refusé confirmation de cette déclaration que me demandait Derby. Télégramme de Schweinitz de même date dit que Vous déclinez catégoriquement compétence du Congrès de décider ce qui est d'intérêt européen

Afin de ne pas compliquer davantage, me borne à dire que le Traité en entier sera communiqué aux Puissances bien avant Congrès que toutes elles y entrent avec pleine liberté d'action : que nous réclamons ce même droit pour nous et ne saurions être les seuls à prendre des engagements.

394. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 4/16 MARCH

(ch) Bismarck propose au Cabinet anglais réunion de Conférence préliminaire à Berlin composée de seconds plénipotentiaires elle débayerait terrain pour Congrès. Cabinet anglais décline, disant que Conférence préliminaire inutile, car il n'y a pas de divergences à régler sauf sur la seule question de la condition posée par l'Angleterre et à laquelle Russie n'a qu'un mot à répondre : oui ou non. Si oui, plus d'obstacles au Congrès si non, Angleterre ne participera pas au Congrès et n'accepte pas Conférence préliminaire

395. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 4/16 MARCH 1878

(cl) Lord Derby s'adresse à moi officiellement et par écrit pour Vous demander de faire sortir le Gouvernement de l'incertitude et de lui faire parvenir réponse du Mémoire de Loftus en préciser la compétence que Vous attribuez au Congrès, à savoir s'il peut traiter de tous les articles du Traité Je me réfère sans la patronner à la formule indiquée dans mon télégramme du 2 mars. (ch) Elle diffère essentiellement de la condition anglaise, car elle maintient que c'est notre programme et non celui de l'Europe comme veut l'Angleterre, qui sera discuté au Congrès. L'ajoute dans la formule que d'autres questions pourraient être conditionnellement soulevées perd de sa gravité, vu l'impossibilité pratique de l'empêcher. Cette formule serait moyen de sauver le Congrès. Si Vous n'en voulez pas, pourrions revendiquer pleine liberté d'action et refuser tout engagement, mais alors devons admettre même liberté pour autres Puissances de soulever questions en dehors de celles que nous proposerons. Si préférez, pourriez m'annoncer réponse non par télégramme mais par courrier.

396. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 4/16 MARCH

Samedi. Reçu télégramme d'hier.

(ch) N'avons jamais fait à Andrassy déclaration qui résulterait du télégramme que Vous à montré Derby. De son côté il ne nous en a

jamais demandé un semblable. Votre langage, tel qu'il résulte de la fin de Votre *instruction* [?] parfaitement correct, c'est-à-dire que le Traité entier avec Porte—et le seul, car nous n'avons aucun engagement secret —sera communiqué aux Puissances avant le Congrès, que tous y entrent avec une pleine liberté d'action et que nous réclamons ce même droit.

397. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 5/17 MARCH

Received telegram of 4.

(ch) N'avons rien à ajouter à ce que Vous a déjà été dit. Traité préliminaire de paix va être communiqué aux Grandes Puissances. Au Congrès chacun conservera sa liberté d'appréciation

398. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 5/17 MARCH 1878

Received telegram of 4.

(ch) Le mien précédent y répond nettement. Accordant aux autres pleine liberté d'action, réveniquons pour nous même liberté. Ne comprenons pas le oui ou non impératif anglais. Si cela va dire que nous acceptons d'avance toute décision prise par plénipotentiaires, ce serait des Fourches Caudines où personne ne peut supposer que la Russie passerait. Aucun exemple pareil dans autre Congrès : où on a cherché compromis amiable, où jamais majorisation n'a été admise. Clair que le Cabinet anglais, fourvoyé, voudrait rétablir son prestige sur les ruines de notre considération, oubliant ce que nous avons fait et ce que nous sommes.

399. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 6 MARCH ST. PETERSBURG (ADDED ON RECEIPT OF SHUVALOV'S LETTERS OF 1/13 MARCH)

Mon cher Comte,

Elles ne modifient pas les conclusions de ma lettre du jour. Je dois seulement y rectifier un point relatif à la Conférence préalable à Berlin. D'après un télégram de M. d'Oubril du 5, que Vous trouverez dans le dossier, ainsi que notre réponse, il ne s'agirait pas de préparer les questions par une discussion préalable de fond, mais de s'entendre sur la forme de la convocation du Congrès.

Il serait composé des signataires du Traité de 1856 et son but serait la révision de ce traité par suite des transactions survenues entre les belligérants.

Dans ces limites nous avons accepté cette combinaison et les Ambassadeurs locaux nous paraissent suffire à cette tâche. La Turquie doit, à notre avis, ne pas en être exclue

Les nouvelles que nous recevons à l'instant, contiennent la première ébauche de cette transaction. Vous serez tenu par le télégraphe au courant des résultats.

Actuellement l'intérêt pratique se porte sur Constantinople. Vous verrez par les derniers rapports de S. Stefano combien la situation y est confuse

Depuis le télégraphe nous a transmis de meilleures impressions.

Toute fois on ne peut pas se fier aux dispositions du Gouvernement turc, tiraillé comme il l'est par des influences et des partis contraires. Là aussi le langage des faits est le seul qui puisse faire pencher la balance. Le moment des résolutions décisives est arrivé et dans peu de jours, selon l'issue des négociations entamées à Vienne, la situation se dessinera plus nettement.

Permettez-moi donc de me référer aux avis que Vous transmettra le fil électrique.

400. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 7/19 MARCH

Courier with text left this morning.

(ch) Pour Vous seul. Layard, qui pousse à rupture, a protesté contre embarquement de nos troupes à Buyukdere pour rentrer en Russie, le considérant comme occupation Bosphore. Zichy et Fournier ont partagé ces alarmes. Vefik a dit être forcé à s'opposer pour ne pas provoquer entrée de flotte anglaise à Constantinople. Safvet l'a déclaré par Note, ajoutant que ce serait contraire au Traité. Avons renoncé pour le moment à tout embarquement. Responsabilité d'un ajournement d'évacuation retombera aussi sur l'Angleterre.

401. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 8/20 MARCH

Received telegram of 7.

(ch) Si on Vous interpelle, bornez-Vous à répondre que c'est nous plutôt qui avons droit d'interpeller le Cabinet britannique sur la présence de son escadre dans la mer de Marmora, en violation des traités et malgré la protestation de la Porte

402. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 8/20 MARCH

(ch) Angleterre refuse Congrès. Si lui attribuez importance majeure ce que j'ignore, et vouliez encore le sauver, je Vous propose idée personnelle qui le fera réussir. Demandons à Bismarck ou Andrassy de formuler immédiatement proposition suivante. Dans état actuel des choses et avec malentendus que provoque un traité encore inconnu des Puissances, il serait désirable d'ajourner solution de la question du Congrès jusqu'à l'acceptation par les Cabinets du texte du traité. Les Cabinets l'examineront. et les objections ou observations qu'ils feront seront discutées au Congrès. Toutes les Puissances gardent liberté d'action d'accepter ou non les résolutions du Congrès. Selon moi on réussira ainsi à réunir Congrès et nous n'aurons pris aucun engagement envers Angleterre. Si ma proposition mérite examen, télégraphiez moi de suite pour que j'arrête publicité du refus anglais.

403. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 9/21 MARCH 1878

(cl) Me conformerai à instructions de Votre télégramme du 8 mars, mais avant de l'avoir reçu (ch) Derby a voulu me remettre des remon-

trances écrites sur embarquement de troupes à Buyukdere. J'ai refusé d'accepter, disant, Assurez-vous avant mes informations ne confirment pas que embarquement ait eu lieu.

404 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 9/21 MARCH

(cl) Received telegram of 20

(ch) Derby m'a remis en réponse à ma lettre la note suivante. Gouvernement ne peut reculer de la position clairement définie. Il doit être sûr avant d'entrer en Congrès ici on répète texte du dernier Memorandum. Note conclue que Gouvernement n'accepte pas point de vue que liberté d'opinion et d'action russe plus que celle des autres soient restreinte par cette entente préalable. Il demande si Gouvernement russe est d'accord que communication aux Puissances du traité en entier soit considérée comme si traité était placé devant Congrès afin que tout le traité dans sa relation avec traités existants puisse être examiné et considéré par le Congrès.

405. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 9/21 MARCH

Jeudi. Reçu télégramme du 8. Télégraphiez régulièrement reception des miens. Ils Vous ont indiqué marche qu'avons arrêtée. Texte du traité déjà envoyé avanthier matin dans toutes les directions avec liberté d'appréciation et d'action pour tous. Si cela ne suffit pas à l'Angleterre, c'est preuve qu'elle ne cherche que notre abaissement. Alors notre attitude ne saurait être douteux, et nous ferons un appel energique aux Grandes Puissances désirant la Paix.

406. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 10/22 MARCH

Vendredi. Reçu télégramme of 9. (ch) Derby sous des phrases ambiguës déguise la pensée de nous imposer quelle que soit notre opinion, engagement d'accepter d'avance décisions prises au Congrès par les autres Cabinets, sur questions européennes Il s'agit pour le Cabinet anglais de rétablir à nos dépens son prestige ébranlé C'est à quoi ne saurions consentir en aucun cas. Nos déclarations précédentes sont très nettes. Notre traité complet est actuellement connu de tous. Dans Congrès chacun aurait pleine liberté d'appréciation et d'action et la Russie aurait même liberté.

407. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 10/22 MARCH

Re two Drawing Rooms—Queen spoke neither to Shuvalov nor to Musurus. At Ball given by Prince of Wales, Ambassadors excluded from tables of Prince and Princesses (three present). Inutile d'ajouter que cette exclusion générale de trois Ambassadeurs ne visait que moi, le pestifère auprès duquel aucun membre de la Famille Royale n'eût voulu souper.

Tout ce qui professe à Londres les sentiments les plus hostiles à la



Russie était convié à ce bal, jusqu'aux folliculaires les plus hargneux qui en d'autres temps ne franchissaient pas le seuil de Marlborough House. Midhat also there Neither Lord nor Lady Derby.

La Reine continue à faire des siennes. "Elle est folle," me disait aujourd'hui la Comtesse de Waldegrave qui tient à Londres un salon politique principalement fréquenté par l'Opposition "Elle en fait une question personnelle entre Elle et Votre Empire".

408. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 11/23 MARCH 1878

(cl) Received telegram of 9 Je comprends que Vous vouliez rester (ch) sur terrain de liberté d'action, mais lettre de Derby contient deux questions précises auxquelles je dois répondre par lettre Voulez-Vous me préciser termes de la réponse à ces deux points, ou Vous en remettre à moi ? Angleterre semble décidée à refuser Congrès si discussion éventuelle de chaque article n'est pas acceptée par nous. Cela lui est nécessaire pour la tactique qu'elle suivra au Congrès—savoir, s'opposer à tel article, puis finir par céder à condition que nous cédions sur tel autre Dans ces vues il lui faut soulever le plus de discussion possible.

409. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 12/26 MARCH

(ch) Pour Vous seul. Ignatyev parti ce matin pour Vienne avec mission de conciliation pour chercher à établir entente avec Autriche.

410. GORCHAKOV TO NOVIKOV, 11/23 MARCH 1878 ST. PETERSBOURG  
(COPY OF LETTRE PARTICULIÈRE ENCLOSED IN ABOVE)

L'Empereur envoie le Comte Ignatyev à Vienne pour tâcher d'éclaircir nos rapports avec le Cabinet Autrichien-Hongrois. Il est urgent de les faire sortir de l'impasse où il se sont arrêtés. Le moment est critique. L'hostilité de l'Angleterre menace de remettre en question et la paix préliminaire à peine conclue et le Congrès à la veille de se réunir. Il nous semble impossible qu'un tel résultat réponde aux vœux des Puissances et en particulier de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Il est donc de toute nécessité que le Cabinet de Vienne abandonne les attitudes équivoques où il s'est renfermé jusqu'à présent. Elles étaient compréhensibles vis-à-vis des Délégations, elles seraient inexplicables vis-à-vis de nous dans des circonstances aussi décisives.

Le Comte Ignatyev est à même de donner au Comte Andrassy tous les éclaircissements nécessaires sur le sens ostensible et la signification réelle de chacun des articles du Traité qu'il a négocié et de lui démontrer pièces en main à quel point nous avons tâche de ménager les intérêts et les susceptibilités de l'Autriche-Hongrie Il connaît à fond la pensée de l'Empereur et sait tout le prix que N A.M. attache à trouver des moyens de transactions et de conciliation entre nos vues et celles du Cabinet de Vienne. La chose n'est certes pas impossible, si de part et d'autre on y met de la bonne volonté. Il nous paraît impossible que l'Autriche songe sérieusement à rompre avec nous et mettre l'Europe en feu pour

des considérations telles que les limites plus ou moins étendues de la Bulgarie, qui doit exister et la durée plus ou moins longue d'une occupation dont la nécessité est indiscutable. L'Autriche-Hongrie ne peut pas avoir intérêt à prolonger une situation qui n'est ni la paix ni la guerre, mais qui pèse lourdement sur tout le monde et ne saurait évidemment pas durer.

Nous ne saurions admettre qu'elle aspire comme l'Angleterre à nous infliger un échec afin de relever son prestige au dépens du nôtre. Ce serait entretenir une illusion que notre langage et notre attitude devraient suffire à dissiper

Il faut donc trouver une issue quelconque.

Tel est le but de la mission du Comte Ignatyev.

Nous comptons sur le concours du Comte Andrassy et je n'ai pas besoin de réclamer de Vous celui que Vous serez à même de prêter à cette négociation importante en mettant votre expérience locale à la disposition de l'Envoyé de N.A.M.

#### 411. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 11/23 MARCH (LETTER)

Je ne vois pas un Ministre Anglais sans qu'il me demande de lui expliquer le sens de "la liberté d'appréciation et d'action," l'application de ce principe au Congrès et en quoi, enfin, la libre discussion exigée par l'Angleterre pouvait restreindre l'usage de cette même liberté pour nous ?

Je cherche autant que possible à éviter ces sortes d'entretiens d'autant plus que dans le siècle où nous vivons, et soumis comme nous le sommes aux effets d'une "diplomatie électrique," je crains de fournir aux Ministres Anglais des interprétations qui ne seraient pas identiquement les Vôtres ; cependant, comme je ne puis pas me taire, je donne à Lord Derby et à ses collègues les éclaircissements suivants

La liberté d'appréciation et d'action pour tous,—veut dire que nous ne vous empêchons pas de soulever la discussion sur tout ce qui vous paraîtrait être d'intérêt européen. Si vous n'en abusez pas, nous accepterons chaque fois une pareille discussion et nous le ferons dans un esprit de franchise et de conciliation. Mais en revanche, si vous souleviez une question à laquelle nous ne pourrions attribuer d'intérêts communs, et surtout si vous étiez appuyés par d'autres,—nous nous réserverions alors la liberté de refuser cette discussion et nous quitterions le Congrès. C'est là ce que nous entendons par "liberté d'appréciation et d'action," tandis que vous voulez pouvoir toucher à tout et nous obliger d'avance à accepter la mise en question de tous les points

Quelle obstacle y voyez vous ?, me dit-on, puisque vous n'êtes pas forcés d'accepter les décisions du Congrès, et que vous gardez la faculté d'y refuser votre acquiescement final ?

Je leur réponds : pourquoi nous obliger à des discussions stériles, si nous sommes pour notre part, fermement résolus à ne pas céder sur certains points ? En un mot, si vous ne touchez,—comme vous dites vouloir le faire,—qu'à d'intérêts vraiment européens, soyez persuadés que nous ne vous chicanerons pas, il est de notre intérêt de les résoudre

en commun. Si au contraire vous souleviez des points qui nous paraîtraient inadmissibles,—soyez sûrs que nous écarterions la discussion, car ce serait là pour nous une question de dignité nationale.

De deux choses l'une, ou nous nous mettrons d'accord et le Congrès réussira, ou bien faute d'entente il avortera, éventualité contre laquelle on ne saurait de prémunir.

412. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 11/23 MARCH 1878 (LETTER)

Le ton peu parlementaire, avec lequel a parlé le Premier Ministre au premier Levée de la Reine, m'a obligé de cesser toutes relations avec lui. Je le regrette, parce que nos échanges d'idées à maintes reprises avaient eu leur bon côté, mais il était inadmissible que Lord Beaconsfield déverse impunément sur le représentant de l'Empereur toute la bile qu'il a amassée contre la Russie.

Je vois néanmoins plusieurs de ses intimes et je crois devoir Vous rapporter l'entretien que j'ai eu avec l'un d'eux.

Il me faisait entrevoir,—dans une bonne intention, disait-il, la gravité du rejet de notre part de la condition anglaise. Le Congrès ne pourrait plus se réunir et il ne resterait au Gouvernement de la Reine qu'à envoyer à Pétersbourg et à Constantinople une déclaration identique, portant que tout ce qui a été fait et conclu à St Stefano serait considéré par Angleterre comme nul et non avenue après quoi Loftus serait rappelé.

J'ai répondu à mon interlocuteur que je n'en croyais pas un simple mot. Lord Beaconsfield a trop d'esprit pour commettre une bétise de ce genre. Ce serait comme si après une journée de pluie Lord Beaconsfield déclarait que cette pluie est considérée comme nulle et non avenue, et si cette pluie, fertilisant le sol, avait fait pousser de nouvelles plantes, qu'il déclarait, tout en les voyant pousser, que ces plantes sont nulles et non venues !

Une déclaration pareille ne changerait rien au fait accompli.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia.* By Max Beloff, Vol I, 1929-1936. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London, 1947, pp. 261, with map.

MR. BELOFF'S book is the first of two volumes to be published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs surveying Soviet foreign policy from 1929 to the German invasion in June, 1941. Volume I takes the main story down to the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936. Volume II will continue it to June, 1941, and will also examine Soviet-Turkish relations and Soviet policy in the Straits question and in the Middle East during the period as a whole.

The present volume is divided into three parts and five appendices. Part I is limited to a single chapter on "The International Position of Soviet Russia in the Autumn of 1929." Part II, which is entitled "World Depression and the Rise of the Aggressors," covers the period from 1929 to the beginning of 1933. It consists of an introductory chapter sketching some of the main features of Soviet foreign policy during these years and four further chapters on the international aspects of the first five years' plan, the U.S.S.R. and the organs of international co-operation, Russia and the Weimar Republic, and Russia and the Far East. Part III, which is entitled "The Search for Collective Security," has a similar introductory chapter followed by eight chapters on Russia and the Nazi Reich, Russia and Great Britain, Russia and America, the U.S.S.R. and the League of Nations, the Russian Security Pacts, Russia and the Far East, Soviet nationalism and the Red Army, and the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. The five appendices deal with the U.S.S.R. and International Organisation, the development of the Soviet Far East, Russia and the Chinese revolution, Russia and Sinkiang, and Russia and Mongolia. But why "Russia" when linked with other states and "U.S.S.R." when linked with international bodies is never explained.

To judge from his footnotes and references, Mr. Beloff has based the first volume of his survey of Soviet foreign policy on non-Soviet secondary authorities supplemented by such primary authorities as the texts of treaties, notes, speeches, etc., published at the time. He has also drawn on the periodical press in English, French and German. But he makes very little use of Soviet periodicals and even less use of the daily press in any language. In a preface Lord Astor explains that owing to the previous lack of systematic study of Soviet policy important classes of material in Russian, particularly specialised periodicals, had never been adequately examined and analysed and that it was clearly impossible for this lost ground to be made up by a single investigator in the time

available. This and the limitations of the other material used impel Lord Astor to add that Mr Beloff's study is "bound to be defective in many respects and cannot claim to be a definitive work." But he believes that in spite of its admitted shortcomings it possesses "an exceptional value" in view of the importance of the subject and the lack of serious work on it in English. He also hopes that it may stimulate further enquiry into special aspects of Soviet policy and give some indication of the most fruitful lines of future research.

Within the limits indicated in Lord Astor's preface, Volume I of Mr. Beloff's survey is a workmanlike book, full of interesting information, on the whole soundly interpreted. It shows how the Soviet leaders aimed at increasing Soviet security and preserving international peace by establishing and strengthening Soviet relations with individual capitalist states whilst at the same time furthering and using social and political differences inside these states, particularly inside key states like Germany and China. Mr Beloff regards the first five years' plan as the "master-key to every aspect of Russian policy in the years immediately following 1929" if only because it made peace and the development of trade with all countries the over-riding consideration for Soviet leaders. Between 1929 and 1932 Germany supplied more of the Soviet Union's imports than any other power whilst Britain took more of her exports. The Soviet Union also maintained close political relations with Germany and sympathised with Germany's dislike of the Versailles settlement which the Comintern denounced even as late as 1928 as "a most shameless robber treaty." But Soviet relations with Britain and France remained difficult and strained, partly because the Soviet government suspected both countries of working for a capitalist anti-Soviet front as the prelude to renewed intervention. The Soviet leaders were also highly critical and suspicious of the League of Nations. But this did not prevent them from taking part in the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament where the Soviet Union, which continued to press for general disarmament, usually voted with Germany in opposition to France and Britain. In the Far East the Soviet government showed its determination to maintain its rights and privileges in Manchuria, particularly its title to the Chinese Eastern Railway, against attempted encroachments by the Chinese government. But when the Japanese occupied Manchuria and established the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1931-1932, the Soviet government accepted the new situation, though it left Japan in no doubt that it would be swift to resist encroachments on its own territory. The most interesting chapter in Part II is the chapter on "Russia and the Weimar Republic" in which Mr. Beloff sharply criticises Comintern tactics in Germany, particularly the all-out attack on social democracy which Stalin had denounced in November, 1927, as "an ideological prop of capitalism." Mr. Beloff maintains that this communist "vendetta" against the social democrats greatly helped Hitler and the nazis, who also profited from the growing disturbances and violence for

which the German communists themselves must bear some of the responsibility. On occasion the communists even collaborated with the Nazis against the social democrats and were tragically surprised when the nazis decisively defeated not only the social democrats but themselves as well.

Hitler's seizure of power and the rebirth of German military might, which followed so quickly on Japanese aggression in the Far East, greatly influenced the tactics if not the strategy of Soviet foreign policy. As is clear from his report to the seventeenth party congress in January, 1934, Stalin was open for the same good relations with Nazi Germany as he claimed to have established with Fascist Italy, provided the nazis renounced their ideas of German expansion in the Ukraine and the Baltic. But when the anti-Soviet line in Nazi policy persisted, Mr. Beloff shows how the Soviet government sought to strengthen Soviet security and maintain international peace by joining the League of Nations and trying to make it a "strong" league and by working for an Eastern Locarno linked to the Western Locarno by a Franco-Soviet agreement. German and Polish hostility virtually killed the plan for a general eastern pact. But in May, 1935, the French and Soviet governments and the Czechoslovak and Soviet governments concluded mutual assistance pacts which, it was hoped, would be followed by a general eastern pact of "non-aggression, consultation, and non-assistance to the aggressor." At the same time the Soviet leaders found fresh fuel for their smouldering suspicion that France and Britain wished to use Nazi Germany as the spearhead of a capitalist drive against the Soviet Union in such developments as the proposed western air pact, the Anglo-German naval agreement of 1935, and the opposition of important sections of French opinion to the ratification of the Franco-Soviet pact. In the end the French Senate approved the pact five days after German troops had reoccupied the Rhineland. Mr. Beloff maintains that in the Far East the Soviet leaders were primarily concerned to prevent Japan from combining with Nazi Germany in an anti-Soviet policy. This led them to make concessions to Japan, the most important of which was the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway. But they left the Japanese in little doubt that they would resist any encroachment on either Soviet territory or the territory of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. Another important development of these years, not unconnected with the Far Eastern situation, was the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.A. in November, 1933. But this new success for Soviet diplomacy did not immediately bring the results which the Soviet government probably expected from it.

The chief weakness of Mr. Beloff's book is its failure to give a really adequate account of the underlying Marxist-Leninist analysis of world developments which largely determined the strategy and to some extent the tactics of Soviet foreign policy. In May, 1925, in a report on the work of the fourteenth conference of the Russian communist party

Stalin had recalled that according to Lenin the victory of the proletariat in Russia meant the beginning of a new epoch, "the epoch of world revolution . . . full of conflicts and wars, of attacks and retreats . . . an epoch leading to the victory of the proletariat in the chief capitalist countries" and covering "a whole strategic period which may occupy years or perhaps decades." He had added that the Russian revolution of 1917 had inaugurated the third "strategic period" of the revolution, "the objective of which is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie throughout the world." This third period was "certain to be protracted," and like the first period from 1900 to 1917 and the second period from February to October, 1917, it would see the tide of the international revolutionary movement ebbing and flowing. Already the tide which had been flowing strongly from 1917 to 1923 had begun to ebb and world capitalism had been able to achieve "temporary stabilisation." But the Soviet system had also stabilised itself, and it was the establishment of "a certain temporary equilibrium between these two stabilisations" which characterised the international situation. "Why are there two stabilisations?" Stalin went on. "Because the world is now split into two camps: the capitalist camp with Anglo-American capital at the head; and the socialist camp with the Soviet Union at the head. Because the international situation will be determined more and more by the relation of forces of these two camps." "Who will defeat whom?" he asked. "That is the essence of the question."

In December, 1925, Stalin developed his views in greater detail in his report to the fourteenth congress of the Soviet communist party. He again talked of a temporary balance of forces and a certain period of "peaceful cohabitation" between the Soviet Union and the capitalist states. But this time he drew attention to "five groups of contradictions" without an examination of which it was impossible to understand the international position of the Soviet Union. The first group consisted of contradictions between the proletariat and bourgeoisie of the capitalist world, particularly of Europe where the deteriorating conditions of the workers would inevitably strengthen the revolutionary movement even though it was ebbing for the time being. The second group consisted of contradictions between imperialist states and colonial countries where industrial expansion was leading to the growth of a proletariat and where culture, a national intelligentsia, and a national-revolutionary movement were developing, especially in such areas as India, Egypt, Syria, Morocco, and China. The third group was to be found in contradictions between the victor and vanquished states in the recent war. Here the main feature was the attempt to repress Germany, Austria and other countries by the Versailles treaty, the Dawes plan and the Locarno agreement. But the Dawes plan was pregnant with revolution for Germany while Locarno was pregnant with a new European war. The fourth group of contradictions consisted of contradictions between the victor powers themselves: between the U.S.A

and Britain over oil and markets, which Stalin was to describe in July, 1928, as "the fundamental contradiction"; between Britain and France over hegemony in Europe; between the U.S.A. and Japan in the Far East. The fifth group consisted of contradictions between the Soviet Union which was the leader of the dissatisfied and the anti-imperialists and had now become the centre of attraction for the workers of the west and the revolutionaries of the east, and the capitalist world headed by Britain and America. While the socialist world was healthy and thriving and was developing unity of interests against imperialism, the capitalist world was torn by clashes of interest and was disintegrating and decaying. All this had brought an end to the war against Russia and had led to a temporary balance of forces and the beginning of a period of "peaceful cohabitation" between the Soviet Union and the capitalist states. Stalin added that this substitution of peaceful cohabitation for war was also prompted by America's desire to avoid war in Europe at a time when she was investing large sums of money in it as well as by the importance for European capitalism of again opening up Russian markets and raw materials. In conclusion, Stalin defined the tasks of the Soviet communist party in the international revolutionary movement and in Soviet foreign policy. In the international revolutionary movement the party should work for stronger communist parties in the west, for the achievement of western trade union unity, for closer bonds between the Soviet proletariat and the liberation movement in oppressed countries and for the victory of socialist elements in the Soviet Union itself. In Soviet foreign policy they must fight against new wars and work for normal relations with capitalist countries, for the expansion of Soviet foreign trade, for a rapprochement with the vanquished and other states which opposed the dominant league of the great powers, and for closer contacts with the dependent and colonial states.

At the fifteenth party congress in December, 1927, Stalin stressed that the stabilisation of capitalism was only partial and temporary and that out of it would develop an intensification of the "general crisis" of capitalism which would in turn destroy stability and inevitably cause new imperialist wars. But new wars were impossible without prior repression of workers and colonies, and this repression was already in train and was preparing the ground for a new revolutionary upsurge in both Europe and the colonies. Stalin added that the approach and preparation of new imperialist wars had also revived the tendencies towards intervention and war against the Soviet Union, particularly on the part of Britain, which was trying to create a united anti-Soviet front. On the other hand some of the capitalist states wanted to maintain peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. All this led Stalin to affirm that the period of "peaceful cohabitation" of which he had spoken in 1925 was now giving place to a period of imperialist attacks and preparation for intervention against the U.S.S.R. "Our task therefore," he went on, "is to take account of the contradictions in the imperialist camp,



to delay war . . . and to take all measures for preserving peaceful relations. We cannot forget Lenin's statement that a very great deal in our constructive work will depend on whether we succeed in delaying war with the capitalist world, which is inevitable, but which can be put off until either the proletarian revolution in Europe ripens, or the colonial revolutions come completely to a head, or the capitalists come to blows with each other over a share-out of colonies. The maintenance of peaceful relations with capitalist countries is therefore obligatory for us " When Stalin again came to define the party's tasks in the international revolutionary movement and Soviet foreign policy, he largely repeated what he had said two years earlier, except that he also called for a struggle against the interventionist tendencies of Britain and a strengthening of the Soviet Union's powers of self-defence.

At the sixteenth party congress in June, 1930, Stalin talked of " the turn of the tide "—for the U.S.S.R. " a turn towards a new and more important economic *advance*," for the capitalist countries " a turn towards economic *decline*." He went on to argue that the most important result of the world economic crisis was to reveal and sharpen the inherent contradictions of world capitalism of which he had spoken at the fourteenth party congress in December, 1925. This meant that the stabilisation of capitalism would come to an end and that the danger of war would " grow at an increasingly rapid rate." " Imperialists need war," he said, " because it is the only way of redividing the world." It also meant that " the reviving revolutionary movement among the masses " would " develop with new force " and that in a number of countries the economic crisis would " grow into a political crisis " In particular Stalin thought it " mad " to imagine that the German proletariat would ever allow the German and the foreign bourgeoisie to " squeeze twenty milliard marks out of its muscles " as reparations " without serious struggles and convulsions " " We Bolsheviks," he said, " do not believe in miracles." Stalin added that while in external policy the bourgeoisie would seek a way out of the crisis through a new imperialist war and intervention, in internal policy they would extend fascism by making use of all the forces of reaction including social democracy, which Stalin had described in July, 1928, as " the main support of capitalism within the working class and the chief enemy of communism." But the proletariat would fight imperialist exploitation and the danger of war, would turn from " social democratic illusions " to the communists, and would " seek a way out through revolution." Stalin also dwelt on the " contradiction " between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union and argued that the economic crisis would strengthen the capitalist " tendency towards intervention " against the Soviet Union. But at the same time; the bourgeoisie knew perfectly well that intervention was a dangerous, double-edged weapon, and some of them were wondering whether it would not be better to maintain peace and develop trade with the Soviet Union. " It is the struggle of these two factors," Stalin

added, "that determines the external position of the U.S.S.R." "Our policy," he concluded, "is a policy of peace and strengthening trade relations with all countries . . . we have succeeded in maintaining peace and have not allowed our enemies to draw us into conflict in spite of a number of provocative acts and adventurist assaults by warmongers . . . we shall continue this policy of peace with all our strength and all our resources. We do not want a single foot of foreign territory. But neither shall we yield a single inch of our own territory to anyone."

At the seventeenth party congress in January, 1934, Stalin maintained that the world economic crisis had proved to be the most serious and lasting of all capitalist crises and had resulted in unprecedented political tension both between the capitalist states and inside them. Matters were clearly moving towards a new war for a redivision of the world and spheres of influence to the advantage of the stronger states. At the same time the masses in the capitalist countries were becoming desperate and the idea of "storming capitalism" was maturing in their minds, as the Spanish revolution and the expansion of the Soviet districts in China showed. This explained why the ruling capitalist classes were annulling the last remains of parliamentarianism and bourgeois democracy and why they were driving communist parties underground and resorting to fascism. But the defeat of fascism in Spain had again shown that fascism was far from permanent, and the more the bourgeoisie became involved in warlike combinations and resorted to methods of terror against the working class and the peasantry the quicker the revolutionary tide would rise. Stalin admitted that it had been hard for the Soviet Union to pursue its peace policy in an "atmosphere poisoned by the miasmas of warlike combinations." But she counted on her growing economic and political power, on moral support from millions of workers in all countries who were vitally interested in maintaining peace, on the common sense of countries which for one reason or another were not interested in a breach of the peace and wished to develop their trade with the Soviet Union, and on the Soviet army which was ready to defend the country against assaults from outside. Stalin drew particular attention first to the recent turn towards better relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland and between the U.S.S.R. and France, and secondly to the establishment of normal relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. At the same time he denied German statements that the Soviet Union was now orienting herself on France and Poland and had become a supporter instead of an opponent of the Versailles treaty and that this change was to be explained by the establishment of the fascist regime in Germany. He admitted that the Soviet Union was far from enraptured by this régime. But fascism had not prevented her from establishing the best relations with Italy, for example. Stalin argued that the Soviet Union had not oriented herself on Germany in the past any more than she was orientating herself on France and Poland at the moment. Instead, she had relied and would rely on herself alone, and if her interests required

a rapprochement with any state interested in peace she would go forward without vacillation. According to Stalin the real root of the problem lay in a change in the policy of Germany herself and in the inclination of her present rulers towards the Kaiser's old policy of expansion in the Ukraine and the Baltic. "Our policy," Stalin insisted, "is clear. It is a policy of maintaining peace and strengthening trade relations with all countries . . . those who want peace and aim at business contacts with us will always get support from us. But those who try to attack our country will get a crushing rebuff in order to teach them in future not to stick their swinish snout into our Soviet garden."

These and certain other pronouncements by Stalin on international affairs reveal a consistent pattern of thought and analysis which needs to be thoroughly understood and grasped by any serious student of Soviet foreign policy. Mr. Beloff himself is well aware of this pattern and devotes several pages of his first chapter to an attempt to describe it. He also deals with it again in his final chapter on the seventh congress of the Comintern. But the account which he gives is far from adequate and pays too little attention to what might be called the dynamics of Stalin's dialectics. For example, it fails to bring out the general significance and implications of Stalin's speech of December, 1927, with its assertion that a capitalist crisis was approaching and would inevitably lead to a new war and a fresh wave of revolutionary fervour among the masses. In fact, the book refers to the speech only once, in the appendix on Russia and the Chinese revolution. Mr. Beloff is in general much readier to cite and quote Litvinov and Molotov than Stalin, which is all the more surprising because it seems clear that the general line of Soviet foreign policy was laid down by the Politburo of the communist party, in which Stalin was the dominant figure. But while it is unfortunate that Mr. Beloff has not given a really adequate account of the underlying pattern of orthodox Soviet thinking on international developments during these years, the first volume of his survey deserves a warm welcome for its indisputably solid qualities, particularly for the industry with which he has assembled his facts and for the lucid way in which he marshals them. It augurs well for Volume II, which it is to be hoped will soon become available.

G. H. BOLSOVER

*Čechy v době husové, 1378 to 1415.* By F. M. Bartoš, *České Dějiny dílu II, část 6*, Vydal Jan Laichter v Praze, 1947, 515 pp., with 20 plates, price 219 kcs.

THIS volume on the history of Bohemia in the age of Hus brings a monumental undertaking one step nearer to completion. It is a tribute to the persistence and devotion of Czechoslovak historians that despite two world wars, two revolutions, and the dismemberment and occupation of the country by the Germans the task of producing this great History of Bohemia has gone steadily forward.

It was during the last years of Habsburg rule that the publishing house of Laichter embarked on the project of producing a series of volumes which would cover the whole history of the Bohemian state with a fullness of detail which would make it possible to incorporate the findings of the great body of research that Czech and German scholars have been conducting for the past seventy years. The first two massive volumes were published in 1912 and 1913, and in them Václav Novotný took the story of Bohemia from the prehistoric Celtic period down to the end of the 12th century. After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic the task was resumed with even greater enthusiasm. Novotný completed his part of the work by writing the third and fourth volumes of part I and thereby completed the story to the defeat and death of Přemysl Otakar II in 1278. A fifth volume of part I was added by J. V. Šímak, entitled *Štředověká kolonizace v zemích českých*, being an account of the influx of German farmers, artisans, miners and merchants into the Bohemian lands, chiefly in the 12th and 13th centuries. This volume was necessary because Novotný had virtually ignored this vital aspect of Czech mediæval history in his volumes. Meantime professor Rudolf Urbánek had been employing all his ripe scholarship in writing and publishing the three volumes of part III, which cover the period from the end of Hussite wars to 1462.

The next to take up the task was one of the last and greatest of the heirs of Palacký, Professor Josef Šusta. He had published the first two volumes of part II of the History, dealing with the last of the Přemyslid kings and the beginnings of the Luxemburg dynasty (1278 to 1333) before his over-tender conscience drove him to take his own life in 1945. Fortunately for us he left two more volumes ready for publication. One, covering the last years of John of Luxemburg and the period of his son Charles's regency (*Otec a syn*, 1333 to 1346), has already appeared; the other, *Karel IV*, 1346 to 1355 is in the press.

There was thus left a gap, the period from 1355 to 1438, not yet covered. This is the most significant and interesting period in the history of the kingdom of Bohemia, for in it fall the ripest achievements of Charles IV's political construction, the crucial constitutional conflict of the first part of the reign of Václav IV, the beginnings of the Czech movement for religious reform, the career of John Hus, and the epic struggle for national independence and religious freedom that makes of the Hussite wars an event of European significance. Who was to write this great story? Novotný, Pekař and Krofta were dead, Urbánek had buried himself in the obscure labyrinths of Dark-age history, Mendl and Šusta had fallen victims of the Nazi occupation. Fortunately there survived professor Bartoš, who has spent the whole of his long life in the study of the minutiae of the Hussite movement, in the editing of texts, the provision of bibliographies to the manuscripts preserved in the National Museum, in the elucidation of nice points of chronology and authenticity, and in vigorous but fruitful controversy with the able Catholic Hussite

scholars, Flajšhans and Sedlák. Bartoš had used the enforced leisure of the years of German occupation to co-ordinate and consolidate the vast mass of material collected in a lifetime of study, and the fruits of his labours are now made available in the volume under review.

This study of Bohemia in the age of Hus has most of the virtues and few of the faults of the earlier volumes of the series. It tells a complete story and assumes little prior knowledge on the part of the reader, it is full, sober in its judgments, well illustrated and indexed. Students who use this book as a starting point for further studies in the period may perhaps regret that the bibliography which Professor Bartoš supplies in the form of an excursus is so discursive. There is indeed much to be said for a *bibliographie raisonnée*, but it does not make for ease of reference when the *raisonnement* is in the form of an essay. Professor Bartoš has also added to the value of the work by appending a series of brief biographies of the personnel of the king's Council and an essay on his own and his predecessors' views of the character of King Václav.

It was inevitable, given the character of the period and professor Bartoš's own approach to history that the strength of the book should be in its treatment of the great political and ecclesiastical crises of the reign, and that its chief deficiency should be on the social and economic side. There is hardly a word about the peasants, and very little about those artisans and merchants who were providing the material wealth which made of Prague in the 14th century what Matthias of Janov called the "metropolis of the world."

For the rest, it is interesting that Professor Bartoš's book is more valuable in the account it gives of the constitutional struggle for the control of the Council between the lords and the king, than for what he has to say about Hus and the movement for religious reform. This is probably due to the fact that the latter topic has fairly recently been so thoroughly dealt with by the enthusiastic and scholarly works of the great Hussite savants, Novotný, Kýbal, Sedlák and Flajšhans, that in the comparatively short space at his disposal Professor Bartoš could do little more than summarise their conclusions and correct a few chronological details, though even in this restricted field I feel he can hardly be right in placing the students' rag organised by Vok of Valdštejn in 1410, before the preaching of the indulgence for John XXIII's Neapolitan crusade, surely the Bull which the student dressed as a harlot "mockingly, with leers and inviting gestures, offered for sale to all that stood by" must have been the Bull of indulgence of 1412 and not the Bull of Hus's excommunication of 1410.

What is of great interest to the English reader of this book is the parallel between the events in England under Richard II and in Bohemia under Václav IV. Within a year of each other the two young kings succeeded after the long reigns of their famous predecessors, in both countries the lords seized the opportunity thus provided to seek to recover control of the government of the country from the hands of the royal

bureaucracy ; the aims and character of the Lords Appellant in England are remarkably similar to those of the Czech lords who twice imprisoned Václav and governed the country in his despite for almost ten years, such men as Henry of Rožmberk, Henry Berg, Ota of Bergov, Boreš of Riesenburk, John Michalec and Boček of Kunštát. The parts played in England by the king's uncles of Lancaster, Gloucester and, York has much in common with the conduct of Václav's brothers John of Görlitz and Sigismund and of his cousins the margraves Jošt and Prokop. In both countries it was a struggle for the control of the administration : in England for the offices of Treasurer, Chancellor, Keeper and Controller of the Wardrobe and Household, Lord Chief Justice and Lord Mayor of London, in Bohemia it was a struggle for the offices of Chancellor and Vice-chancellor, Chief Justice, Chief Burgrave, Protonotary and Master of the Mint. In both countries the king sought to govern through men of bourgeois or yeoman origin, men whom Bartoš somewhat misleadingly calls "favourites." Men like Peter of Vartenburk, Týma of Koldice, Konrad Krajč, Henry Škopek and John Čuch who were Václav's chosen councillors were not mere petted popinjay's of the fashion of Henry III's Poitevin favourites or Edward II's darlings, but more like their contemporaries at Richard II's court, Simon Burley, Skirlaw and Michael de la Pole, able and hard-working administrators of the departments of state. It is probable that when Bohemian administrative history has been as thoroughly studied as has been done by Tout in his *Chapters in the Administrative History of England* the parallel will be found to be even more exact.

Professor Bartoš lays considerable emphasis on the direct influence of the Appellants' rebellion in England in 1387 in stimulating the aristocratic revolt in Bohemia in 1394. Not only had the marriage of Václav's sister Anne to Richard II meant important comings and goings between the two courts, but in 1392 Henry of Bolingbroke visited Prague and was entertained there by the archbishop, Jan of Jenštejn, already an enemy of the king. Professor Bartoš argues that what Bolingbroke told Jenštejn about the methods of successful aristocratic revolt may have materially assisted the archbishop in planning the rebellion of the lords against Václav. It would be bold to deny such a possibility, but it seems that parallel events in the two countries were due much more to similar social conditions and to a similar crisis in constitutional relations than to any direct intercourse. Bolingbroke was probably no more the direct cause of the barons' war in Bohemia than Wyclif was the primary cause of the Bohemian movement for religious reform. In both cases the Englishmen did no more than provide a concurrent stimulus to a movement already well under way. How much the position in Bohemia was the independent and local manifestation of a phenomenon common to all advanced states in the fourteenth century can be understood when it is remembered that a very similar state of affairs existed in France at exactly the same time in the struggle of the king's uncles of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy to get

possession of the state machinery at the expense of the feeble Charles VI, and also in Hungary where, after the death of Lewis I, Sigismund had to fight the baronial conspiracy led by the count of Cilli and the archbishop of Esztergom.

The latter half of Professor Bartoš's book is necessarily pre-occupied with the development of the religious reform movement from the date of the great impetus given to it when Jerome of Prague brought back copies of Wyclif's *Triologus*, *Dialogus*, and *de Eucharistia* from England in 1402. From that point the story sweeps forward with the logic of tragedy to the climax of Hus's execution at Constance in 1415. The story of how a movement, begun by one or two individual moral zealots fifty years before, developed through ecclesiastical and theological criticism to become the basis of the first national Church, is one which Professor Bartoš of all men now living is best equipped to tell. It is a pity that it must for the time remain in the comparative obscurity of the Czech language. It is devoutly to be hoped that the present domestic concern of Czechoslovakia with its modern problems may not delay the completion of this great national history by Professor Bartoš or one or other of his colleagues and pupils.

R. R. BETTS.

*Sprawa polska w roku 1848.* By Józef Feldman; publ. by the Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow, 1933, pp. 350.

*Poland's Place in Europe.* Edited by Zygmunt Wojciechowski; Poznań, 1947 (Instytut Zachodni), pp. 460, with 27 maps.

ON 16 June, 1946, with the premature death of Józef Feldman, Polish historical science lost one of its ablest and most respected pillars—lost him at the very height of his powers, for he was only forty-seven and can certainly be reckoned a war casualty. Son of a famous father, Wilhelm, who had made his name long before the first World War as a journalist, critic (*Historja literatury polskiej od 1863 r. do 1914 r.*—still probably the best thing of its kind), and historian (*Historja Myśli politycznej polskiej*, of which the second edition was improved and expanded by the son, to make it an unique work in that field), he took his degree in Cracow in the middle twenties, working chiefly under Professors Konopczyński and Kot. He became a member of the teaching staff in 1927, and ten years later was promoted professor. In 1945 he became a Member of the Academy of Sciences.

Concerning himself chiefly with modern Europe, he made Polish-German relations his special study, publishing the volume under review in 1933, and a larger work, *Bismarck i Polska*, five years later. Of this last book, which was noticed in this *Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 236 sq., a second edition has recently appeared. Already some years earlier the editors had to thank him for valuable bibliographical materials which appeared in Vol. II, pp. 660 sqq. Like his fellow Slavs generally, writing

in a little-known language, he did not get the attention of the outside world as he deserved but at home his views and his erudition were held in high honour.

It was then fit and proper that Professor Wojciechowski should ask him to write the fourth part of *Poland's Place in Europe*, whose title is *Poland and Germany—the Latest Decades*, an essay of just under one hundred pages. The same material appeared in Polish in 1946 as *Problem polsko-niemiecki w dziejach*. Taken together with an earlier study dealing with the Great Northern War, the books mentioned constitute a worthy account of the Polish-German conflict since the founding of the Prussian kingdom in 1700.

A general review of the relations between the two neighbour peoples during a thousand years of history occupies the central place in this volume, and it has been done by the editor himself. The opening pages give us a short paper by Dr M. K. Zaleska on "The Geographical Bases of Poland," which is followed by a somewhat longer and most useful essay by Lehr-Splawinski on "The Origin and Ancestral Home of the Slavs." The whole book is admirably conceived, and the English version is well done—apart from a few sad lapses, e.g., the title to Feldman's work. Warm commendation must be given to the wealth of useful maps.

Feldman leads off by noting two significant reversals of emphasis which mark Polish life before and after the turn of the last century. (i) There had emerged since 1815 a nation that was no longer "gentry" but composed chiefly of a growing middle class of business and professional people on the one hand, and of a fast maturing peasants' and workers' element on the other and, interested as it was above all in economical and cultural progress, that nation turned from the eastward-thrusting tradition of other times to a westward-looking concern about industry and export—as well as for education and creature-comforts. Of old, Silesia and the sea-board had been neglected: now they were recognised as essential assets for the nation's future. (ii) With the creation, about the same time, of the Triple Entente, the partnership in brigandage between Prussia (after 1871 the Reich) and Tsarist Russia met its end. Poles who had been watching the course of events saw at last hopes of getting the issue of national liberation once more admitted to the council-chambers of Europe notably Roman Dmowski, pupil of that tireless stock-taker Jan Popławski, who had dared to write as early as 1885 that only a Poland possessing the whole of the Vistula—from the Beskids to Danzig—could hope to survive. The result was a courageous book, *La Question Polonaise*, which appeared in 1908 in Polish and French, in which he dared to argue that Russia should no longer be regarded by the Poles as public enemy No. 1, since that rôle had now fallen to the rapidly growing might of Germany. From the west, he declared, and not from the east, the chief danger to Poland would come; and indeed to the whole family of Slav peoples.

Only those who have some knowledge of Polish history, in particular



of the work of Polish historians during the 19th century, can appreciate what a right-about-face this meant, and how unpalatable it was for the majority of the nation. Yet one plain fact stares us in the face: the revolution against Tsardom, expected in 1914 not only by the Germans but even by Piłsudski and his fellow-legionaries, did not break out. Conversely, the longer Central Poland suffered under German and Austrian occupation, the less disposed toward any dealings with the Central Empires did the nation become.

In his survey of the war years 1914-1918 Feldman rightly draws attention to decide what its line of policy toward Poland should be. The dilemma was little different from that faced by the lords of Prussia seventy years earlier, to which we turn in a moment. The Bethmann-Hollweg school, supported for different reasons by Delbrueck and Erzberger, and even—though as a rival—by the Governor in Warsaw, Eric von Beseler, planned seriously the setting-up of an independent Poland as a buffer-state against Russia. To the army people, on the other hand, with Hindenburg and Ludendorff in the lead, such a thing was out of the question. Especially the latter was venomous in his hostility to any recognition of the Poles as neighbours. It was, then, by a curious irony that the decisions of November, 1916, to create a rump Poland, were taken under his directions—in the hope, of course, of getting a Polish army to replace the terrible losses around Verdun and the now demoralised Austro-Hungarian divisions. To achieve this he was even willing to have a German military band play *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła!*

Nothing could come of it all, and for two reasons. No improvements were in sight in the Prussian treatment of the Poles under their domination, and the historic pronouncement of President Wilson justified the growing feeling in Poland that the fate of the nation would not depend on the will of one Great Power. A game of hide-and-seek went on for two years, not a whit more satisfying than that to be repeated twenty-five years later under the brutal rule of Hans Frank. Bethmann Hollweg had to resign, and in his place came Helfferich, a creature of Ludendorff, who followed the extreme line of no concessions.

In the sequel the German armies were bundled out of the country without a blow being struck. Another chapter in the relations of neighbour peoples was finished.

What strikes the reader is the series of parallels to be found here with the events set out so ably by Feldman in his book on 1848. Then, just as in the days of Wilhelm II, Prussian policy was on the horns of a dilemma. The key year was 1840, when a new king, Frederic William IV, succeeded to the throne. The snag in the whole skein of relations was the fact that Tsar Nicholas I had constituted himself the chief guardian of the Holy Alliance, the defender of the Divine Right of dynasties to control the lives of their subjects, with the consequent subordination even of internal German affairs to his will. The new Prussian king

wanted to give his people a constitution, but he dared not do it. and he toyed with the idea of putting himself at the head of a movement for the unification of the German peoples on democratic lines. His people, for the most part, demanded this, knowing full well that it might mean war with Russia. As one of the helps to winning such a war, they visualised the restoration of a free Poland. But such a step could not be taken for two reasons. it would mean the handing over of what Prussia had gained by the Partitions to the Poles, and it would upset the collusion of the Powers, confirmed by the Congress of Vienna, in those Partitions. This latter might have been risked if there had been any real prospect of support for such democratic proceedings either in Paris or London. Such support was hoped for by the Polish leaders, whose plans for revolution could only succeed if a war with Russia ensued. It did not, thanks chiefly to the coolness of the Tsar, whose armies were mobilised but did not move (until the invasion of Hungary in 1849), and the skill of the Russian ambassador in Berlin, Count Meyendorff. The grim story of all these dealings is well told by Feldman, and his book should certainly be translated either into English or French

W. J. ROSE.

*Petr Veliky Sbornik statey pod redaktsiey doktora istoricheskikh nauk. A. I. Andreev I (Peter the Great Collected papers, edited by A. I. Andreev. Vol. I), Moscow-Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR., Historical Institute, 433 pp*

ONE of the most remarkable developments of Soviet Historiography in recent years has consisted in a conspicuous revival of minute research into the life and work of Peter the Great. The posthumous publication of M. M. Bogoslovsky's unfinished *opus magnum* with the modest title *Peter I Material for a Biography* (Russ.)—which started in 1940, and of which by now three volumes have appeared, was a convincing sign of the renewed interest in Peter's Reign. No less significant was the resumption of the monumental edition of his *Letters and Papers*, which seemed to have reached a premature end with the issue of the first half of the 7th volume in 1918. After an interval of nearly thirty years the second half of the volume has recently (1946) appeared with the old title (*Pis'ma i bursagi Imperatora Petra Velikogo*) and with the traditional copious annotations. Though highly significant, these long overdue publications alone could not of themselves be taken to constitute a novel trend in Soviet Historiography but there are a number of new works as well which definitely point in the same direction. In the last issue (No. 66) of the *Slavonic Review* we had already occasion to discuss the extremely valuable edition of Peter's *Legislative Documents* by N. A. Voskresensky. Another publication of similar importance, although of a different kind, is the collection of papers by various scholars edited by A. I. Andreev under the title *Peter the Great*.

This bulky volume consists of ten specialised articles—all of them based on intensive research. Marked as Vol. I, the book by its outward appearance alone is apt to encourage the hope that serious historical interest in Peter and his time will not be merely a passing phase, and this favourable impression is fortunately endorsed by the whole of its varied contents. In this connection particular significance must be attached to the historiographical article by B. B. Kafengauz, who has taken great pains in recording the achievements of "Soviet" historiography on the "Epoch of Peter." It is interesting to note that the survey extends both to works published in 1918, but actually completed in the "Bourgeois" period, and to publications of Soviet origin, but only loosely bearing upon the subject. It also includes "Peter the Great" by the late S. F. Platonov—a work which at the time of publication, in 1926 (as will be remembered by those who had occasion to hear the story), did not meet with easy approval in view of outspoken rejection by the eminent historian of the purely negative approach to Peter which in those years prevailed under the auspices of the ill-fated M. N. Pokrovsky. Two of the minor masterpieces in which S. F. Platonov indulged in the later years of his life are also mentioned in a footnote (p. 383). This being so, B. B. Kafengauz might well have added the papers published by Platonov in the Bulletin of the Academy in 1926—one presenting some of the companions of humble origin with whom Peter preferred to spend his hours of leisure, the other disclosing for the first time curious details of the social life of the British merchants in Petersburg in Peter's time. But it is of course difficult to define the limits for any bibliographical survey of so vast a subject.

More obvious are the gaps in the complementary article by S. A. Feygina dealing with "Foreign Literature on Peter the Great during the last quarter of a century." The second volume of the *Geschichte Russlands* by the late professor K. Stahlin, largely devoted to the reign of Peter, may of course have been among the books which remained inaccessible to the author. It is nevertheless strange not to find the last German standard work at least mentioned among the many books in German and in other languages, which are discussed at length. Equally strange it is to see that at best only one foreign periodical has been consulted, although according to the title the survey is not limited to books. To some extent the reason may have been the same; but in any case the fact remains that a number of articles have passed unnoticed—among them even material published for the first time. Thus, in 1936, the *Slavonic Review* had an article on "Jacobite relations with Peter the Great," by M. Bruce, based on the Stuart MSS. at Windsor Castle and illustrated by a facsimile letter by Peter. Only a few years earlier, in 1931-1932, a considerable number of documents from the State Archives in Berlin was published *in extenso* by the present writer, in the *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*: (1) a long series of unknown "News Letters" (*Geschriebene Zeitungen*) from Moscow, with minute and

fascinating accounts of the political events and of the social conditions in the turbulent year 1682 ; and (2) the extremely vivid and circumstantial report in form of a diary (*Diarium Moscovitischer Affairen de anno 1697*). This was submitted to the Elector of Brandenburg by Berge, the interpreter who accompanied the Tsar and his ambassadors on their journey through Prussia and Brandenburg, and from it only a few second-hand quotations were known to Bogoslovsky.

In the volume under review Peter's journey is the subject of two very substantial contributions. The first one is by N. A. Baklanova, who has produced a mass of illuminating details by thoroughly investigating the financial accounts of the Great Embassy which had so far been drawn upon only superficially. The second article is by A. I. Andreev, the editor of the book. It deals with Peter's sojourn in this country, and in particular with his personal contacts and experiences, and with the cultural after effects they had even beyond his own time. It is in the main a searching survey and scrutiny of sources used up to date, coupled with a stimulating challenge to expand and deepen the investigations. Andreev is convinced that many important additional details could still be unearthed, and he points out a number of relevant sources beyond his own reach, which as yet may not have been sufficiently utilised. It would be safe to add that, as far as printed material is concerned, the possibilities of finding fresh information easily extend beyond his conjectures. There is, e.g., the *Brief Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, by Narcissus Luttrell, published in 1857, but apparently not made use of to the present day. The numerous references to Peter in this diary are certainly in need of checking and corroboration, but sometimes they are also likely to be helpful in verifying other sources. With regard to unpublished material the chances seem less certain. There is moreover reason to believe that in some cases—such as the Records Office and the Bodleian, the author's optimistic speculations will not prove fully justified—unless sheer luck should yet produce hidden treasures. But in spite of any possible disappointments Andreev's "Peter the Great in England in 1698" will certainly serve as a most helpful aid and guide for further researches.

Besides this important contribution the book contains two other articles by the same author. One of them gives a detailed picture of the long and manifold preparatory work carried out by Peter and by his helpers and advisers for the "Foundation of an Academy of Sciences in Petersburg." The other is an obituary of I. A. Bychkov, the eminent archaeographer, who in 1944 died at the age of 85 after having been for over 60 years associated with the above-mentioned edition of the *Letters and Papers of the Emperor Peter the Great*—at first in the capacity of assistant to his equally eminent father, and later as its sole editor.

The remaining four articles are of a more specialised nature. T. K. Krylova discusses "The victory at Poltava and Russian Diplomacy." P. P. Epifanov analyses the origin and the significance of the

"Army Regulations of Peter the Great", E. I. Zaozerskaya investigates certain aspects of trade and industry in the region of the Middle Volga in the first years of the 18th century, and V. G. Geyman describes the "Manufacturing industry of Petersburg in Peter's time." An essential feature of all these investigations—common also to most of the other articles—is the rich use made of unpublished material from various Russian archives.

Even if space were available, it is unnecessary to extend these comments, to prove the intrinsic value of the portentous publication

LEO LOEWENSON.

*Slovanská Vzájemnost (The Common Slav Cause)* A symposium, collated by Jiří Horák on the centenary of Ján Kollár's publication: *On the Literary Common Cause of the Slav Tribes and Dialects* (1837).

KINGSWAY HALL, London, on 25 May, 1944, was the scene of the first all-Slav gathering ever held on British soil. Czechs, Poles, Russians, Serbs, Croats, Bulgarians and Ukrainians each addressed a crowded house in their own language. There was more enthusiasm than understanding. Some once cheered by mistake when a speaker communicated a sad piece of news about German oppression. All reacted loudly whenever the oft-repeated formula occurred, which might be expressed in basic Slav as "svoboda slovianskikh narodov." This they all understood. The British public didn't. The Press passed the event by without a mention.

The evolution of nationhood seems to proceed according to the following pattern: the dynastic unit → the religious unit → the linguistic unit → the economic unit. A similar trend is observable in the growth of Slavism, a movement which has been inspired in turn by Christianity, the humanities and socialism.

Early signs of a spirit of Slav community are few and far between. Adam Bohorič, a Slovene, compares several Slav versions of the Pater-noster in his *Arcticæ Horulæ* (1584) and speaks with pride of Slav diffusion. Two Jesuits, the Serb Juraj Kržanić (1618-1683) and the Czech B. Balbín, author of *A Dissertation in Defence of the Slav Language, especially Czech* (1672) are among the early promoters of Slavism; the former, a poet who is generally regarded as the father of Slavism, was actuated by an urge to throw off both Austrian and Turkish oppression. He felt, as others did later, that Russia was the sole hope for the liberation of the small Slav nations. The Slavism of Balbín was in line with that propagated later by the Czechs of the Revival. Dobrovský the comparative grammarian, Kollár the idealist, Jungmann the lexicographer, Šafařík the textual critic, and Palacký the historian. In other words it was linguistic-literary Slavism. In Poland as early as 1633 W. Dębolecki wrote in favour of setting up a monocratic world state and promised the "chosen Polish nation" world domination after the final defeat of the Turks. Thus we find three Slavist currents alive in the 17th century,

the political-literary (Križanić), the linguistic (Balbín) and the messianic (Dębolecki), with as yet nothing to give Slavism integral coherence.

The following centuries are characterised by a mainly literary-linguistic Slavism. It was the South Slavs who first gave Slavism a political turn Šafařík, who taught at Novi Sad from 1818 to 1833, had inspired Gjeorgij Magarašević to found the periodical *Serbian Pamphlet*; Kollár had inspired Gaj, the Croat, to write a *Short Outline of Croat-Slovene Orthography* (1830) in which he spoke of "our Slav brethren the Czechs, Poles and Russians" and hoped that "all the dialects of our great nation might come as near to each other as possible" In pursuance of this principle he founded the periodical *Dawn* to publish notices about "the greatest nation in Europe." But Southern Slavism did not long remain literary. Russophilism became the dominant note of its political side; Rajić wrote a *History of the Ideology of a Union of All Slavs*, St. Strati-mirović wrote that "the Russians have no better friends than the Serbs." Orfelin and Obradović expressed themselves in similar terms.

Poland never took kindly to the Slavist idea. The "Vladislav" legends of victories over the Turks spread by the South Slav Guindulić became the core of a form of Slavism often described as messianic, the theme was taken up by Sobieski and the idea underlying it was propagated by Woronicz. The latter's *Revelation of Emilia* is sometimes likened to Kollár's *Daughter of Gloria* but the likeness is superficial. Woronicz's theme is that of ultimate Polish salvation through suffering and purification rather than of a common Slav cause. Yet Woronicz did carry on the theme propounded by Bishop Kossakowski of Vilno for a linguistic union of Slav nations by urging that Slav national songs should be collected and publicised, thus coming close to the aims and ideals of the Czech poet Čelakovský. As in South Slavia the "Russian protector" theme found an echo in Poland. Towards the end of the 18th century the historian Trembecki propagated the idea of a Slav nation headed by Russia which would curb German expansion—this being incidentally one Polish reason for backing Napoleon. Staszic carried Trembecki's idea further. Beginning as a believer in Poland's messianic mission he ended as a strong pro-Slav with Russian leanings. He thought there were fewer obstacles to Slav fusion than there were to a fusion of the Germanic or Romance nations. The merging of all Slavs within the Russian fatherland, a country which had already gone farther in this direction than any other nation, would put an end to war—in the Slav world at any rate. For Staszic Poland pointed out the task, Russia was to carry it out. Such is one of the dominant themes of his *Human Race* (1820). Rościszewski spent time and money on equipping Slav museums and libraries, Czartoryski wanted Slav institutions to be founded at Vilno and planned a Polish-Slav society to study Slavonic histories and literatures; the Warsaw "Society of the Friends of Learning" listened to Linde's plea for a learned league representing Poles, Czechs, Russians and South Slavs. But it was Bishop Kossakowski who came nearest to Kollár's ideal with

his *Glance at Czech Literature and the Union of the Slav Languages* (1804). He was a firm believer in the Slavonic common cause, and particularly in Czech-Polish approachment. He regarded the Slav languages and literatures as "offshoots of a common stock" and thought that the gains from one would make good the deficiencies of another.

Russian Slavism of the early 19th century was typical of a great power. Untroubled by oppression from a foreign power Russia's problem was one of a struggle between a serf class and a ruling faction. On the literary side it was Westernism on the pattern set by Peter the Great versus Slavophilism as propagated by Khomiakov, the brothers Sreetskii and others. Russia's attitude to Slavism was academic, and Kollár was as disappointed with her as he was with the Poles. The first stirrings of Slavism at the beginning of the 19th century were slight. Moscow made an attempt to introduce Slavonic studies in 1811, copies of Šafařík's *History of Slav Literature* were ordered for Petrograd's schools in 1826, Keppen of Petrograd seems to have discussed common Slav interests with Kollár on a visit to Budapest in 1822 but to have done little about it. Khomiakov wrote in 1832 the memorable lines in *Oriol* for which he finds a place in Kollár's paradise in *Daughter of Gloria*.—

"Their time will come, their wings will toughen, their young claws grow, the eagles will screech and burst the chains of bondage with claws of iron"

1835 was a momentous year in the history of Slav scholarship in Russia. It was in this year that a decision was made to establish chairs in Slavonic languages and literatures at Moscow, Petrograd, Khar'kov and Kazan'. These four cities were to be equipped with Slavonic libraries, too. Four young candidates for the chairs, Bodianskii, Sreznevskii, Preis and Grigorovich, were sent forth to the various Slav capitals to learn their respective languages. Four years later Pogodin reported to the Ministry of Education after a trip to the Austrian Slav countries that an all-Slav periodical in their respective dialects should appear. This was an echo of Kollár's own wish and coincides with his efforts to get his *Slav Common Cause* published in Russia. The work appeared eventually in *Otechestvennye Zapiski* in 1840. Meanwhile a Slav periodical was projected by Bodianskii and Sreznevskii but never appeared. A periodical, *Dawn*, published in Russian and Polish in Warsaw by Piotr Pavlovich Dubrovskii, did not meet with Kollár's wholehearted approval, as Czech was not included in its programme.

Pypin, author of a *History of the Slavonic Literatures*, had attended Sreznevskii's lectures. His befriending of the Czechs had a utilitarian background expressed in the view that they, like the other smaller Slavs, should merge their destiny with Russia's, and, as Pogodin had already proposed in 1835, should consent to accept Russian as their sole literary medium.

Kostomariv and Ševčenko are the protagonists of Ukrainian Slavism. These two writers, along with others, founded the "Brotherhood of Cyril

and Methodius" at Kiev in 1846. Kostomarov, who was in touch with Sreznevskii, wanted a Slav League of free peoples inspired by Christianity and free from racial hatred. Another Ukrainian, Metlinskii, wrote to Sreznevskii in 1840 thanking him for his communications about the Czechs and urging that the brotherly union of the Slavs should be strengthened and encouraged.

For many the political phase of Slavism in Russia begins with 1878, the year of Bulgaria's liberation. But as recently as at the beginning of the present century the idea was still dormant. The so-called neo-Slavism of the early 1900's was the dream of a merchant class for increasing mutual trade, and was short-lived. World War II gave the political movement its biggest stimulus. All the Slav territories came under German occupation, all looked to Russia as the strongest of the Slav powers. For them the choice was either Russia, or eternal submission to the German overlords. In 1784 Herder, the German poet and author of *Voices of the Peoples*, wrote that the Slav mission was to regenerate a tired Western Europe. He forecast a great future for Slavdom.

But it is from the Czechs that the greatest Slavist inspiration came. It was the Czechs who inspired the Slav Congress in Prague in 1848, Czechs who founded the all-Slav Sokol movement, and it was a Czech who invented a curious synthetic Slav Esperanto called Slovinc in 1912. It is interesting, too, that Kollár, a Slovak, drew his inspiration from Prague and wrote in Czech.

The book under review will be found instructive, and at times amusing. True to Kollár's tradition the Symposium is written in several Slavonic languages. Might a non-Slav plead that such a work in future be written in a vocabulary that is common to all? But perhaps this is impossible.

STUART E. MANN.

*Kossuth Lajos A Reformkorban (Louis Kossuth in the Age of Reform).*

By Kosáry Domokos, *Antiqua Nyomdai és Irodalmi R.T.*, 1946.

LOUIS KOSSUTH, who was to Marx and Engels at the height of his glory "Danton and Carnot in one," was also one of the first European statesmen to envisage joint Anglo-American action in Europe. His speeches in this country between 1849 and 1860 overthrew governments and helped to shape British foreign policy.

Nevertheless, Dr. Kosáry complains that, even in Hungary, no adequate life of him has been written and that only now, when the Austrian Empire is a thing of the past, is it possible to discuss his character and achievements without prejudice. This volume goes as far as 1847. It is written in a clear, sober style and does not try to blur any of the facts.

To his own age Kossuth was a radical nationalist. True, as this biography shows, before 1848 he did not envisage a democracy which would do more than give power into the hands of the small nobles—the class from which he himself came but which, as Dr. Kosáry em-



phasises, reached a far lower stratum of society than any nobility in the West of Europe. In a land where the serfs were still unfreed, a further extension of democracy was scarcely practical at that time.

Kossuth is often blamed for his militant nationalism, but the author explains how in the forties national emotion seemed a unifying factor, linking the new rising middle class with the traditional opposition of the feudal estates to the Habsburgs. He quite fairly points out that Kossuth's determination to build up a centralised, unified state with one language for government and administration—a determination in which Deák at this time supported him—was imitated directly from the doctrines of the French encyclopædists and the French Revolution. Kossuth undoubtedly underestimated the national consciousness of the other peoples in Central Europe who, he thought, would be willing to be assimilated in return for reforms carried out in their interests. Even if he had been more diplomatic, it is doubtful whether he would have won them over to his plans. At this stage the other nationalities, less educated than the Magyars, for the most part regarded Western Liberalism with horror, and would not have supported it even if it had not come in the dress of an alien nationality. Neither the English Whigs in the Highlands or Ireland, nor the French Revolutionaries in the Vendée were able to win over all the provincial peasantry who allied themselves with Conservative powers beyond their frontiers. Hungarian liberalism was less successful than English or French, not because its behaviour was much worse, but because Hungary was more defenceless and her minorities, as well as being more numerous, could be more easily assisted.

It is true that a widely travelled Catholic like Count Stephen Széchenyi, brought up in the tradition of Vienna yet seeing the need for reform, could realise more clearly how the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy might very well leave the peoples of Central Europe with less, rather than more, freedom. Just because he was remote from the new national consciousness, always very strong when a new stratum of society comes to power, Széchenyi could realise the danger of the one-sided national and revolutionary recklessness in the Magyar character. But Dr. Kosáry, though doing full justice to this great man (of whom there is unfortunately no biography in English), has to admit that he could exert no strong counteracting influence, and by his attacks on Kossuth and his supporters, in which he showed a good deal of the aristocrat's contempt for an inferior class, he only succeeded in driving them to extremes. Kossuth's ancestors belonged to the somewhat rustic nobles of Upper Hungary: they were also Protestants, with bitter memories of Habsburg persecution. As he himself had suffered a spell of imprisonment, he could hardly view the Habsburg government with the sympathetic understanding of Széchenyi.

After 1848, realising that the other nationalities were starting true democratic movements of their own, Kossuth modified his policy, and in 1867 strongly opposed the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) with Austria, which

he saw would ally Hungary with the forces oppressing nationalism and democracy, and in the end would be her ruin

Worshipped as a hero in England and America in his own day, Kossuth may very well have been too harshly judged by subsequent generations in this country. Criticism was coloured by the fact that those who used his name at a later time, having gained power as the result of the Prussian victories of 1866, instead of developing his democratic teaching, made a kind of idol of him, using his speeches made in the 1840's to try and bolster up an ossified class imperialism based on the Teutonic model. They quoted the letter of his speeches, but ignored the spirit, dreading any further extension of democracy.

Dr. Kosáry, while not seeking to hide any of Kossuth's faults, does something to redress the balance by emphasising the definite and positive contributions he made to his own age. Perhaps his greatest achievement was his insistence, in a society still dominated by feudal conceptions, on the dignity of a man working for his own living, and on his welcome to the industrial revolution with all its potentialities. It is a bitter irony that the Slav nations, who in 1848 leaned on the Conservative Habsburgs for assistance, later imitated Kossuth's policy of turning to the Liberal democracies of the West; and in 1918, with the assistance of France, Britain and America, obtained their emancipation from a Monarchy which Hungary had been the first to attack. They in their turn annexed large Magyar minorities, which they were equally unsuccessful in reconciling to their rule since the Magyars had turned to reactionary foreign despotisms for aid.

Dr. Kosáry's book is not only valuable as history, but by its temperate and fair-minded account of one of the leading figures of the 19th century, it may help to bring about an understanding of those social forces which have so often drawn the European nations into conflict with one another.

N. C. MASTERMAN.

Swansea.

*Crimean War Diplomacy and other Historical Essays* By G. B. Henderson, Glasgow, 1947, pp. 320, 21s net

THIS selection of historical articles written by G. B. Henderson for British, American, French, and German periodicals has been published as a memorial volume to the author, who was killed in an air crash near Athens in June, 1945, during a lecture tour for the Royal Air Force. It consists of sixteen articles which appeared between 1933 and 1946, most of them dealing with the diplomacy of the Crimean War years, on which Henderson made himself a leading authority. Henderson was a pupil of Professor Temperley, who held his work and abilities in such high regard that he collaborated in two of the articles in the present collection. His confidence in his pupil was amply justified. As this volume shows, Henderson's researches threw a flood of new light on the

diplomacy of the Great Powers during the Crimean War, especially on the Four Points, the Anglo-French-Austrian treaty of 2 December, 1854, and the Vienna conference of March-April, 1855, which almost led to peace. The article on "The Diplomatic Revolution of 1854" for example deserves to be read by every serious student of 19th-century European history for its penetrating analysis of the aims and consequences of Austrian, French, and British diplomacy during the Crimean War against the wider background of the alliances and alignments which had maintained the Vienna settlement and the peace of Europe for the previous forty years. "During 1854," Henderson writes, "Austria drifted further away from Russia, until on 2 December she aligned herself with Russia's enemies in a definite treaty. The result was the disappearance of the last relics of the system of 1815. It was a diplomatic revolution more far-reaching in its effects than that of Kaunitz. No longer were there three powers in favour of the maintenance of the *status quo*; no longer was there any European Concert, even in embryo. The way was paved for the great events of little more than a decade, during which Bismarck unified Germany, Cavour unified Italy, and Napoleon III led France towards the disasters of 1870 and 1871."

These articles reveal Henderson's rare talent for research on diplomatic history. He was a tireless worker in archives, and all his studies are solidly based on manuscript material from primary archives such as the Public Record Office, the State Archives at Vienna, the Royal Archives at Windsor, and private collections such as the Clarendon and Disraeli Papers. But like Professor Temperley, Henderson also thought it important not to overlook secondary archives containing diplomatic reports by agents of the smaller powers for the light they might throw on the dark places of Great Power diplomacy. Both of them perhaps tended to exaggerate the importance of these secondary archives. But if Professor Temperley found useful information in the Netherlands Rijks Archief for his study on *England and the Near East: the Crimea*, Henderson found equally useful material for his work on the diplomacy of the Crimean War in the Hamburg Staatsarchiv, the Hannover Staatsarchiv, the Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, and the Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv. At the same time Henderson was no believer in "manuscript for manuscript's sake," and he sometimes criticised votaries of archives for neglecting or underestimating the importance of printed sources. He himself extracted the last ounce of value from the printed sources at his disposal, and his articles avoid quoting a manuscript source to make a point which could equally well be made by reference to printed material.

Henderson combined his flair for research and writing with a zest for lecturing and teaching. He said on one occasion that he regarded his research work as a whetstone which kept his mind sharp for general reading and lecturing, and as his brother and editor tells us, in his teaching work at Glasgow University "he handled with equal facility a large

class of some three hundred Ordinary Degree candidates—to whom he lectured on recent World History—and a small group of Honours students taking the ‘Bismarckian System, 1875–87’ as a Special Subject.” His interests as a teacher were by no means limited to the University. In an article on “The Study of Contemporary History,” reprinted in this memorial volume, he argues that the historian has enough material at his disposal to make at least “interim judgments” on contemporary events and that he is far more qualified for this than the statesman and leader-writer who constantly appeal to the “verdict of History.” It was this wide conception of the historian’s duty which gave Henderson his keen interest in Adult Education and encouraged him to lecture to adult audiences on “Problems of World Politics.” During the early part of the war he also lectured widely for the Ministry of Information, until in October, 1941, he became a full-time lecturer to H.M. Forces. His duties took him to every part of the country, including the Hebrides, the Orkneys, the Shetlands and the Faroes, and later to North Africa, Malta and the Middle East. In January, 1945, he returned to Glasgow University. But during the early summer of 1945 he went back to the Mediterranean area on a short lecture tour for the Royal Air Force and was killed in an air crash near Athens. His tragic and untimely death at the age of 36 was a serious blow not only to historical research but also to university teaching and Adult Education, and all who knew him and enjoyed his companionship will mourn the loss of a friend, on whom, as Lord Vansittart puts it, “they were counting much for the future.”

G. H. BOLSOVER.

*Saggio sulla fortuna di Dostoevskij in Italia.* By Anna M. V. Guarnieri-Ortolani; University of Padua publications, Vol. XXIV, 1947, pp. 130, 500 lire.

ITALIAN culture has had a great influence on the Slavonic world, and Slavonic scholars, both Italian and foreign, have been extensively occupied with the question in their comparative studies, examining the contribution of Italy with close attention. On the other hand the influence of the Slavs on Italian civilisation has been of far less importance and Slavonic scholars have not, except to a very small extent, concerned themselves with this problem. But to reach a truer estimation of the intellectual contacts between Slavs and Italians, one must know both sides of this exchange. In his *Storia della Slavistica in Italia* (Schoenfeld-Zara, 1933) Cronia demonstrated the Italian knowledge of the Slavonic world, dating from almost a thousand years, and also pointed out the reciprocal influences which have come to Italian literature and culture, expressing a hope that this topic might be more thoroughly studied in the future. Dostoevsky occurs among the examples quoted by him and the question of this writer’s influence has now found full

expression in the *Saggio sulla fortuna di Dostoevskij in Italia*, by Anna M. V. Guarnieri-Ortolani, published in 1947 in the series of publications of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in the University of Padua.

Dostoevsky has always been widely discussed and translated in Italy. To examine the index of an Italian literary history is sufficient proof. Even more convincing are the articles. *Gli Studi Dostoevskiani in Italia*, by Damiani, in the review *Cultura* (1931—febbraio fs. 10), *La fortuna di Dostoevskij in Occidente*, by L. G., in the same review (1931—giugno fs. VI), the book *Dostoevskij in Italien*, and the essay by Wolf Giusti in *Slavische Rundschau*, III (1931), nr. 8.

Till now, however, no one has been sufficiently concerned with the most interesting and complicated problem of the influence and present-day reputation of Dostoevsky in Italy. The credit for this achievement belongs to Mrs. Guarnieri-Ortolani. Her work is of great delicacy and shows a profound knowledge of the Russian author, his works and his theories, as well as of Italian literature in the last few decades.

The task of defining the influence of Dostoevsky on our writers is indeed difficult and delicate, seeing that other Russian writers have influenced our literature as well.

We start with D'Annunzio—the influence of Dostoevsky on D'Annunzio has been well understood since 1892, as a result of the work of Capuana, De Vogué and others, but Dr. Guarnieri-Ortolani breaks free from tradition by giving greater importance to the Dostoevskian "interior monologue" as used in *Krotkaya* and later in *Giovanni Episcopo*. *Crime and Punishment* and *The Honest Thief* find their parallels in *L'innocente* and the short stories *Il compagno dagli occhi senza ciglia* and *Le esequie della giovinezza*, in such aspects as the need for confession, the premeditation of crime, the almost dream-like course of events leading up to crime, and the description of that world of the poor, the old and the drunkards presented with pity and with shame. The writer clearly shows how the influence of Dostoevsky has benefited the work of D'Annunzio in that it has given a quality of profounder humanity and understanding to his characters who are too often narrow egoists of a plainly autobiographical type.

Unlike D'Annunzio, Capuana was more of a critic than a creative writer, and did not succeed in assimilating the art of Dostoevsky. In his short stories we find once more the artifice of the soliloquy (*Krotkaya* and *Vechny Muzh*), already used by D'Annunzio. Various critics have noted the influence of Dostoevsky in *Il marchese di Roccaverdina*, at certain psychological moments and in the plot. Torelli in particular pointed out this Russian influence, but no one before Dr. Guarnieri-Ortolani has shown its presence in the short stories. She acknowledges, too, an affinity between Dostoevsky and Mrs. Serao in *La donna dall'abito nero e dal ramo di corallo rosso*, the style of which recalls the "interior monologue" and the presentation of the dual personality; but Mrs. Serao can be accused of an incomplete understanding of the Russian

writer for she was attracted to him only by the novelty of the psychological aspect.

In *Il cappello del prete* by De Marchi we can trace a faintly perceptible Russian influence in the general outline of the plot. This has already been indicated in the criticism of Faggi, though De Marchi's brother denies any such indebtedness.

Not so obvious are the links between Dostoevsky and Fogazzaro and Oriani. The only point of contact with Fogazzaro is the tendency to resolve religious and moral problems through the medium of the novel. With regard to Oriani, Cardelli and Borgese had already noticed in his work a relationship with Dostoevsky, but in Dostoevsky the contrast between society and the individual is the result of personal experience and is a reality intimately lived and felt, whereas with Oriani it is the result of intellectual realism.

We are not entirely convinced that Pirandello has affinities with Dostoevsky but, being an "intellectualist" remained sceptical, for we firmly believe in the great humanity and even in the existentialism of Pirandello. Vergani and Borgese deny the influence of Dostoevsky on Tozzi, our writer, however, freely acknowledges in him an original and personal interpretation of the great Russian. The novel *Tre croci* recalls *Krotkaya* and *Crime and Punishment*. His idea of love is like that of *Vechny Muzh*, his monologues resemble those of Dostoevsky. In the collection of short stories *Ricordi di un impiegato* we again meet with the Russian psychological complex, but most significant of all is *La scuola di anatomia* with its typical simplicity of narrative. We find here, therefore, a deep knowledge of the art of Dostoevsky, which Dr. Guarnieri-Ortolani has discussed in all its essential points with particular skill.

Italian criticism from Galletti to Gargiulo has unanimously tried to find Dostoevskian influences in the work of Borgese. *Rubé* develops the problem of the individual as treated in *Crime and Punishment*. Dr. Guarnieri-Ortolani, however, underlines the fact that though he has been an able critic of Dostoevsky his limitations have been scanty and superficial because of his difficulty in understanding him completely and on his own.

A novel point is the examination of Svevo, whose essay the writer has published in *Rivista di letteratura moderne*, emphasising the influence of Freud and showing how Svevo has benefited more profoundly than Tozzi from the art of Dostoevsky. Now he has created anew in his works the mysterious complexity of the human subconscious.

We also have a new interpretation of the influence of Dostoevsky on Mrs. Deledda. All the critics support such a relationship but the reason for it has not previously been discovered. Galletti, Zoja and Ravagnani see a general Russian affinity, only De Michelis being more precise, but on the whole her work has not been well discussed. Dr. Guarnieri-Ortolani notes many points of contact with Russian literature but

among these she finds specially relevant the link with Dostoevsky, who appeals to Mrs Deledda by the profundity and novelty of his themes. After reading Dostoevsky she deals often with the problem of guilt, i e., from 1901 onward, when she abandoned romanticism for realism. Dostoevsky's religious and moral problems confounded her and the result was the short story *Aberrazione*. Seven years later in *Edera* she tried to reconcile the moral outlook of Verga with Dostoevsky's views on expiation and punishment, considering them as religious necessities. But with her Dostoevsky's problem of liberty could not be solved because of her lack of understanding; and while Tozzi re-creates the teaching of Dostoevsky in an original and personal manner, she could never manage to free herself from her own preconceptions. For Mrs. Deledda therefore Dostoevsky remained an incomplete experience.

One can say the same of Alvaro. He was essentially a follower of D'Annunzio in the facility with which he assimilated different styles. Critics have said a great deal about the way he was influenced by Italian and foreign writers. Only Galletti mentions specific Dostoevskian influences. But Dostoevsky, in his case as in that of D'Annunzio, is felt through other literary experiences. The "interior monologue" is imitated too mechanically and the superficial understanding of Dostoevsky results in a banal sense of pity. Sensuality, which is completely foreign to Dostoevsky, is fundamental in Alvaro, who sees Dostoevsky solely through the medium of D'Annunzio and who understands the humanitarianism of Dostoevsky only through the experiences of others, though his contacts with Russian literature and with Dostoevsky (whose *Vechny Muzh* he translated) were direct contacts by reason of his travels in Russia (he wrote a book on it, full of superficial observations), and of his knowledge of the language.

With regard to Moscardelli and Cena the writer makes too cursory a statement, likening Cena in his dramatic effects to Victor Hugo rather than to Dostoevsky. It is only in the beginning of the novel *Gli ammonitori* that she notes some expressions and descriptions characteristic of Dostoevsky. The novels of Moscardelli are acknowledged by Italian critics, to be of general Russian derivation: Dr. Guarnieri-Ortolani, however, finds particular affinities between the soliloquies of *Krotkaya* and the unexpected outbursts of grief in *Mia moghe mi ha tradito*; between the protagonist of *Umizennye i oskorblennye*, and the clerk of *I nostri giorni*. This last comparison is particularly cursory, as Moscardelli has an important place in Italian criticism.

All the critics recognise the influence of Dostoevsky on Cicognani; Gargiulo, Pancrazi and Franchi see a point of contact in the treatment of pity. Such a problem, however, is less complete and profound in Cicognani, for he does not succeed in re-creating the pity of Dostoevsky but limits himself to the classical literary prototype of the D'Annunzian poor man. In the other works there is a mixture of influences from the whole of Russian literature. In the short story *L'amore di Anselmo*,

however, that of Dostoevsky is chiefly felt. The conclusions in Cicognani are more moderate as the narrative tone is more unassuming.

The problem of pity finds later developments in Fracchia and Betti, who see it through Cicognani. *Il perduto amore* by Fracchia recalls in the last part *Krotkaya*, and so does the story *Lusa*. He does not recognise pity and his characters are all bad. He has not succeeded in freeing his characters from the classical Italian tradition, though he has taken from Dostoevsky the external scheme of the short story and the psychology of his characters. Certain technical characteristics in his short stories recall *Krotkaya*. For Dostoevsky the man who is morally and materially destitute means one who has unconsciously abandoned himself to a passion, who has renounced the intellectual life, for Fracchia it means one who has sunk into poverty. In Betti there is no emotion and the Dostoevskian theme is a result of previous experience.

The influence of Dostoevsky on our most recent writers is superseded by other spiritual affinities, particularly the latest American trends. At this point Dr. Guarnieri-Ortolani stops, completing her able survey with a valuable bibliography which impresses one as being first-hand information and the result of profound and accurate research. The first part concerns the translation of the works of Dostoevsky, the second deals with the critical works and essays, while the third part, which is of especial value, with the opinions of the press, *Voci della stampa*, is a most exhaustive study especially of the post-war period. The bibliography is enriched by a wealth of footnotes, which clearly show the writer's ability. It is a pity that, as has already been pointed out in their introduction by the editors of the series (Cronia, Tagliavini, Busetto), for reasons of economy it has not been possible to publish the other two parts: the attitude of Italian criticism and a survey of the translations of Dostoevsky.

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*Soviet Literature To-day.* By George Reavey; Lindsay Drummond, 1946, pp. 187, 8s. 6d.

THIS book is based largely on first-hand knowledge of the Soviet literary scene acquired by Mr. Reavey during his three years' sojourn in the Soviet Union, where he went as a Press Attaché of the British Embassy. And the parts which reflect this first-hand knowledge, as, for example, the chapter on "The Life and Organisation of Soviet Writers," are the most valuable, for they add to our knowledge of Soviet literary life. Some interesting, though rather haphazard, material is also to be found in the chapter entitled "The Writer and the Critic" where Mr. Reavey tries to illustrate with examples the functioning of literary criticism in present-day Russia. But his division of Soviet critics into "lawgivers, pontiffs, interpreters and occasional critics" is pedantic and unconvincing, and his own comments not particularly illuminating. He raises several



interesting questions but fails to provide satisfactory answers and is singularly chary of critical judgments. And this is also the reason why the chapters dealing with Soviet literature itself during the last decade or so (one on short stories and reportage, one on the novel, and one on poetry) are on the whole unsatisfactory—they are almost completely devoid of truly critical approach. These chapters, moreover, are shoved into the body of the book in a rather happy-go-lucky way, adding to the confused picture presented on the surface by the shifting quicksands of Soviet literature. And although Mr. Reavey devotes a great deal of his space to the general background of Soviet literature he seldom succeeds in probing anywhere below the surface. In a special chapter on "the idea of the hero in Soviet fiction" (which his book, according to the publisher's blurb, for the first time attempts to analyse) he seems to attach too much importance to certain *ex cathedra* pronouncements of Soviet critics, and at the same time to ignore the fact that the Soviet critics' search for a hero began a long time before the period with which he specifically deals. In the thirties one of the leading Soviet critics published a book entitled *In Search of a Hero*, and even back in the twenties Soviet writers were reproached for their failure to hit on the Soviet hero. The discussion of this problem is of long standing and, far from "broadening and modifying the theoretical basis and the actual accomplishment of Soviet literature" as Mr. Reavey wishfully maintains, has really led nowhere—no more than the fruitless and scholastic discussions about Socialist Realism. To ascribe the failure to find a hero to "war conditions" or to "the absence of a really great novelist at this stage of Soviet literature" is rather naive. Nor is the emphasis on "human personality" as recent as Mr. Reavey tries to imply—what the Soviet critic Pertsov, whom Mr. Reavey quotes so sympathetically, said in 1945 and 1946 has been said over and over again by a number of Soviet critics at least since 1932 (in fact Voronsky and some others said it even long before that). Mr. Reavey speaks of the recent phase of Soviet literature as "the sowing time of a 'renaissance' of its kind," but he fails totally to substantiate this statement. He mentions the Soviet expectations of "a great new age of Russian letters" which will follow the period of the Great Patriotic War "just as the age of Pushkin followed on that of the Napoleonic Wars", but while accepting this rather trite comparison of the two "Patriotic" wars he fails to examine the great differences in historical conditions and in the impact of those two wars on Russia.

Mr. Reavey fails to make clear the utter dependence of literature in the Soviet Union on the political strategy and political tactics of the moment, resulting in sudden and rapid changes of the literary surface, though his own book is a very good illustration of this quick-changing scene: having begun in an optimistic major key he had to sound towards the end a note of warning; he was apparently finishing the book just after the literary "purges" of August–September, 1946, which are

briefly mentioned at the end (though the Preface to the book is dated "1st July, 1946"). Since then, events have more than justified this note of warning in a sense, at no other time in its history, except perhaps the brief period of the RAPP dictatorship (1929-1932), has Soviet literature been forced to toe so rigidly the "general line," the dominant motifs being now rabid anti-Westernism (one of the most striking examples is the recent violent attack on one of the outstanding Soviet linguists, Vinogradov) and nationalistic "isolationism." And even such pillars of Soviet literature as Simonov and Fadeyev have come in for their share of vituperation (the attack on Fadeyev's *Young Guard*, at first so highly praised, would form an interesting addition to the collection of critical "curios" which Mr. Reavey has assembled but failed to account for satisfactorily, and it raises incidentally an interesting side-problem—that of the relation between Soviet censorship and what Mr. Reavey calls "pontifical criticism").

The book is marred by numerous inaccuracies. Particularly annoying are systematic mistranslations of Russian titles which in part can be ascribed to carelessness but in part at least must be due to Mr. Reavey's imperfect knowledge of Russian, strange though this may seem considering the reputation he enjoys as a translator and the experience he has had. But how otherwise account for such howlers as *Under Moscow* for the title of Gabrilovich's book of war sketches, instead of *Before* (or *On the Outskirts of*) *Moscow* (*Pod Moskvoy*); as *The Guns Promote* instead of *The Guns Are Being Brought Into Position* (*Pushki vdvigayut*, the title of a novel by Sergeyev-Tsensky), as the mysterious *Letter from Polon* instead of *Letter from Captivity* (*polon* being a variant of the word *plen*); or as Prishvin's *Forest Drop*, resulting from the ignorance of the word *kapel* (thaw) and its confusion with *kaplya* (drop)? Such mistakes are unforgivable in one who claims to be bilingual. To carelessness are also due such errors as *The Road beyond the Ocean* instead of *The Road to the Ocean*; *What Does Oblomov Represent?* instead of *What Is Oblomovism?*; *House in Shushenko* instead of *House in Shushenskoye* (a place in Siberia where Lenin lived in exile), Shestakovich instead of Shestakov; Babich instead of Babichev, Joseph *Le* Maistre instead of Joseph de Maistre. We remember that similar carelessness characterised *Soviet Anthology*, edited by Mr. Reavey together with Mr. Slonim in 1933 (incidentally, for some reason Mr. Reavey now seems to claim the sole credit for that publication). Here and there Mr. Reavey reveals his insufficient knowledge of pre-revolutionary Russian literature. Throughout the book there is a lack of uniformity in the transliteration of Russian names. There is no bibliography attached, and all the time Mr. Reavey writes as though he were a complete pioneer in the study of Soviet literature, with the result that some English reviewers have treated his book as the first book in English on the subject of Soviet literature.

GLEB STRUVE.

*Pushkin and Russian Literature.* By Janko Lavrin; Published by Hodder & Stoughton for the English Universities Press ("Teach Yourself History" Library, ed. by A. L. Rowse), London, 1947, pp. xi + 226, 5s.

THIS new little book by Professor Lavrin, to whom the English-speaking world already owes a debt of gratitude for his books on Gogol, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, is an admirably lucid and succinct account of Pushkin, his life, his work, his background, his place in Russian and world literature. It can be wholeheartedly recommended to students.

After a short introductory chapter on Russian literature before Pushkin, two chapters of about twenty pages each are devoted to Pushkin's life and background. They contain everything that is necessary in a work of which the primary aim is not biographical. And Professor Lavrin is to be commended on the sober restraint with which he discusses certain points in Pushkin's biography, and especially the question of the relations between Pushkin's wife and Emperor Nicholas I, about which much that is unnecessary and purely conjectural has been written by some recent Soviet biographers of Pushkin.

In a chapter entitled "Pushkin as a Phenomenon" the author clearly brings out Pushkin's universality, rightly describing him as "one of the broadest and most universal poets in European literature." Equally rightly he sees in him "a synthesis between Russia and Europe," for in his work "the finest artistic traditions of the West are perfectly blended with the true spirit of Russia." At a moment when in Russia everything "Western" is becoming a subject for scathing attacks it is important to be reminded of Pushkin's essential "Westernism," for in the face of all those attacks Pushkin's position in Russia itself, as an epitome of Russian literature and the highest expression of Russian national genius, remains unassailable. Stressing Pushkin's creative discipline, balance and sense of measure, Professor Lavrin compares him to Goethe who alone, says he, equals Pushkin in this respect. But "Goethe's harmony was largely a result of deliberate and almost methodical self-discipline, accompanied by that serious 'will to culture' which in Germany has always been so much stronger than culture itself. In addition to being a poet, Goethe was also a thinker, a scientist and a man of action whereas Pushkin's thoughts and ideas were a spontaneous by-product of his artistic genius rather than a result of his deliberate will or effort." Here perhaps Professor Lavrin tends to minimise Pushkin as a thinker, and one of the shortcomings of his excellent book is the inadequate treatment of the evolution of Pushkin's political thought from the revolutionary liberalism of his youth to the conservative liberalism of his mature years. This aspect of Pushkin deserved a more detailed consideration: it is not for nothing that Mickiewicz was so struck by the depth and maturity of Pushkin's political judgment. Lavrin tends, moreover, to over-emphasise the revolutionary element in early Pushkin: after all, the

famous *Ode to Liberty* was as much an indictment of autocracy as an attack on the revolutionary excesses of the mob.

The chapters on Pushkin's work, though they contain no revelations, are excellent. Pushkin's poetry, his dramatic works, his *Eugeny Onegin*, his prose fiction are admirably presented, with plentiful quotations, to the reader who has no access to Pushkin in the original. Pushkin's debt to English literature is specially brought out. It is gratifying to see Professor Lavrin, in a chapter entitled "Pushkin and Shakespeare," restore *Boris Godunov* to its rightful high place, while in a special chapter the significance of Pushkin's "Little Tragedies" is duly brought out.

The final chapter discusses Pushkin's place in literature. Here he is clearly shown as the "focus" from which so many themes and trends in modern Russian literature radiate. Professor Lavrin concludes by expressing a pious hope often voiced before. "For over a hundred years Pushkin's place in the literature of his own country has remained uncontested and unrivalled. The time may come—perhaps it is not far off—when he will also occupy his rightful place in the literature of the world."

A few minor factual errors and doubtful statements must be mentioned as they may be rectified in subsequent editions which this book certainly deserves. Koltsov's name was Alexey, not Alexander (p. 77). There is no Crimean background in Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Times* (p. 201): Taman is on the Caucasian side of the Black Sea. Blok's *Vozmezdnie* can hardly be described as "unfinished autobiography" (pp. 202-03). It is hardly correct to bracket Ozerov with Sumarokov and Knyazhnin (p. 12), and in the context this may lead to a chronological confusion in the mind of the reader. That Radishchev, in publishing his *Journey*, was "unaware of the fact that . . . Catherine had without warning shed all her zest for enlightenment" (p. 15), is, to say the least, doubtful. The statement on p. 110 about the influence of Mickiewicz on Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* is, in the light of modern Polish research, much too cautious. Finally, to connect personal digressions in Gogol's *Dead Souls* with *Eugeny Onegin* (p. 208) seems to me a little far-fetched. But this exhausts the list of errors and doubtful statements a captious critic can pick out in the book.

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*Fonétika*. By Gyula Laziczus; Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, Budapest, 1944, pp. 256, illustrated with photographs and diagrams.

ADMIRABLY produced and printed, this book appeared in 1944, shortly before the collapse of Nazi power in Hungary and neighbouring countries, and it is remarkable for its scholarly dispassionateness and breadth of enquiry. In spite of the undoubted psychological difficulties in which

it must have been written, it is so clear and reasonable in exposition that it might well have been conceived and completed in happier times. Moreover, it appears to be the most adequate work on general phonetics, in both fullness and accuracy, that we have had for a generation. The merit of Lazicius is that he has no axe to grind and takes a generously comprehensive view of his subject. He tries to see things in historical terms and faithfully reproduces conflicting views and personal differences. His range is considerable, covering as it does both experimental (instrumental), and descriptive ("trial-and-error") phonetics, the phonetic side of linguistics, the recent theories of the Phonological School, and the history of the subject from the ancient Greeks, who laid the foundations of our phonetic terminology.

*Fonétika* is divided into seven sections, each branching into sub-sections. A succinct introduction (*Bevezetés*) points out the relation of this discipline to physiology, acoustics, linguistics and speech therapy, draws a dividing line between general and special phonetics, the latter of which studies the sounds of individual languages, and emphasises the pioneer services and subsequent complicated investigations of instrumental phonetics (*eszköz-fonétika*). In a summary history of the subject (*A fonétika rövid története*) we are given, in diagrammatic form (p. 5), the Greek nomenclature, which still partly obtains (e.g. *σύμφωνα*, consonants, *φωνήματα*, vowels; *βραχεία*, short sounds; *μακρά*, long sounds, *ῥγχα*, liquids).

Till the 16th century, we read in the historical sub-section of the Introduction, interest in Greek and Latin confined attention to these languages, but the Reformation period produced a variety of Latin and vernacular treatises on others, e.g., Ickelsamer's *Teutsche Grammatica* (1527-1534), Smith's *De recta et emendata linguæ Anglicæ scripturæ dialogus* (1568), and especially Madsen's *De literis libri duo* (1586), the first part of which (*De vera literarum doctrina*) classifies sounds according to nine "vocal organs" (*guttur, os, nasus, maxilla inferior, maxilla superior, lingua, labia, palatum, dentes*), while the second (*De diverse doctrine incommodis*) investigates the treatment of sounds in six languages, including three living ones, mainly from the standpoint of the author's physiological classification, which insists on the superior importance of *oris figura* as compared with *vox*. The 17th and 18th centuries produced numerous other works on phonetics and spelling, some of them still in Latin, others in various modern languages, e.g., Bonet's *Reduction de las letras* (1620), Holder's *Elements of Speech* (1669), Dalgarno's *Ars signorum* (1661), Wilkins's *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668), where phonetics is impressed into the service of an experiment in international communication, and Haller's *Elementa physiologiæ* (1757-1766). The end of the 18th century saw the appearance of two significant treatises—Hellwag's *Dissertatio inauguralis de formatione loquelæ* and the Hungarian F. Kempelen's *Mechanismus der menschlichen Sprache* (1791), where the argument of the third book is

based on the findings of Haller's physiology. The 19th-century contribution to phonetics was considerable in all domains, but especially in those of physiology and acoustics. Here the important items were Brücke's *Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute* (1856) and Helmholtz's *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen* (1862). The vigorous second half of the century brought the writings of Bell, Ellis, Sweet, Lundell, Sievers, Viëtor, Storm, Passy and Jespersen, and witnessed the publication of the first periodicals devoted to the subject, as well as of pioneer materials on experimental phonetics (e.g., Rousselot's *Principes de phonétique expérimentale*, 1897-1901). In all these domains, particularly that of instrumental analysis, the first half of the present century has built on foundations laid in the 19th. But conflict has arisen between the experimentalist and the "intuitive" phonetician. In 1930 the American, Scripture, denying the findings of the latter, declared: "Man muss die ganze uberlieferte Phonetik des vorigen Jahrhunderts als unbegrundet ablehnen."

The second section of *Fonétika (Írás és hangjelölés)* deals with the alphabets from the historical standpoint, beginning with Amerindian pictographs and ending with the current phonetic notation of spoken sounds. Experiments in this direction may be seen in the eighteenth-sixties, in Brücke's physiological and Thausing's acoustic notation, both of which preceded Bell's "visible speech" (1869), which Sweet tried to popularise in a modified form, but without success. Jespersen was equally unsuccessful with his "alphabetic" symbolism and Techmer with his "Notenschrift." The attraction of the familiar Latin alphabet and the inertia of traditional usage led ultimately to the choice of Latin characters with various modifications and alien accretions to represent the extant multitude of speech phonemes. Here Lepsius had led the way, and he was followed by Ellis and Sweet in England and by Lundell, Jespersen and Passy on the Continent. Sweet's differentiation between the curiously named "broad" and "narrow" transcriptions made possible the later phonematic notation of sounds. The International Phonetic Association, which derives its system from the practice and authority of Sweet and Passy, prefers to dispense for the most part with diacritical marks, whereas linguistic scholarship, especially in Europe, makes abundant use of them in its phonetic refinements (v. F. Aimä, *Ylksen fonetiikan oppikirja*, Helsinki, 1938). Laziczus cites Setälä's for Uralian sounds as an example, and in later sections of his work he confronts the two systems of notation (p. 88). At this point we become aware of the advantage which the non-Indo-European scholar has over the Indo-European, whose phonetic horizon is limited by the data of a single language stock. The advantage lies not merely in the phonetic domain, but in the linguistic as well, for the structure of non-Indo-European types of languages (e.g., Uralian, Altaic, Bantu, Austronesian, Sinitic, etc.) is more individual than even their phonetic systems.

Considerable sections of the present work are devoted to the physiology

and acoustics of speech sounds (*beszéddhangok*), and they are abundantly illustrated with well-drawn diagrams (p. 55) and clearly reproduced photographs, e.g., those between pp. 62 and 63, 120 and 121 and 134 and 135. The emphasis is strong on instrumental phonetics, and so many of the diagrams illustrate either the instruments themselves or the results they have given. Among them we find several palatograms of Hungarian vowels by Zoltán Gombocz, which in some cases are compared with Jones's English ones (p. 83). The consideration of vowels (pp. 89 f.) leads Laziczius to survey the various modes of arranging them diagrammatically since Hellwag's time (1781), and to point out that the earliest "triangle" had its apex to the left. The now familiar inverted triangle, but with four tiers of vowels, goes back to 1783. Chladni (1809) inverted it, and this broad-based figure was taken over by Brücke. In the 20th century the triangle has often given place to the Jones tetragon of "cardinal" vowels, which Laziczius reproduces in three variants on pp. 97-98. Triangles of vowels recur in the acoustic section of *Fonétika* (pp. 102-45), e.g., Strumpf's, taken from *Die Sprachlaute* (1926), and this part of the book is lavishly supplied with tables and diagrams, as well as with a photograph of the oscillograms of ten Hungarian vowels after Tarnóczy (1941). Both the physiological and the acoustic side of hearing receive attention, and the second half of the section gives descriptions and diagrams of the process of audition (*hallás*).

The chapter headed "Properties of Sounds" (*Hangtulajdonságok*) covers such subsidiary characters as duration (*időtartam*), intensity (*erő*), tone and intonation. The author quotes the results of E. A. Meyer's measurements of the length of vowels and consonants in tabular form (pp. 154-57) and reproduces E. Zwirner's phonometric graphs illustrating the quantitative interrelations of German vowels. Here again Laziczius, as a Hungarian, draws on vernacular sources and reproduces a *szóráskép*, or diagram of incidence of the Hungarian vowels (p. 168). To illustrate the role of pitch in language the author takes his examples from non-Indo-European speech, adducing words from West Sudanic types like Efik and Ibo, and quoting C. Meinhof's view of tone in African languages (*Vox XXVI*), viz. "Für das Verständnis des Gesprochenen ist das Festhalten des musikalischen Tones das allerwichtigste," and in connection with African tonality, the significance of pitch in "drum speech" among tribes in and outside that continent.

The last two sections of the book deal with the problems of the diphthong and the syllable (*szótag*) from both the diachronic and the synchronic standpoint. The conception of the diphthong as a double sound goes back with its Greek name to the 19th century and has been held at one time or another by many eminent phoneticians (e.g. Sievers, Jespersen, Grammont, etc.). The tendency now is to accept it as a lingual movement between two determinate vowel-positions (cf. Roudet's graphs for *ai* and *a + i* on p. 192). Paul Menzerath has devoted much

patience to this phenomenon and, to analyse it, has made use of a *Lichttongerat* (v. plate between pp. 196 and 197) which enables him to read the *Lichtschrift* (photograms) from film strips. The outcome of his researches is that the conception of the diphthong as a syllable containing two vowels has been stabilised. As for the syllable, its history is as old as Dionysius Thrax, but the modern conception of it, connecting syllable and stress, descends from Priscian, who conceived it as being "sub uno accentu et sub uno spiritu". This view was repeated much later by Melanchthon, whose definition runs thus "Syllaba est comprehensio literarum, que uno eodemque spiritu ac tono efferuntur." The 19th century, here as elsewhere in the domain of phonetics, introduced a diversity of refinements and disagreements. In the eighties there was war between the German and the Anglo-Scandinavian camps regarding the nature of the syllable. The former (Sievers, Trautmann) maintained that intensity was the essence of the syllable, the latter that it was sonority. Trautmann equates sonority with "natürliche Schallstärke"; Jespersen, representing the opposite view, classifies speech sounds in terms of relative sonority, putting vowels at one end of the scale and voiceless plosives at the other. Various modifications were subsequently introduced by others. Lloyd, for instance, spoke of the syllable as "a wave of sonority" (1897-1898); Meyer studied the syllable experimentally, and other investigators, e.g., Rousselot, Roudet, Panconcelli-Calzia, followed his lead at the turn of the century. All these established the unity of the syllable and the paramount importance of muscular action as the formative force in its genesis. F. de Saussure's view of it as a *point vocalique* or culmination of uttered energy, which represents as it were the pinnacle and focus of the syllable, is intuitive and theoretical, but Grammont uses the data of instrumental investigation to lend colour to this conception and arrives at the categorical conclusion *il n'y a pas de syllabe sans point vocalique* (v. *Traité de phonétique*, Paris, 1933).

A modern view of the syllable is crystallised by A. W. de Groot in his "La syllabe, essai de synthèse" (*BSL XXVII*, Paris, 1926) as "le groupe rythmique le plus petit du langage," with its periphery marked by a "pause rythmique." This discussion is by no means finished, and two sub-sections of *Fonétika* are devoted to recent opinions. Among these is the American R. H. Stetson's (v. "Motor Phonetics" in *Arch. Néerl. de Phonétique Expérimentale III*, The Hague, 1928), which Laziczus summarises and illustrates with several diagrams. Stetson contends that speech is not a succession of sounds, but of syllabic motions—a rhythmic, or (to use his own term) "ballistic" conception of speech movement. In terms of this the syllable is a pulsation of exhaled breath. We are brought back to Sievers and his school, and our author heads the relevant sub-section *Vissza a külélekezési szótaghoz!* (Back to the Expiratory Syllable!). The last three pages of the book refer briefly to the views of A. Rossetti (1935), L. Hjelmslev (1939) and S. Bergsveinsson (*Grundzüge der islandischen Phonetik*, 1941). Hjelmslev's definition



is radical "a language without accent will be a language without syllables. French is an example of such a language" (v. "The Syllable as a Structural Unit" in *Proceedings of the Intern. Congr. of Phon. Sc.*, Ghent, 1939).

Even the best of books is not quite free from blemishes of some sort. In this one the author has noticed and corrected several in the *Errata* at the end, but he appears to have overlooked "északangol" for "délangol" on p. 97, and the fact that the vowel [ʌ] in "cup" is more characteristic of southern than of northern English.

*Fonétika* has been carefully composed, and the materials have been spaced with an eye to perspective. The system of references, merging footnote and bibliography, is novel, lucid and convenient, and it sets the author's cachet on a miniature encyclopædia, in which his originality reveals itself not only in mastery of others' opinions, but in their effective antithesis, to show the interplay of minds and the growth of a special branch of knowledge.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

*Suomen kielen rakenne ja kehitys.* (*The Structure and Development of the Finnish Language.*) By Lauri Hakulinen, Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, Helsinki, pt. I (*aanne- ja muoto-oppi*, phonology and morphology), 1941, pp. 282, pt. II (*sanasto- ja lauseoppi*, lexicology and syntax), 1946, pp. 330.

THE author's preface tells us that the idea of writing a popular, yet scholarly treatise on the Finnish language arose at a meeting of the Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literary Society) in the autumn of 1935, and that he was entrusted with the task of carrying it out. His two volumes embody a considerable amount of painstaking research, and he has succeeded in presenting his information in a plain and readable manner. But in spite of these merits Hakulinen's work cannot be profitably compared with either of his acknowledged models—Jespersen's classic *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (1905) and W. von Wartburg's *Evolution et structure de la langue française* (1934), where the emphasis is on exposition, and the illustrative material is not allowed to clog or delay the argument. It is at once both more and less than these: it is altogether more comprehensive and systematic, but style is secondary, and the linguistic data are arranged according to a strict traditional plan.

Finnish is first shown in its relation to other Uralian languages, notably of the West Somian (W. Finnic) group, in which, contrary to accepted practice, Hakulinen does not discriminate between Finnish and Carelian-Olonecian, but regards the latter as a dialect of the former. In view of the priority of *rakenne* (structure) in the title (Jespersen and Wartburg give precedence to "growth" and "évolution" respectively) the structure of the language is examined first, and this occupies the

author in his first volume, leading him, after a detailed systematisation of the Finnish phonemes, to study the word in its grammatical categories and to give prominence to word-formation. Finnish has 14 consonants and 8 vowels, but the incidence of the latter is so organised that they tend to predominate, making it the vocalic language *par excellence* in Europe. Counts by Tolnai, Simonyi, and Forstemann show that, on an average, it has 96 consonants to every 100 vowels, where Italian has 108, Spanish 122, and Turkish 132. The commonest vowel appears to be *i*, rounded back vowels (*u*, *o*) predominate over rounded front vowels (*y*, *ö*), the number of diphthongs (16) exceeds that of any other modern European language; vowel harmony gives unity to the lexeme; the ratio of dental, labial, and palatal consonants to one another is 4 : 1 : 1 (cf. Est 2 : 1 : 1) as against a European average of 6 : 2 : 1; only *l*, *n*, *r*, *s*, and *t*, though never in combination with other consonants, are tolerated in final position, otherwise there is a preference for vowel endings (cf. Italian, Japanese, Polynesian, Bantu), the length of both vowels and consonants has semantic value, and most Finnish words are polysyllabic.

The history of Finnish sounds (pt. I, §§ 17-28) is a detailed *excursus* into diachronic phonology, and we are told at the outset that recorded, as distinct from conjectured, "sound-changes" in Finnish go back only to the 14th century, whereas, say, English sounds can be traced to the 7th. This section introduces Uralian parallels (cf. Finn. *lehti*, leaf, *kala*, fish, *jarvi*, lake, *joki*, river, *pelkaa*, to fear, with Lapp. *lasta*, Mord. *kal*, Mar. *jar*, Votyak *ju*, Hung. *félme*) and treats of consonantal alternation (e.g. nom. sing. *konhti*, bone, gen. *kontin*, *sota*, war, gen. *sodan*). The historical priority of sentence to word is explicitly stated, and the parts of speech are extracted from the sentence *a posteriori*. Then follows a circumstantial account of the parts of speech in their morphological aspect, and these are everywhere defined by comparison with cognate forms in related languages and in terms of an unobtrusively diachronic approach. Furthermore language statistics are introduced where desirable, e.g., we are told that Finnish has 15 "living" noun-cases as compared with 6 in Vogue, 10 in Mordvinian, 18 in Komian, and 21 in Hungarian.

Hakulinen's second volume is no less rich in examples and even richer than the first in footnotes. The historical sections contain useful chapters on the "vernacular" vocabulary and on foreign loans, both of which furnish "culture words" to the student of prehistory. The possibility of collating Uralian with Indo-European at a remote and uncertain level is mentioned, but though the author adduces a small common vocabulary (e.g. *minä*, Lat. *me*, *tuo*, O.Gr. *τό*; *ken*, Lat. *quis*, *ajaa*, Lat. *agere*, *vieda*, Lat. *vehere*, *nimi*, Lat. *nomen*), he seems to side rather with those who reject B. Collinder's Indo-Uralian hypothesis (v. *Indo-uralisches Sprachgut*, Uppsala, 1934). Among modern loans, a handful of English words in Finnish disguise shows, in various degrees,

the transformative powers of the language: *bor-kottu*, *filmi*, and *halli*, are recognisable, but sound-change and spelling successfully conceal the identity of *kuunari* (schooner), *muki* (mug), and *pihvi* (beef).

The evolution of literary Finnish is lexically a story of progressive enrichment by the accommodation of old roots to new uses and the much more difficult operation of inventing entirely new ones. In this complex process the individual has played a prominent part from Mikael Agricola (1510 ?–1557), who introduced a variety of theological and philosophical terms (e.g. *hengellinen*, spiritual, *ajallinen*, temporal, *rankaikkinen*, eternal, *rukoulla*, to pray), through Lonnrot, maker of the *Kalevala*, whose contribution covers many domains, including linguistics (e.g., *pääte*, ending, *sija*, case, *lauselma*, locution, *toisinto*, variant), and A. E. Ahlquist, the Uralian scholar, down to 20th-century authors. One section of the second volume (pp. 143–55) contains a long list of neologisms grouped in decades and ending with the latest accessions (e.g. *kelmu*, cellophane, 1938, *vammainen*, crippled soldier, 1942, and *kantaesitys*, first-night performance, 1944).

Discussing the still open question of the size of the individual vocabulary, Hakulinen discloses the curious coincidence that the vocabulary of the *Kalevala* is approximated that of *Paradise Lost* (7,000–8,000 words). Another point of interest is the statistical information, which proves that, although Finnish possesses a large accumulation of loan-words, modern Finnish prose normally uses about 85% of Soman material and only 10% of Germanic words, the Slavonic and Baltic contribution together amounting to no more than 2%. But these figures do not allow for translation-loans or *calques*, of which Finnish, like any other modern language, has a notable share. The section on lexicology also deals with alliteration, familiar from the *Kalevala*, where its rôle is ubiquitous and decisive. The origin of this percussive device need not be sought in Germanic influence, but rather in the phonetic genius of Finnish.

Not quite half of the second volume covers various aspects of syntax, including word-order. An intricate inflected language like Finnish makes little use of the latter case, for instance, rather than position, determines the identity, and correlation of subject and object. But word-order may be used, like stress, for emphasis, e.g., *Juho lyö Heikkia* translates Jespersen's Danish sentence *Jens slaar Henrik* (v. *Language*, London, 1922) and has normal emphasis, but *Juho Heikkia lyö* emphasises the subject, and *Heikkia Juho lyö* the object. Two ancient Uralian requirements regarding word-order are satisfied in Finnish, viz., the attribute precedes the noun, and postpositions appear where Indo-European usage prefers prepositions. The absence of the definite article and especially of gender in Finnish does not present the difficulties which some West European critics (v. A. Sauvageot, *Esquisse de la langue finnoise*, Paris, 1946) would seem to imagine. The language can express the force of the former by stress, word-order, and case, and the epicene pronoun *han* (cf. Est. *tema*, Hung. *o*, Turk. *o*) leads to no complications

in everyday speech any more than does German *sie* (*Sie*) in the proper context.

To Finnish syntax belongs the use of cases and their bearing on the expression of the object, which is conceived as total or partial. This opens the door to speculations on a dichotomy which is familiar to Indo-European scholarship (e.g., the implications of the French partitive article and the Russian masc. genitive sing. in *-u*). A fertile field in Finnish case syntax is the use of the many local cases, which generally group themselves in triads. Study of case concord leads Hakulinen to admit the "superiority" of the English expression "on the thirty-first day" and its Hungarian equivalent *harmincegyedik napon* to Finnish *kolmantenakymmentenayhdentena päivänä*. The "superiority," if any, resides merely in phonetic concision, but the spelling of the numeral in Finnish is entirely misleading, because the native speaker has no difficulty in analysing it into its parts as he reads. The problem of grammatical and logical number arises from the use of collective and distributive numerals (e.g., *sata ihmistä*, a hundred persons, lit. person, cf. Hung. *Száz ember*, Turk. *yüz adam*, except that in Finnish the second element is in the partitive singular). Like the noun, but not to the same extent, the Finnish verb presents complexities. These pivot on the function of mood, voice, participles, and infinitives. And here again we find ourselves partly involved in case syntax, for in Finnish both participles and infinitives are declined.

Hakulinen's two volumes are comparatively free from printer's errors. Those in the first have been largely corrected in the second, and thus, dealing mainly with vernacular material, is naturally freer from them. By his scholarship and clarity of presentation the author has undoubtedly succeeded in making Finnish philology both accessible to the layman and useful to the specialist. His work must rank as a completely adequate exposition of a flexible and harmonious language.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

*Prasłowiańszczyzna. Zarys dziejów i kultury Prastowian, z 68 rycinami i mapkami.* By Dr. Józef Kostrzewski, Poznań, 1946, pp. 164.

THIS study is a popular survey of the history and civilisation of the Proto-Slavs, i.e., of the Slav family before it spread into different branches. It covers the period from 1500 B.C. - A.D. 300.

The author, who is professor in the University of Poznań, is in agreement with those Polish scholars who accept, as the cradle of the Proto-Slavs, the region of the river systems of the Vistula and the Oder, i.e., Northern Europe reaching to a line formed by the Sudetan and Carpathian mountains in the South. The other theory, which admits the settlement of the Slavs in those regions only at a later date, is not discussed in this survey. Mentioning summarily the contribution brought to the problem of the first Slav *habitat* by historical botany, the author repudiates

the conclusions reached by Vasmer on the ground of the geographical extension of different trees and their Slav names. The repudiation, however, does not seem fully conclusive.

The study is built on the assumption that the Lusatian culture (1300-300 B.C.) is a creation of the Proto-Slavs (p. 19). This assumption is a dogma for the author's conclusions. The identification of Lusatian civilisation with primitive Slav culture is so complete that he considers the spreading of this culture identical with the spreading of the Slavs (p. 26). We remain, however, in doubt when we consider that the science of the spade is mute and the scholar must speak for the unearthed remains of former cultures, which may belong to anyone. This doubt increases when we follow the diffusion of the material elements of civilisation and see the latter being identified solely with the spreading of the population that created the respective forms of culture. The material elements may well, however, be spread by trade and by invasions.

Accepting the above premisses, the author proceeds to the study of different aspects of Old Polish ethnography, assuming that it is identical with prehistoric Slav culture. On this basis, the household, trade, costume, handcrafts, social life and religion are studied in turn. Thus the reader has before his eyes a projection of Polish peasant life on a prehistorical background. The reconstruction of the daily life of the Proto-Slavs sounds like a description of the life in a remote East European village of today. The resemblance is sometimes too colourful and precise. This realistic reconstruction goes so far as to give a painting of a Lusatian Slav funeral (p. 128).

The author's remark (p. 68) that many objects have been imported to the Slavonic area from the South (Italy, the Balkans) should apply also to many articles of clothing in the Hutsul and Góral costume-skirt and footwear (pp. 62, 63) which may be of modern Southern origin. Certainly it is misleading to speak of "Hungarian" vases of the IV and V bronze period (p. 134) because they were found on Hungarian territory of today.

The description of the objects is carried on into the field of technical details of their manufacture, their chronological appearance and geographical distribution. This is valuable for the Slav philologist. When discussing religious life no mention is made of Slav mythology, or of the foreign influence on the religious life of early Slavs.

Other influences on prehistoric Slav culture are mentioned by the author, e.g. the Thracian (pp. 112-13 and 119-20), which, however, were found not only in Pannonia but in the whole of South-eastern Europe. The importance of Celtic culture is treated on p. 115, and on p. 117 mention is made of two axes and a sword of Celtic origin from the British Islands.

The author is in agreement with Lehr-Splawiński (see this *Review*, No. 66, p. 267) when he explains the culture of Wysocki as a mixture of a native culture superimposed by the Lusatian, brought by a wave of Slav migration from the West to the East. The same idea of the Vistula-

Oder region as the oldest cradle of the Slavs and of a migration West-East is defended on a philological basis by M. Rudnicki, who studies the names of the rivers in this region in an article published in 1932<sup>1</sup>

The last two chapters discuss the development of the Slav-Lusatian culture from 300 B.C. to the migration of the Proto-Slavs from their original fatherland in the North into Southern and Eastern Europe

G. NĂNDRIŞ.

*Toponimiiya Bessarabii i yeyo svidel'stvo o processe zasel'eniya territorii.*

By M. V. Sergievskiy, Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR, Tom V, vyp. 4, Otd. lit. i yaz., Moskva-Leningrad, 1946

"Out of this amateur etymologising has sprung a great amount of false history, a kind of historical mythology invented to explain familiar names" P. Giles, *Evolution and the Science of Language*, Cambridge, 1910.

THE author, a Member of the Russian Academy, has specialised in Roumanian studies. He published, among other contributions, two descriptive studies on the Roumanian language East of the Dniester.<sup>2</sup> In the present study the subject of linguistics is approached from a historical point of view, that of the place-names in Bessarabia. Whereas the two earlier works were based on first-hand observation and are remarkable for their accuracy, the diachronic method applied in this study has failed, largely because the author based his premises on unverified historical data, and has accepted without criticism the views of an amateur Roumanian philologist, Margareta Ştefănescu. Misled by the superficial studies of this author, he commits the first error of method in considering as Slav formations place-names derived from Roumanian nouns of Slav origin, e.g., *Bălţi* in Northern Bessarabia is derived from Roumanian *baltă* "swamp, pool." Now, whatever the origin of Roumanian *baltă* is, its phonetical and morphological aspect in *Bălţi* is not Slav. According to the laws of East Slav phonetics, which are to be expected here, it should sound *boloto*, and not as it is artificially russified *Belechni*. For the same reason names like *Dragamci*, *Vrabia*, *Vladmci*, *Bratuleanca* are not Slav formations. The phonetic structure and their morphology betray their Roumanian origin.

A second disregard of principles, due again to the uncritical reproduction of the views of the Roumanian philologist, brings the author to this conclusion: (1) in North-Eastern Roumania there exist names of places with *polnoglasie*, (2) the *polnoglasie* appears in East Slav dialects

<sup>1</sup> "Sur les populations primitives indoeuropéennes des bassins de la Vistula et de l'Odra aux temps préhistoriques," in *Mélanges—J.J. Mikkola, Annales Acad. Sc. Fennicæ*, ser. B, Tom XXVII

<sup>2</sup> M. V. Sergievskiy, *Materialy dl'a izucheniya zhivyykh govorov na territorii SSSR*, Uch. Zap. Instituta Yaz. i Lit., Tom I, Moskva, 1927. *Id.*, *Moldavskiy etyudy*, Akad. Nauk SSSR, Trudy Inst. Yaz. i Myshleniya Im. N. Ya. Marra, V, Moskva-Leningrad, 1936

in the 11th-12th centuries ; therefore (3) Slavs inhabited these territories at that time. The need is to show *when* those names appear in documents, and due to *which causes*.

Parallel names like *Straja* || *Storójineț*, *Grădiște* || *Horodîște*, *Horodnic* do not imply the existence of two Slavonic substrata, one Southern and the other Eastern Slav. Forms of place-names derived from the same stem betray the bookish origin of one series. The first series represent derivations from Roumanian words of Southern Slav origin, the second series are translations due to a current of Slav culture which came from the North and imposed its words, in East Slav form, in the toponymy of the country. We have to do with linguistic and cultural facts, and not with an ethnic substratum. We have in this case linguistic facts similar to the Russian words *glava* || *golova*, *grad* || *gorod*, etc. Place-names are affected by external influences of civilisation like common names.

Anyhow, it would be a difficult task to explain the derivation of the name of the Roumanian town *Dorohoi*, so East Slavonic in its appearance. The termination however, and the sense, betray it as a hybrid translation of the Roumanian proper name *Drăgoi* ruthenised, by means of the *polnoglasie*, to *Dorohoi* which keeps still its original Roumanian termination. From the same name is derived the place name *Dragovești* in the same region. The slavisation of the original name is due to the influence of the Halich-Kievan culture which met in Moldavia the Southern Slav culture.

Examples of translated place-names are mentioned also by Sergievskiy, but he does not make use of their philological value. So in a document of 1436, is mentioned, in Northern Bessarabia, the village *Procopinți* (Прокопинци), property of Procop. In 1452 the same village appears as *Procopeti* (Прокопѣти) in its Roumanian derivation, alongside with another village *Rashcovtsi*, a Slav formation, from the Roumanian name *Rășcu* = *Dumitrașcu*. Thus the same names appear alongside in Roumanian or in Slav form because the language of the country was Roumanian, but that of the chanceries, the Church, the culture was a form of Middle Slavonic. There is a large category of Slav names of literary origin, creations of fashion. A parallel instance of fashionable influence on proper names exercised by currents of civilisation, is to be found in the Christian names given today to Roumanian children. If we meet among them Tancreds and Arthurs, and even Napoleons, it does not mean that the children of Mr. Popescu are English or French.

Disconsidering this principle the author comes to the surprising conclusion of considering as Slav formations names like : *Dobreni* < *Dobrea*, name of a person ; *Cârlani* < *Cârlan*, "lamb" ; *Stanilești* < *Stănilă* + *escu* ; *Toporești* < *Topor* + *escu* , *Mihaileni* < *Mihail* + *eanu* ; *Mihalașani* < *Mihalaș* + *eanu* ; *Gramadzeni* + *Grămadă* + *eanu* , *Calarașevca* < *călăraș* + Slav suffix *-evka* ; etc. According to the same principle Roumanian formations like *Săliște*, *Răspopinți*, *Dealești* and

many others are considered by the author as Slavonic. Even *Laslaonani*, which appears in 1490, derived from *Laslău* < *Vladislav*, is a Roumanian formation. The same name of person appears in the place name *Vladina*. As to the name *Akerman* it does not prove anything for the ethnic substratum of the country, whether it is translated *Belyi Grad*, *Byelgorod* or *Cetatea Albă*.

The author admits the principle that a place-name is not always of the same origin as the origin of its component parts, but he applies the principle only in one direction, not also when the parts are of Roumanian origin, so names like *Bărlădeni*, *Balasinești*, *Coșuleni*, *Calarașevra* are considered of Slav origin because the author desires to detect in them some Slav elements. By the same method, the author considers of East Slav origin names like *Copaceni*, *Costești*, *Slobodzia*, *Nicoreni*, *Proscureni*, *Glodeni*, *Chirlești*, *Lucaceni*, *Stolniceni*, etc., defining them as Slavonic of "Moldavian formation" (?).

Misled by the graphic form of the names the author considers the same name either of Slav or of Roumanian origin: Slav *Vladnic*, *Rospopinci* || Roum *Vlădeni*, *Răspopeni*, or he does not recognise the Roumanian derivation of names like *Șoltoiaia*, written *Шолтоя*, *Zgardești* < *zgardă*, "necklace", *Porculeanca*, *Trifești* < *Trifu* (name of a person); *Miclești* < *Miclea* (name of a person), *Balașești* < *Balașa* (name of a person), *Mihuleni* < *Mihu*, *Brătuleni* < *Brătuș*, *Bălăbănești* < *Balaban* + *escu*, and not from the verb *a se bălăbăni* as supposed by the author.

By this way of etymologising a very favourable account of Slav names is obtained, but it is dangerous to base historical theory on such facts, to trace the origin of some of them in the 4th century, to invoke the authority of Prokopios and to speak of Jordanes' *Antii* attested by any linguistic facts of that kind.

I should like to emphasise that derivations with Slav suffixes are due to a cultural fashion, i.e., are of literary origin, and have nothing to do with the ethnic substratum. This does not exclude that some place-names are due to a Slav population. It means only that we must try to explain linguistic facts by linguistic methods.

The presence of the suffix *-iște* (*Șăliște* etc.) shows only that this Slav suffix was creative in Roumanian, in derived place-names as well as in common nouns. On the territory in question it could not be considered of East Slav origin.

Submitted to phonetic analysis the suffix *-ovci*, *-ovka*, frequently used in place-names of Northern Roumania, also appears to be of literary origin, and so imposed by the official language of the chanceries, and not by an ethnic factor. This is shown by (1) its use with Roumanian names *Frătăuți*, *Pătrăuți*, *Brosăuți*, *Rădăuți*, *Bădăuți*, *Popăuți*, *Cernăuți*, etc., *Cernauca*, etc., (2) its phonetical structure. If the derived words in *-ăuți* < *-ovci* were Slav, they should appear in the same form as the similar formations on Slav territory, or in a form corresponding



to Roumanian phonetic changes. Across the Dniester, on Ukrainian territory, in Podolia, this type of names appear only in Ukrainian form: *Dunaiuci*, *Ivaniuci*, *Lastuci*, *Mošuyka*, *Moxalyuka*, etc.,<sup>3</sup> whereas in Bessarabia we find only. *Marc-ăuți*, *Echim-ăuți*, *Pop-ăuți*, *Grim-ăuți*, *Clim-ăuți* (pronounced *-auți*), *Mat-euți*, etc. One cannot explain the Roumanian forms from Ukrainian, the Ukrainian from the Roumanian. The closing of *o > i* is a fairly early process of Ukrainian phonetics.<sup>4</sup> In Roumanian the termination *-ovci > -ăuți* goes back to the literary Slavonic source, and its phonetical outlook corresponds to the Roumanian phonetic rules. The names in *-ăuți* are creations of the chanceries, which considered the Slav termination *-ovci* as a derivative suffix for place-names alongside the Roumanian suffixes *-ești*, *-ani*, *-eni*, (3) the charters attest forms of names with original Slav suffix *Volodovci = Vladovci = Vlădăuți*, *Toporovci = Toporăuți*, *Černavzka = Cernauca*<sup>5</sup> These forms, as well as others attested in charters *Raškovci*, *Miharlovci*, *Balasanovci*, and *Leucusovci* show the way to the Roumanian pronunciation *-ăuți*. In other cases the charters attest the interchange of Slav and Roumanian suffixes e.g., *Procopniți || Procopeni*, (4) the termination *-ovci* was productive also in South and West Slavonic<sup>6</sup> *Čirpovotsi* (Bulgaria), *Vinkovtsi*, *Karlovtsi* (Serbia), *Czernowitz* (Moravia). In Roumanian it has been introduced under the influence of the Slavonic culture of Halich-Kiev and Moldavia. It is significant that the names in *-ăuți* are numerous in that region of Moldavia where the cultural centres are more numerous and the chanceries nearest.

An instance will show how place-names were translated or adapted to new political situations. When the Austrians occupied Bukovina (1775) they replaced some Roumanian names with German ones, when they could find a correspondent: e.g., *Cernăuți* became *Czernowitz* because a place of the same name existed in Bohemia, but *Radautz*, *Fratautz*, *Broskautz* preserved the Roumanian form. The same happened on Russian occupied territory, or where Slavs settled down. An example will illustrate the procedure. In 1783 Joseph II accorded a patent to the Lipovans, a Russian religious sect, to settle in Bukovina, in the locality called *Varnița*, which means in Roumanian the place where limestone is burnt. The newcomers baptised the place *Bielaya Kyernica*, which was translated into Roumanian *Fântâna Albă*. This shows how place names are submitted to the same changes as common names.

As a conclusion to his study, Sergievskiy tries to demonstrate that the distribution of place-names in Bessarabia corresponds, from the point of

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O. Kurilo, "Sproba poyasneti proces zmene *o, e* v novekh zakretek skladakh u piudenyi grup ukrayinskekh diyalektiv," *Zbirnik* No 80-Ist Fil. vid Vseukr. Ak. Nauk. Komisiya ist. ukr. mov, vep. 2 1928

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Shakhmatov, *Očerki dr per russkh yaz*, pp 3, 5; Trubetskoy, "Einiges über die russische Lautentwicklung und die Auflösung der gemein-russischen Sprachinheit," *Zeitschr f sl Phil* I, 299-300, O Kurilo, o.c., II-12

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Hurmuzache*, II, p 832.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Miklosich, *Die Bildung der Ortsnamen aus Personennamen im Slavischen*, 1927, p. 187 sq.

view of their origin, to the distribution of the population. He bases his conclusion on the official Russian census of 1897 which shows, in the different counties (without considering the capitals), the following percentage : Chişinău = 86 per cent. Roumanians ; Orhei = 80.9 per cent. Roumanians, 7 per cent. Slavs ; Bălţi = 71 per cent. Roumanians, 17 per cent. Slavs , Soroca = 66.4 per cent. Roumanians, 21 per cent. Slavs , Bender 52.5 per cent. Roumanians , Hotin = 25 per cent. Roumanians, 59 per cent. Slavs ; Akerman, 18.2 per cent. Roumanians. The statistics of place-names are meant, in the author's conclusion, to correspond to the ethnographic statistics. It is, however, a mistake to explain linguistic facts with ethnographic arguments. The distribution of the population in 1897, as shown by Russian statistics, did not determine the linguistic origin of the place-names. We have to do with facts of two different orders, even if related to each other, and we must apply to each group of facts arguments of its own order.

G. NANDRIŞ.

#### BOOKS ON THE NEW POLISH WEST

- Monografia Odry, Studium Zbiorowe.* Pod redakcją A. Grodka, M. Kiełczewskiej-Zaleskiej i A. Zierhoffer, Poznań, Instytut zachodni, 1948, pp. xv + 591, with maps, tables and charts, and with a Supplement (25 pages) on place-names
- Skorowidz Nazw miejscowości Pomorza zachodniego i Ziemi lubuskiej.* Poznań, Instytut zachodni, 1947, pp. 172.
- Geografia Ziemi odzyskanych* By Jan Dylk, Książka (Warszawa i Wrocław), 1946, pp. 307, with maps and illustrations, a bibliography and name indexes for Polish and German
- Kolonizacja niemiecka na Wschodzie od Odry.* By Dr. Jan Kaczmarczyk ; Poznań, Instytut zachodni, 1945, pp. 268, with maps
- Prusy Wschodnie.* By Stanisław Srokowski, Instytut bałtycki, Gdańsk, Bydgoszcz i Toruń, 1945, pp. 321, with tables, maps and bibliography.
- Kwestja Bałtycka do XX wieku.* By Władysław Konopczyński, Gdańsk-Bydgoszcz-Szczecin, 1947, pp. 216, with maps.

As was to be expected a great many books and pamphlets have been published in Poland since the end of the war, dealing with one or another phase of the shifting of the national and state frontiers westward to the Oder river. Not all of these have been of equal value, but much of this material is the work of experts, and the outside world should know more about it. The selection made above is in no way meant to imply that these books are better than others, of which no notice has been possible. The following notes are offered purely for the guidance of interested readers of this *Review*. They do not in any way aspire to the level of appraisals.

The Monograph placed at the head of the list is an imposing and sumptuously produced volume, a collective work, which is likely to stand for many years as the authoritative work on the structure and resources of the Oder basin. It is supplied with all the needful accessories save one—an index. True, the table of contents is fairly full, but the student is always helped in his work by a properly made subject and names index. On the other hand the authors are to be commended for the most useful bibliographical materials—chiefly, as was to be expected, German and Polish—which are placed in the text at the end of each major section. The opening chapters deal exhaustively with the geology and physical geography of the area, and the fifty pages devoted to place-names, studied etymologically, is a model of scholarly analysis. Even the lakes are not forgotten. One then passes to a consideration of climate, of the flow and volume of water, with their problems and their economic significance, and to the landscape with its flora and fauna. Even butterflies are listed.

From p. 351 onwards we turn to the human factor, beginning with settlement (the work of Dr Zaleska), then the uses of the river as a trade-route through the ages, and finally the vexed task of regulation—no easy matter in an open plain-land, where mountain streams bring down volumes of water in the early spring. The maps on pp. 402 and 403 show the amount of trade carried by the Oder (I fear it will be some time before we shall learn to say “Odra”) in 1910 and 1938 respectively. It will be interesting to see how these compare with the trade of say 1955—ten years after the removal of political barriers and with the heavy industries of Silesia at last united under a single flag!

In his succinct historical introduction, Professor Wojciechowski shows to what an extent the Oder served as an artery for the building up of the Prussian power (cp. the map on p. 16), but apart from this little attention is paid to other than economic and purely human factors and considerations. Throughout the whole the reader has a sense of the long perspective of development, reaching from far back beyond the recorded story of man.

A useful companion to this Monograph is to be found in the *Skorowidz*—a Glossary of all the place-names (now changed from German to Polish, and in some cases with little or no resemblance), for western Pomerania and the small province lying between it and Silesia. Without such a guide even the educated Pole is likely to be at a loss for some years to come. What then is the plight of the unschooled foreigner?

The shorter geographical study of “the recovered lands,” by Jan Dylik, designed it would seem for High School use, pays less attention to the scientific features of the whole subject and more to the issues that concern the common man—agriculture, communications, industry, etc. It too has a most useful and fairly adequate Glossary of place-names. This is the sort of book that should be translated into English.

We now turn to three works concerned with the purely human side

of the picture, mostly with history. German colonisation east of the Oder is a theme that has caused heart-searchings on the part of the Slavs for a millenium, while on the other hand it has been the pride of the German people. They call it peaceful penetration, and some of it was—but by no means all. As Dr Karczmarczyk shows, it falls roughly into three periods: that of the townsmen in the 13th to the 15th centuries, that of the farmers in the 16th and 17th centuries, and that of the 19th century, which was mostly political in character, though the important exception of the opening up of big industry in Silesia is an exception. In his last chapter the author tells us to what an extent even serious German historians were occupied with proving that everything of value in Slav civilisation was owed to the German world.

A special consequence of this "Drang nach Osten" is the fact of East Prussia, and with it the problem of the Baltic as such. On these two themes, which have proved to affect the whole continent, two veteran authorities have produced new books. Professor Srokowski is perhaps best known for his *Economic Geography of Poland*, published first in 1931, with a new and enlarged edition in 1939. He has always made a hobby of East Prussia, and in this smaller book he has written as a geographer, an ethnologist and an economist. His last fifty pages discuss frankly the relation of this province to Europe as a whole. With the expulsion of the Germans from this "rampart in the east," which cost them so much and gave so little, the whole situation is changed. With Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) in Russian hands a new era has begun.

The Baltic Question, now entering on a new phase, is at least a thousand years old, and Professor Konopczyński, known for his work on Swedish-Polish relations through the centuries, has put into this little volume the distilled essence of his study of northern European relationships as a whole. At least six powers front the Baltic, and four of them have no other "window on the world." This alone makes the issue one of first-rate significance, and one can only express regret that the work ends with the first World War. A chapter on the last thirty years would have greatly increased its value, and no one is better qualified to write it than the author of this book.

W. J. ROSE.

*Russian Literature from Pushkin to the Present Day.* By Richard Hare; Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1947, pp. 258.

THIS volume of the "Home Study Books" series offers a brief outline of Russian literature from the early 19th century to 1946. It is natural that in a book of this size only the most outstanding classics should be treated at any length. In consequence, Griboyedov is dismissed rather too cursorily in a few lines, Baratynsky is ignored completely; no mention is made of the wealth of poetry produced during the Golden Age of the twenties; the art for art's sake movement of the mid-century

is not singled out ; and Tyutchev is given ten lines without a hint of his chaos-ridden concept of the universe. We are told that Lermontov as an artist has survived better than Byron, but only two of his lyrical poems are referred to, and not one of his narrative poems is even mentioned.

The importance of Pushkin's prose tales is not emphasised by any reference to the state and status of prose in contemporary Russia, and Mr. Hare seems to do Leskov less than justice in calling him a minor writer and stating that Korolenko is more distinctive both in the depth and range of his talent. The Symbolist movement is so briefly treated that no clear picture emerges of its development and outstanding characteristics.

There are, finally, some misprints. The date of Gogol's *Selected Correspondence with Friends* is given as 1843, while Saltykov-Schedrin and Nekrasov are said to have lived from 1826 to 1880 and 1827-1872 respectively.

In compensation there are excellent surveys of the Slavophile and Westerner movements and of post-revolutionary trends in literature. The very able section on Turgenev is calculated to arouse the interest and sympathy of any student, and full and interesting accounts of both Dostoevsky and Chekhov.

As a first guide to Russian literature for schools and beginners at Universities the book fulfils its purpose. It provides the essential basic information and often gives, with the help of aptly-chosen quotations, a fascinating glimpse into Russian literature, thought and background, which will undoubtedly encourage readers to go to the original sources and study them for themselves.

NINA BRODIANSKY.

*The Russian Religious Mind Kievan Christianity.* By Georges P. Fedotov. Harvard University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberledge), 1946, In-8, pp. xvi + 438, 32s. 6d.

PROFESSOR FEDOTOV, who taught for many years at the Russian Theological Institute in Paris and now belongs to the Russian Theological Seminary in New York, sets out to present "the subjective side of religion as opposed to its objective side ; that is, opposed to the complex of organised dogmas, sacraments, rites, liturgy, Canon Law, and so on" (p. ix). He describes the thoughts, feelings and emotions of the religious man, as they are shown in the whole culture of the early mediæval period, from pre-Christian paganism up to the 12th century. Hence the interest of the book for all students of Russian culture

The first part, called "The Religious Background," deals with Russian Paganism, its attitude to nature, the cult of Mother-Earth, and clan religion. Chapter II is devoted to Religious Byzantinism and its Slavonic Translation. The second part, "Scholars and Saints," treats of

Byzantine influence on the early Russian Saints (Ch. III), of Russian kenoticism (Ch. IV · the sufferers of non-resistance and the idea of the humiliated Christ); of the ascetic ideals (Ch. V · diverse homilies and treatises and the *Patericon*), and of Russian eschatology (Ch. VI). The third part, on "The Ordinary Christian," describes the ritualism of the clergy (Ch. VII), the religion of the laity as seen through the ancient chronicles and tales, admonitions, penitentials (Ch. IX-XI), and the pagan survivals (Ch. XII). The conclusion (Ch. XIII) considers the Russian religious mind in general, and stresses in particular the significance of nature, beauty and the icons. The author speaks with particular warmth of the "humble Christ." Our attention is drawn to the Russian expectation of the end of the world, to asceticism, ethical dualism as between monk and layman, the ideal of State Power and to religious nationalism. The author is aware that the Kievan period did not exhaust all the possibilities of the Russian religious mind. Moscow and Petersburg (on which periods he intends to write next) will bring their own trends and intuitions. He nevertheless thinks that "Kievan Christianity has the same value for the Russian religious mind as Pushkin for the Russian artistic sense: that of a standard, a golden measure, a royal way" (p. 412).

The author's historical approach may provoke some criticism. His view of Byzantium is somewhat simplified and sometimes does not take account of all the facts (e.g., p. 54 · "They never said 'Jesus' . . . but, for the simplest, 'Our Lord Jesus Christ'"). The contrast between Byzantine and Russian types of piety is perhaps unduly stressed. Again, can one speak of Byzantium as a single entity? Was there not the Byzantium of Constantinople, the Byzantium of Mount Athos, that of Sinai or of Jerusalem? And did these not differ widely, the one from the other? The author admits that his synthesis "from a strictly scientific point of view cannot have a solid foundation", yet he thinks that the point of departure ought to be "not analysis but synthesis, a kind of preliminary synthesis, even though intuitional and subjective. . . . Historical problems are revealed only by a preliminary, clearcut, provocative synthesis."

The book deals with a wealth of materials. There are many and well-chosen quotations from the sources; but it is to be regretted that the references of edition, page, etc., are not given. In the account of the tale of Igor's expedition no mention is made of Mazon's theories.

The book has a "selected literature" of some 230 units, not all of them of equal importance. One would like to see there such works as V. Jagić's *Entstehungsgeschichte der Kirchenslavischen Sprache* (1913), the numerous studies by M. S. Hrushevsky, the recent histories of the Ukrainian people by M. Voznak (1924) and B. Krupnycky (1943), E. Winter's *Byzanz und Rom im Kampf um die Ukraine* (1942), the articles by N. de Baumgarten in *Orientalia Christiana* (1930 and 1932) and the very substantial notices *Ruthène (Église)* by N. Andrusiak and *Russie (Pensée religieuse)* by

M. Gordillo in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* of Vacant, Mangenot and Amann (t. XIV, 1939). The author may not have had access to these works.

These remarks, however, in no way discount the value of Professor Fedotov's book. Its vivid style and wide range make of it an extremely informative, interesting and stimulating work. It comes as a logical sequel to his previous studies on the *Saints of Ancient Russia* (Paris, Y.M.C.A. Press, 1931, in Russian), and the *Spiritual Songs*, 1935, also in Russian (*ibid.*). Among those who are making the history of Russian spiritual life a youthful autonomous branch of science, and no more, as of old, a kind of key to Russian social history or philology, Professor Fedotov ranks as a pioneer. His present book has no Russian or Western equivalent and, as a contribution to knowledge, deserves our appreciative attention.

N. GORODETZKY.

*Dzieje kultury polskiej.* By Aleksander Brückner; Vol. IV, *Dzieje Polski rozbiorowej*, 1795 (1772)–1914. Edited by Prof. Stanisław Kot and Dr. Jan Hulewicz. Foreword by Prof. Stanisław Łempicki; Kraków-Warszawa, F. Pieczętkowski i Ska, 1946, pp. 639.

WHEN writing on Aleksander Brückner in Vol. XXV of this *Review*, I wondered what had happened to his posthumous work—the continuation of his *History of Culture in Poland*, which was due to appear in 1939 but the publication of which was stopped by the outbreak of the war. The book, fortunately spared during the years of war, has recently been published as the fourth volume of a new edition of the *History of Culture*.

In the third and final volume of the original edition of the book, published in 1930, the narrative was brought up to the Rising of 1830–1831. In the new edition the division of the volumes is somewhat different. The third volume ends with the partitions of Poland, and the new, fourth, volume covers the period of partitions from 1795 (in the case of Galicia, the Austrian province of Poland, even from 1772) up to 1914. Thus, the new volume incorporates some—revised—chapters which in the first edition were to be found at the end of the third.

The new part has been composed along different lines from those of its predecessors. The principle is this time not a chronological one but regional and political. Thus in the beginning Brückner deals with the Polish province of Austria from 1772 until 1914. Then he turns back to the years of partitions and retells the story of the vicissitudes of Polish culture in the Polish provinces of Prussia. Afterwards, we turn back once more, this time to the Duchy of Warsaw (1807–1815). Four chapters then tell the story of Congress Poland up to 1914. Separ-

ate chapters are devoted to the so-called Great Emigration (1831-1863) and to the story of Polish culture in the Eastern provinces of ancient Poland, incorporated directly in Russia.

Such a composition would have been justified in a book dealing primarily with social and economic history, which in each province had of course decisive features of its own. But Bruckner's book is based almost exclusively on literary sources, and deals mostly with intellectual and literary history; and in cultural matters the frontiers between the partitioning powers matter less. It would be completely misleading to consider them as "iron curtains," and each province as living its own specific cultural life. The contacts between the provinces, although often, especially in the first half of the century, hampered by the partitioning powers, were nevertheless always close, and they never ceased to influence one another. Moreover, the activity of many leading personalities was by no means confined to one province—we may recall for instance such men as Lelewel, Cieszkowski, Kazimierz Morawski, Kasprówicz.

Another, and this time more serious, drawback of this volume is the uneven distribution of the material. the more recent the years the more sketchy their treatment. One can hardly imagine a more unbalanced composition. It is enough to say that fifteen years of Congress Poland, 1815-1830, by no means the most creative years in the history of Polish culture of the 19th century, important as they are, fill almost one-third of the whole book, while for the Austrian province, Galicia, more than forty years of a great outburst of cultural activity (1871-1914) are packed into some forty odd pages.

Thus the book is most valuable for the first half of the century, while the parts dealing with later years are not only unproportionally shorter but are also less interesting and less original. When writing about Poland after, roughly speaking, 1863 Bruckner is not so much at ease as when writing about earlier periods. One feels that he wrote these chapters without his habitual zest. They lack his usual brilliancy and vivacity of presentation. Therefore, while the parts dealing with the early years of the century abound in original and stimulating, if sometimes controversial, remarks, the treatment of such later people as Wyspiański or Brzozowski is not only too concise, but (what is worse) simply inadequate.

Finally one must stress one particular feature of the book. Bruckner not only specialised in Polish literary and cultural history, but was at home as well in Russian cultural history. No wonder then that in his book he pays special attention to the history of the mutual relations of these nations. Thus for readers interested in that history the book has a special value, the more so because the author has not only filled it with facts about the Polish attitude towards the Russians but also put in many interesting details concerning the Russian attitude towards the Poles.



The text of the book was prepared for publication by Professor Kot and Dr. Hulewicz, the latter providing it also with extensive and valuable indices.

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB.

*A Trilogy.* By Sergiusz Piasecki.

*Jabłuszko (The Apple Tree)*; Instytut Literacki, Rome, 1946.

*Spójrzę ja w okno (I look in the Window)*, *ibid.*, 1947.

*Nikt nie da nam zbawienia (None will give us Salvation)*, *ibid.*, 1947.

IN 1938, one year after its appearance in the original Polish, there appeared in English *The Lover of the Great Bear* by a new Polish writer, Sergiusz Piasecki. That the book was already then an international success may have been due in small measure to the mysterious, romantic figure of its author, whom its publication had released from jail; nevertheless its literary quality was such that it did seem as though this true-to-life tale of the life of smugglers on the Russo-Polish frontier heralded the advent of a new recruit to the ranks of the great novelists.

The publication in Polish of Mr. Piasecki's latest work, a trilogy of the underworld, confirms that impression. Mr. Piasecki is a great writer. His new works mark a great step forward both in technique and in style, and it is more than ever evident that he is a real master of characterisation: he has the ability to make his characters live beings of flesh and blood who never fail to carry conviction. That he has achieved this advance would not be noteworthy had the intervening years been other than those of the second World War. For a proper appreciation of the trilogy it is necessary to know something of the history of the author during those ten years.

*The Lover of the Great Bear* was written in prison by a man whom circumstances had allowed neither to be educated, nor to educate himself. It was written for the best of all artistic reasons, because it had to be. On his release Mr. Piasecki set about making up for lost time. He read voraciously, began to study the technique and writings of the great masters, and he learned to handle the delicate precision tool that is the Polish language. (In his youth, Russian had been his language of everyday intercourse.) He also stepped into a world new to him, the world of the "intelligentsia," of writers, artists and the cultured, the world of the honest and the good, of the very honest and the extremely upright. What would have been the effect on his future work had Piasecki found these surroundings congenial is an interesting matter for speculation: he soon found, however, himself agreeing with Pascal's saying that he knew the soul of the decent person and that it was dreadful, and he withdrew to an isolated cottage in the forests of Polesie.

Meanwhile he had finished two further documentary novels, *Bogom Nocy Równi* and *Piąty Etap*, describing the life and activities of a spy in Soviet Russia, and written from first-hand knowledge. His excursion

into the world of the good and honest, however, had aroused in Mr. Piasecki the desire to do more than just tell stories. He found himself wishing to complete Pascal's thought, for he did know the soul of those whom the world calls dishonest and refuses to regard as decent. Out of this has grown the trilogy which is the subject of this review, the first work by Piasecki written not only out of artistic necessity, but also with a purpose

The beginning was already there in a short life of Alexander Baran, master of the jemmy, filling a few pages of an exercise-book with small, cramped manuscript, which now forms the introductory chapter to *Jabłuszko*. It had been written in prison and never more than just begun, because that was all the paper he had

It was completed under the German Occupation in Poland with all the difficulties attendant on work in the Polish Underground. *Spojrzeja w okno* was begun in Poland and finished in Italy; *Nikt nie da nam zbawienia* was written in a Nissen hut in an English camp on a suitcase balanced on the author's knees. Under such working conditions it is inevitable that there should be constructional faults in the trilogy; but they are of secondary importance, and do not in any way detract from the quality of the writing. The framework of the trilogy is the story of three loves: that of Alexander Baran, lone wolf and master of the jemmy, for Pauline, calculating daughter of a tyrannical cobbler; that of Azur, whom another author in another setting would have made "the master criminal," for Maria Zapolska, no longer young, daughter of a ruined, aristocratic family, and that of the youthful Jaś, product of the turbulent years of the first World War, for the much older and cultured Maria Lobowa. These three tales are woven into a tapestry of the underworld in Minsk, as it was in 1918-1919, in which figure "professionals" of every branch of the brotherhood, from the humble pick-pocket to the confidence trickster who works on a large scale. The trilogy is a handbook on the art of living dishonestly

What impelled the author to write these three books other than the fact that he had an unique story to tell? Piasecki knew the underworld at first hand; he had lived and worked with these thieves and criminals whom he describes, and he had had a short illuminating experience of what the good and honest were like. The comparison had not favoured the latter. Briefly his thesis is this: the professional criminal (nowhere does he speak of the pocket-money criminal who commits occasional crimes—usually with violence, if he thinks he can do so with impunity) is a criminal owing to the faults of society, which in one way or another has deprived him of the means of acting otherwise. Among themselves professional criminals have a stricter code of ethics and are more honest with each other than are the good and honest in their dealings with their fellows. In other words, the outcasts of society, apart from their method of earning a living (the only one open to them) are, on the whole, more decent and more honest than those who cast them out. As the author

says in his preface to *Jabłuszko*: "I have repeatedly been able to compare the ethics and laws of the professional thieves with the similar concepts of those who are 'mechanically' honest. Not the form and outward semblance, but the essential meaning of those words. These comparisons have been far from favouring the honest. The thief whom fate has thrown out on to the streets, who goes with his cross along that path which our laws and disdain have marked out for him, is, if he has character, a will of his own and a heart, a man—a man wronged; on the other hand, the honest person who, if he is tested, proves lily-livered, a coward, a traitor—he is only 'honest' because he has not been tested. War, loss of liberty, and our struggle for freedom have taught us much, and I imagine that now we shall be able to arrive at a deeper and better estimate of our fellows"

There is nothing immoral in this thesis, as might at first sight appear. On the contrary, many of the ways by which in our civilisation we earn an "honest livelihood" can only be regarded as immoral by the true philosopher. Crime is a man-made conception and dishonesty merely a matter of degree and kind, and, as Piasecki says, there are worse words than fraud, misappropriation, transgression, theft; for example, traitor, informer, sadist, opportunist, coward, tyrant.

This trilogy, then, has a social purpose, as had the novels of Dickens and other great reformers. It is also the work of a great Polish writer, and its parts may well one day be considered, as they should be, a classic of the underworld.

M. A. MICHAEL.

*Dmitri Shostakovich—the Man and his Work.* By Ivan Martynov.

Translated by T. Guralsky; The Philosophical Library, New York, 1947.

THIS handsomely bound and beautifully printed volume will do a great service to all music lovers who read it, as it throws much light on that puzzling and apparently contradictory figure which Shostakovich appears to be to us in the West. This impression is largely due to the fragmentary picture most of us have of his work as a whole owing to its somewhat limited and unrepresentative presentation to the musical public here. Mr. Martynov's book is of great help towards our seeing it in its true perspective because he explains at some length and with great care and sympathy, but not without criticism, Shostakovich's path of development and evolution as an artist. He frequently quotes Shostakovich's own writings in explanation of the ideas underlying the more important works.

In the first part of the book Mr. Martynov examines the "young and spirited artist" who "donned a mask of scepticism," apparently deliberately departing "from the human element for a world of warped and angular imagery." We get valuable accounts of those baffling

experiments in opera, *The Nose* and *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*—so full of “reckless eccentricities” and based on “unemotional constructivism.” But a very different Shostakovich emerges when he blossoms out and matures in the Fifth Symphony and afterwards. Very moving and revealing is Mr Martynov’s interpretation of the Seventh (“Leningrad”) Symphony, which has been fairly frequently performed in Britain. “The path of severe and relentless struggle” against an enemy “fearfully limited, deadly mechanistic, soullessly brutal”—“a vital and artistic document of the struggle of a great people” which won happiness for mankind.

The Eighth Symphony, on the other hand, recalls “the story of those inhuman sufferings, to forget which would be treason to the memory of those who fought and died in the great cause of liberation;” while the Finale represents “the passionate, deeply human dream of the future happiness of mankind for which the peace-loving nations” strove. Thus we see the deeply humanistic roots of the mature Shostakovich, whose musical language is at the same time unique and “individualistic” owing to his great artistry and genius. Shostakovich “has revived the great humanistic traditions of classicism on a new basis, has created an art highly intellectual and yet permeated with human emotion.” He philosophises over things which are realities and expresses the “sentiments and ideas of the new man,” “the grandeur of human nature, the most exalted strivings of man.” This is indeed not elementary propaganda or music with a political content, but the expression of the “human and progressive” in “accord with the great ideas of our times,” from which purely æsthetic appraisal cannot be dissociated. All this makes one want to hear much more of the later Shostakovich. Mr. Martynov explains both his debt to the West and his deep roots in Russian and Slavonic traditions, which make him an artist with a very wide appeal.

The list of the composer’s works and the Index are extremely welcome additions, and the translator is to be complimented on his successful mastery of what must have been an extremely difficult task, for the English text reads well.

REGINALD DE BRAY.

*A Century of Czech and Slovak Poetry.* Selected and translated with an introduction, by Paul Selver, The New Europe Publishing Co., Ltd., and the Prague Press, Ltd., pp. 211.

PAUL SELVER, the well-known authority on Czech and Slovak literature, has given us more than our money’s worth. This little volume contains not merely “a century of Czech and Slovak poetry”: it holds the cream of all Czech and Slovak poetry from the Revival to the present day, including the work of Machar (d. 1942) and Bezruč, whose eightieth birthday was celebrated by Czechs last year.

More than this, Mr. Selver has given us a remarkably comprehensive



outline of Czech and Slovak literature in a sixty-page introduction. This little volume appears at a time when more and more people are taking an interest in the "Heart of Europe"—Slavdom's western outpost.

Translation of Czech and Slovak verse is beset with difficulty for an English translator. Do poetic styles get more and more remote from each other with geographical distance? If so, the work of the translator must increase as the square of the distance. Czech and Slovak verse is highly stylised and often full of archaisms. Mr. Selver renders such archaisms frequently by corresponding terms in English. Yet "bane", "baleful", "grindling", "meseems" occasionally make awkward reading. Some of his renderings sound commonplace and stereotyped. "The ditties of herdsmen" (p. 115) and "beneath grey vaultage of branches" are not particularly happy renderings. The translator frequently twists English syntax to gain a rhyme, though I think most people would prefer to scrap the rhyme in order to preserve syntax. Lines laboured with archaisms and having their verbs at the end make heavy reading and put a strain on the reader.

A most valuable documentary work which should find a place on every literary bookshelf.

S. E. MANN.

#### ERRATA

Vol XXV, No 65

Cover, bottom line should read *Eastern*

Vol. XXVI, No 66

Cover, middle *Servo-Croat* should read *Serbo-Croat*

Ibid, p 90, title, 1946 should read 1846